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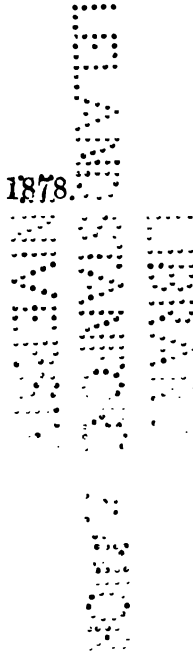
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ART. I.—*Renaissance in Italy: The Age of the Despots. The Revival of Learning. The Fine Arts.* By John Addington Symonds. London, 1875-77.

**T**WENTY-TWO centuries ago the greatest orator of antiquity stood on his defence before the Athenian people. He had been arraigned with unequalled bitterness and ability for a foreign policy which had ended in disastrous failure. Athens, the ancient Queen of Greece, had fallen to the condition of a subject and servile city; her extensive maritime empire had been dissolved; her rich citizens had been reduced in fortune, her poor straitened in their supplies. All these misfortunes had come upon her in consequence of her ineffectual resistance to the overwhelming power of Macedon; and if ever a man might have been accused of having impotently opposed the order of destiny it was Demosthenes. Yet the tone of his defence was lofty and uncompromising. The merits of his policy, he argued, were not to be tested by mere failure or success; he appealed to the public conscience to approve his conduct. In the words of a modern poet who has admirably caught his patriotic spirit:\*

‘ Once more he foiled in thought the fierce attack,  
 And to his lips the oath that sent a thrill  
 Through Time, and liveth yet in light, was brought.†  
 True then, that god-like utterance is true still;  
 Ay, let Antipater the body kill;  
 He cannot kill the soul, or gain the end he sought.’

Eighteen hundred years later a philosophic Italian statesman, urged by a patriotism perhaps as strong as that of Demo-

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\* See some sonnets in ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’ for November, 1877, on Demosthenes, signed F. H. D.

† ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἔνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι· οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινῶντες τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας. Demosthenes, ‘De Coronâ.’

sthenes, and in the midst of circumstances even more deplorable than those of the Athenians, dedicated to the despot of his city a treatise, in which he indicated to the latter the means by which he might make himself master of united Italy. Macchiavelli saw Italy 'more enslaved than the Hebrews, more down-trodden than the Persians, more disunited than the Athenians; without a chief, without order; beaten, despoiled, mangled, overrun; subject to every sort of desolation.' His great object in writing 'The Prince' was to show how his country might be restored to unity and freedom. But the arts by which he counselled Lorenzo de' Medici to seize on supreme power contrast strangely with the simple valour and self-denial which Demosthenes considered the arms of liberty. 'The only safe way to subjugate free cities,' says he, 'is to ruin them.' 'It is,' he thinks, 'far safer to be feared than to be loved.' 'A prince may always find a colourable pretext for breaking his word.' Evil indeed is not to be done for its own sake. But where a desirable end is in view, cruelty is a legitimate weapon, and hypocrisy an excellent device. Every moral consideration is to be excluded from the mind of a sagacious prince, whose duties are to be entirely limited by expediency, and whose merits are only to be tested by success. On this principle the examples of successful ability chiefly recommended to the study of Lorenzo are Francesco Sforza, Alexander VI., and Cæsar Borgia.

We have dwelt on the figures of these two representative men, pointing as they do the obvious contrast between the history of the Greek states and of those Italian cities whose moral and intellectual character we propose to consider in this article, partly because we hold it a universal rule that the splendour of a nation's history is proportioned to the nobility of its character, but chiefly because we find in the sentiments of Demosthenes the most authoritative judgment on the opinions of that large school of modern historians, who view men's actions by the light of the same principles as Macchiavelli.

'This book,' says Hegel, speaking of 'The Prince,' 'has often been cast aside in horror as containing maxims of the most revolting tyranny; yet it was Macchiavelli's high sense of the necessity of constituting a State which caused him to lay down the principles on which alone states could be formed under the circumstances. The isolated lords and lordships had to be entirely suppressed; and though our idea of freedom is incompatible with the means which he proposes, both as the only available, and also as wholly justifiable—including as these do the most reckless violence, all kinds of deception, murder, and the like—yet we must confess that the despots who had to be subdued were assailable in no other way, inasmuch as indomitable lawlessness and perfect depravity were thoroughly ingrained in them.'

What

What kind of state would that have been whose foundations were laid in 'violence, murder, and deception'? We quote with pleasure the just and generous remarks on this subject of the writer whose work on the Italian Renaissance we propose to make the text of our observations.

'After the book has been shut, and the apology has been weighed, we cannot but pause and ask ourselves the question: *which was the true patriot*; Macchiavelli systematising the political vices and corruptions of his time in a philosophical essay, and calling on the despot to whom it was dedicated to liberate Italy; or Savonarola denouncing sin and enforcing repentance: Macchiavelli, who taught as precepts of pure wisdom those very principles of public immorality which lay at the root of Italy's disunion and weakness; or Savonarola, who insisted that without a moral reformation no liberty was possible?'

So true and philosophical an appreciation of the causes which destroyed Italian freedom (and passages of equally sound moral judgment abound in these three volumes) makes us regret the more that we cannot claim Mr. Symonds as an unswerving champion of the Demosthenic against the Macchiavellian principle of political life. His admiration for the intellectual greatness of the Italians, and the gratitude which like every man of taste he feels to them for the noble and beautiful works with which they have enriched the world, prevent him from perceiving that the greatness of their achievements in art was due to moral as well as to intellectual qualities, and that the final decadence of their art no less than the loss of their liberty was due to the corruption of their manners. Hence we find throughout his work a constant conflict between his moral instincts and his philosophical principles, the result of which is a double point of view that produces an impression of infirmity of judgment. For instance, though he pronounces in favour of Savonarola against Macchiavelli, he makes the following apology for Lorenzo de' Medici:—

'*It was the duty of Italy in the fifteenth century not to establish religious or constitutional liberty, but to resuscitate culture. . . . Therefore the prince who, in his own person, combined all accomplishments, who knew by sympathy and counsel how to stimulate the genius of men superior to himself in special arts and sciences, who spent his fortune lavishly on works of public usefulness, whose palace formed the rallying-point of wit and learning, whose council-chamber was the school of statesmen, who expressed his age in every word and every act, in his vices and his virtues, in his crimes and generous deeds, cannot fairly be judged by a standard of republican morality.*'

And again, speaking of the corrupt literati of Italy, he says:—



‘Humanism was a necessary moment in the evolution of the modern world, and whatever were its errors, however weakening it may have been to Italy, this phase had to be passed through, this nation had to suffer for the general good.’

Now we think it is clear that if it was not ‘the *duty* of Italy in the fifteenth century’ to establish liberty, then Savonarola, whether he was a patriot or not, was not a virtuous man; for if Italy’s sole duty was to secure ‘the general good’ by promoting a taste for the humanities, then Savonarola must have been delaying the progress of good by urging his countrymen to make bonfires of their books and pictures. Patriotism, in so far as it is in direct conflict with a law of providence or fate, which, if it exists, must gradually obliterate all national distinctions, is obviously no virtue, and this is the conclusion to which Mr. Symonds’s principles of historical evolution really lead him, though his natural instincts sometimes betray him into generous inconsistency. His conception of the extent of his subject may be gathered from the following passage:—

‘The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races. It is no mere political mutation, no new fashion of art, no restoration of classical standards of taste. The arts and the inventions, the knowledge and the books, which suddenly became vital at the time of the Renaissance, had long lain neglected on the shores of the Dead Sea which we call the Middle Ages. It was not their discovery which caused the Renaissance. But it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which caused mankind at that period to make use of them. The force then generated still continues vital and expansive in the spirit of the modern world.’

Obviously we are here in the presence of very vast and difficult questions. We think that Mr. Symonds is justified in giving an extended sense to the word ‘Renaissance.’ Whether the word has all the significance that he claims for it is another question, and he must pardon us if, for the present, we consider his assumptions as unproved, and pass on to a consideration of the more restricted subject with which his work professedly deals. When we have formed an opinion on the Renaissance in Italy, we shall be in a better position to judge of its manifestations in the spirit of the modern world. Meantime, setting aside all differences of opinion, let us hasten to say that Mr. Symonds’s treatment of his theme is deserving of the highest praise. At once widely-read and independent, sympathetic and judicious, he has arranged his materials with the accuracy of a  
scholar

scholar and the taste of a gentleman. His deductive method naturally exposes him to grave temptations, yet we have found no attempt in his book to suppress or pervert facts that seem to tell against his conclusions. At the same time the novelty of his hypothesis allows him to give life and order to subjects which, unless sympathetically treated, might prove uninteresting. His skill in arrangement is particularly shown in his volume on 'The Revival of Learning,' where he contrives to throw an historical interest over the crowd of forgotten pedants whose industry achieved the diffusion of modern scholarship. His criticism is sound and vigorous, and we cannot, at this period of our own literature, too highly commend the admirable chapter at the close of the volume we have just mentioned, in which he exposes the passion of the 'humanists' for subordinating matter to mere style. His own style is full and flowing: he is never dull, and, except on a few occasions when somewhat carried away by his subject, never extravagant.

Our author opens his work with the following question: 'How was it that at a certain period about fourteen centuries after Christ, to speak roughly, humanity woke, as it were, from slumber, and began to live?' This statement of the problem of the Renaissance appears to us inadequate and misleading. It is misleading for, except in a very narrow and technical sense, it is not true that humanity ever fell asleep. There are human qualities which a state of barbarism, like that which existed in what are called the Dark Ages, encourages, and which civilisation destroys. Nor will the period that elapsed between the overthrow of the Roman Empire and the Revival of Learning seem a mere time of torpor, if we consider the vast fabric of European civilisation, the foundations of which were then laid. We cannot conceive on what grounds the learning and ingenuity of the scholastic philosophy, however futile may have been its aims, can be likened, as Mr. Symonds likens it, to the Dead Sea; why the intelligence of the builder of Westminster Abbey should fear comparison with that of the architect of the Parthenon; or for what reason St. Wilfrid and St. Benedict are to be considered more somnolent spirits than Catullus and Petronius. The statement, again, is inadequate, for the problem presents a moral and social side, apart from which the great intellectual development of Italy can never be thoroughly understood.

Properly stated, the facts of the Renaissance in Italy appear to us to be these. During the period embraced between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, while the nations of the north were almost entirely absorbed in the rivalry of arms, while the streets of their towns were unpaved, the towns themselves little more than

than collections of hovels under the shadow of the feudal castle—while letters were in their infancy, and art, at least in England and France, was non-existent—the cities of Italy, rising out of the ruins of the Roman empire, had developed all the charms and conveniences of civilised life. They had encircled themselves with lofty walls, carried out gigantic works of irrigation, protected their harbours with moles, covered the exterior of their churches with graceful sculpture and the interior with noble pictures; above all, they had restored the study of the ancient classics—the best of all instructors in the laws that regulate the liberties of social taste. Yet in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these free republics, with scarcely a struggle for freedom, sank one by one under the dominion of the most cruel and debauched tyrants that ever disgraced or corrupted humanity; Italy became a prey to the rapacity of foreigners; and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the art and learning which had distinguished her above all other nations declined into impotence and degradation. Where shall we look for the causes of such astonishing precocity in civilisation, such rapidity of decline? We believe that they are to be found in the character of the Italians themselves; and that the composition of their character was the consequence of their own free actions. Pre-eminently endowed with vigour of mind and indeed of body, with the clearest perception of humour and reality, with the most exquisite sense of beauty, and capable at the same time of generous and noble sentiment, the Italians possessed advantages which might have placed them on a level with any nation of ancient or modern times. But their history proves them to have been equally wanting in other qualities essential to the safety and freedom of society. They were cruel, treacherous, and revengeful, insensible to the finer instincts of honour, and sceptical of the more generous aspirations of humanity. Both sides of their character are reflected in their politics, their literature, and their art. We shall follow the subject in the triple order we have just named, taking as our companions Mr. Symonds's three volumes on 'The Age of the Despots,' 'The Revival of Learning,' and 'The Fine Arts.'

The political history of medieval Italy may be summed up in one word—disunion. Unlike the ancient Greek states, whose history resembles theirs in so many points (amongst others, indeed, in a strong aversion from anything like centralisation), the Italians never attained to such a common perception of interests and sympathies as might have enabled them to establish a national ideal. Nor can we account for this incapacity from any merely physical causes, such as diversity of race and dialect, for these disturbing

disturbing forces were equally strong in Greece. The Italians possessed those elements of unity which have always been considered necessary for the coherence of a nation,—common language, common religion, and common customs. Experience had shown them, as it showed the Greeks, the necessity of federal union. Not only had the several cities acquired their wealth and their charters by civil association in the midst of lawlessness and violence, but the members of the Lombard League had met with a Xerxes in Frederic Barbarossa, and could boast of a Marathon at Legnano. Had they been wise enough to take advantage of the opportunity for lasting combination afforded them by the Peace of Constance, the circumstances of the moment were eminently favourable to them. The Pope and the Emperor were contending for the supremacy; a firm league of the Italian cities might have adjusted the balance between the rivals, have rendered nominal the sovereignty of the barbarian, and checked the temporal encroachments of the Papacy. But jealousy, avarice, and ambition destroyed the fair prospect, and both the Lombard and Tuscan Leagues dissolved almost as quickly as they had combined. One neighbouring city preyed on the liberties of another. Milan before the days of the League had destroyed Lodi, and subjected Como; Cremona had tyrannised over the weaker Crema; the same story was repeated in the enslavement of Pisa by Florence, and in the constant wars between Modena and Bologna. The quarrel of Guelph and Ghibelline stirred the nearest neighbours to the deadliest hostility; while in the heart of every city faction was rampant, the traders being arrayed against the nobles, and the nobles divided against each other. The history of many an Italian city is written in the brief and bitter colloquy between Dante and Farinata degli Uberti, in the tenth canto of the 'Inferno':—

' Com' io al piè della sua tomba fui  
Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso  
Mi dimandò: Chi fur li maggior tui?  
Io, ch' era d' ubbidir desideroso,  
Non gliel celai, ma tutti gliel' apersi:  
Ond' ei levò le ciglia un poco in soso;  
Poi dissi: Fieramente furo avversi  
A me ed a miei primi ed a mia parte,  
Sì che per due fiata gli dispersi.  
S' ei fur cacciati, ei tornar d' ogni parte,  
Rispos' io lui, l' una e l' altra fiata,  
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte.'

When the greatest of Italian poets could thus condemn one  
of

of the noblest of Italian patriots to the torments of hell, quite as much, we imagine, from hatred of family as from hatred of heresy, we can understand how impossible it was for the Italians to establish any practical ideal of national unity.

The city thus became the centre of Italian society, and individuality the law of Italian life. As every city in the days of its freedom conducted its own affairs, as its constitution was peculiar to itself, as it was for ever at war with some neighbour, and as even its own inhabitants were divided against each other, it may well be imagined that the necessity of intellectual activity was paramount, and that success could only be obtained by ability. In addition to the numerous municipal functions that were open to the citizens, architects and engineers were required to provide the city with public buildings, sculptors and painters to adorn these; while secretaryships to the many embassies, professorships in the Universities, and tutorships to the ruling families were the natural prizes of men of letters. All these varieties of employment, co-existing within the narrow limits of a single city, necessarily placed the intellect under the highest possible pressure, and account readily for the long start in refinement that the Italians secured among the nations of Europe. On the other hand, the perpetual stress of competition made them hard, narrow, and worldly; the more generous parts of their moral nature had no room for expansion; and, when in the decline of their prosperity the sources of activity diminished, even the keenness of their intellect became dulled for the want of proper occupation.

But while their imaginations were deprived of a national standard, and restricted to the petty range of municipal action, there were ever present before their minds two great and antagonistic ideals. One of these, it is needless to say, was the order of the Catholic religion, the potent influences of which may be seen to-day in the most decayed town of Northern Italy. Strong as was the individual and local feeling in the great days of Italian freedom, it is striking to find how much of this personal energy was devoted to the illustration of the wide-embracing truths of Christianity. We cannot ascribe this general result to the simple spiritual influences of religion, though how deeply these were felt, in the souls of men accustomed to the compression and intensity of urban faction, may be seen in the hopes and the fears, the loves and the hatreds, so vividly expressed in the 'Divina Commedia.' Rather is it to be explained by the frequent contact of religion with the well-defined but many-sided society included within walls only a few miles in circumference. The *genius loci* of each city expanded  
in

in the ample dogmas, the noble ritual, and the social festivals of the Catholic Church. The stately Duomo and peaceful convent on the banks of the Arno; the perfectly-finished baptistery gate, pulpit column, or chapel screen; the recollection of the Florentine guilds with their priors listening to the sermons of the monk Savonarola; all help us to realise the penetrative power of the Church in the constitution of an Italian state. No wonder that in the days of its greatness each corporate city should have employed the pre-eminent sense of beauty, which it possessed in common with all Italians, in the embodiment of what appeared to its citizens patriotism in the noblest form. And stimulating indeed to the imagination of the artist must have been the thought, that generations of his countrymen would come to worship within the walls that he was decorating, and that the perpetuation of his name could only cease with the extinction of the Catholic religion. But at the same time the want of any *national* principle of action prevented religion from becoming a vital and practical influence in Italian society: piety manifested itself more in monasticism than in charity; it was felt rather as an emotion than as a duty; the typical Italian, like Cellini, was at one time a Piagnone, at another a sensualist.

Against this sense of religious unity, which was undoubtedly shared by the majority of Italians in their respective cities, we must place the wide-spread sentiment of the educated classes, which is at the root of that intellectual movement generally known as the Renaissance, the regret for the lost standards of antiquity. The Italians never forgot that they were the children and the heirs of Rome. It was in great part through Rome's legacy of municipal organisation, and the traditions of her law, that they had so far outstripped the barbarism of surrounding nations. They lived amidst the ruins of baths, aqueducts, theatres, and a thousand mute memorials of departed grandeur. In time they recovered the masterpieces of ancient literature, and envied the ease and serenity of thought in those whom they regarded as their ancestors. It was impossible not to contrast these evidences of imperial majesty with their own feeble and distracted Italy. As they reflected on the past, their mind became full of vague hopes for the future; Rome, imperial or republican, was revived in the Ghibellinism of Dante and the idealism of Rienzi. At a later period, when liberty was lost, the more generous youth filled their imaginations with the Greek doctrines on tyrannicide. The philosopher studied to effect a reconciliation between Platonism and Christianity. The artist not only learned the laws of form from antique sculpture, but borrowed subjects from classical mythology. And the

the scholar, carried still further in his enthusiasm, sought to revive the ancient Pagan spirit in opposition to the spirit of Christianity.

These ideals, in their extreme operation hostile alike to each other and to existing interests, have both of them been charged with destroying the liberties and corrupting the morals of the Italians. Nor can it be denied that a strong superficial case may be presented against each. Thus on one side Macchiavelli says, and Mr. Symonds appears to accept his reasoning as conclusive:—

‘Since some men are of opinion that the welfare of Italy depends on the Church, I wish to put forth such arguments as occur to my mind to the contrary; and of these I will adduce two, which, as I think, are irrefutable. The first is this: that owing to the evil ensample of the Papal Court, Italy has lost all piety and all religion, whence follow infinite troubles and disorders; for as religion implies all good, so its absence implies the contrary, consequently to the church and priests of Rome we Italians owe this obligation first—that we have become void of religion and corrupt. But we also owe them another, even greater, which is the cause of our ruin. I mean that the Church has maintained and still maintains Italy divided.’

On the other side Gyraldus, a professor of Ferrara, thus arraigns the class of literati or humanists, to which he himself belonged:—

‘No class of human beings are more subject to anger, more puffed up with vanity, more arrogant, more insolent, more proud, conceited, idle-minded, inconsequent, opinionated, changeable, obstinate; some of them ready to believe the most incredible nonsense, others sceptical about notorious truths; some full of doubt and suspicion, others void of reasonable circumspection. None are of a less free spirit, and that for the reason I have touched before, because they think themselves so far more powerful.’

And in the same spirit Ariosto, in his seventh satire, declares that the impiety, pride, and gluttony of the humanists make him shrink from entrusting to them the education of his son. Nevertheless neither the Church nor the men of letters can fairly be charged with the corruption of Italian manners. The first indictment of Macchiavelli is that of a man who wishes to shift the responsibility for his own faults from himself on to his circumstances. The second, in so far as it depends upon the instances he adduces (the introduction of the Franks and of the French into Italy), is scarcely entitled to more weight. In the eyes of the Popes the Arian Lombards, against whom they called in the aid of the orthodox Franks, were as much foreigners and  
barbarians

barbarians as Charlemagne himself. ? Nor again, when the Papacy stirred up the League of Cambray against Venice was there any serious probability of the latter making herself the head of united Italy. On the other hand, the Church may fairly claim the credit of having founded and preserved modern civilisation. When the empire sank before the advancing Huns, it was the bishop of Rome who stayed the destroying hand of the barbarian ; it was the spiritual influence of the Church which, amidst the ruin created by barbarism and anarchy, procured respect for the great fabric of Roman law ; it was her religious ritual and conventual schools which more than any other cause prevented the Latin language from becoming extinct. In all these instances the Church appears as the champion of order and liberty. Had she really cherished the deliberate design of uniting Italy under her temporal sway, the time for showing jealousy of a rival power would have been when the Lombard cities formed their famous league. Yet, though those were the days of the Papacy's greatest spiritual power, the Popes were so far from sowing dissension among the cities, that policy led them to cultivate their alliance and to cement their union. And again if the Church had been, as Macchiavelli alleges, the chief conspirator against Italian unity, then the Italians ought to have presented a spectacle of something approaching harmony during the period of Papal exile at Avignon. As a matter of fact, this was precisely the period when the feuds between the various cities broke forth with the greatest fierceness.

Nor can we, who owe our own liberal education so entirely to the diffusion of classical learning, allow for one moment that the spirit of antiquity is to be charged with the ruin of Italian morals. Whatever effect the corruption of the Papal Court and the loose lives of the scholars exercised on the public conscience, it is the Italians themselves who are responsible for their own misfortunes, it is their disunion which is at the root of all their corruption. There was, as we have said, no common central sense of unity in Italy, which all parts of the nation could combine to promote and to develope, by blending with which religion might have become a living influence in society, and art a stimulus to manly action. There was no fusion of Church and State, of action and imagination, but each principle of life was pursued independently, and without reference to the existence of any other, or to the well-being of the whole nation. Christianity became identified with monasticism ; the admiration for antiquity degenerated into sensuality ; liberty struggled against order ; literature separated itself from living interests ; and art was degraded into the slave of luxury or superstition. We proceed  
to



to consider the influence of the Renaissance on the two sides of the Italian genius which we have named the last.

‘The most salient characteristic of the humanist literature,’ says our author, ‘was study of style. The beginners of the movement were conscious that what separated them more than anything else from their Roman ancestors was want of elegance in diction. They used the same language; but they used it clumsily. They could think the same thoughts, but they had lost the art of expressing them with propriety. To restore style was therefore a prime object. Exaggerating its importance, they neglected the matter for the form, and ended by producing a literature of imitation.’

With some qualification, these words may be accepted as an accurate criticism on the general character of Italian literature. They are in the first place, of course, applicable to the Italian composers of Latin verse. It is a sufficient proof of the slender inspiration of these poets, that few of them made any attempt to express their natural thoughts in the vigorous and tuneful vernacular whose capacities Dante had tested. Completely enslaved by the genius of the ancients, they surrendered their own originality of thought; and the fruits of their painful servility remain in works which, as Mr. Symonds says, ‘at the worst fall far below the level of an Oxford prize-exercise, and at the best supply a decent appendix to the “Corpus Poetarum.”’

But the criticism has a more extended application. Form may be said to prevail over matter in all the great writers of Italy, with one notable exception. The *Divine Comedy* is indeed a poem absolutely original yet completely representative, expressing in the most perfect form the religious belief, the political passions, and the local traditions, which gave life and colour to the faith and freedom of medieval Italy. After Dante, the four most famous names in Italian literature are Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and Tasso. Of these we think it is at once evident that the first and the last are not in any sense representative poets. Petrarch, indeed, may rank with Dante as a refiner of his native tongue, but the character of his thought is neither local nor national, nor in the deepest sense human. Tasso again, whose serious and reflective genius resembles Petrarch’s, is remarkable rather for the closeness with which he follows Virgil’s style in the treatment of an exotic theme, than for the fire and originality of his own inspiration.

Ariosto and Boccaccio, however, stand in a different class. In the gaiety and raciness of their sentiment, and in the idiomatic character of their style, these writers are genuine representatives of their nation. But what is that feature in their nation which they

they particularly represent? The utter absence of an heroic element. Moral or spiritual conceptions of society are not to be found in their writings; and hence, if we set aside the exceptional figure of Dante, who is rather religious than national, we must place Italian literature on a level below both the Greek as possessing Homer, Pindar, the tragedians, and Aristophanes; and the English as having produced Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton.

Perhaps no literary work more completely embodies the spirit of the Renaissance in Italy than the 'Decameron.' The calm and detailed narrative of the plague at Florence, presenting, as it does, a picture of unmitigated selfishness, relieved by no single touch of humanity or devotion, is in itself a reflection of the disunion of Italian society. Again, the conception of the composition, in which the dark background of Divine wrath and judgment (for in this light Boccaccio evidently regarded the plague), sets off the delightful gardens, with their youthful visitors banishing care with gay tales and graceful diversions, exactly expresses that paradoxical union of Christian doctrine and Pagan sentiment, which is one of the most curious features of the Renaissance. Most characteristic of all, however, is the tone of irony running throughout the 'Decameron,' that grave sobriety of style which, while observing the decent forms of morality and religion, suggests a spirit utterly at variance with what these appear to express. 'Boccaccio,' says Mr. Symonds, 'was the first who sought frankly to justify the pleasure of the carnal life; whose temperament, unburdened by asceticism, found a congenial element in the amorous legends of antiquity.' Frankness scarcely appears to us a word applicable to Boccaccio; his tone, in the introduction to the 'Decameron,' is that of a man of the world who compounds for licence by observing decorum. The matter of most of the hundred tales is not very different from that of the English comedies after the Restoration; but we can scarcely conceive of seven English ladies, of whom the eldest was not more than nineteen years old, sitting down with three young men to listen to a play of Wycherley read aloud. Boccaccio's pre-eminent genius is seen in this, that while the undoubted wit of the English playwrights has utterly failed to preserve their works from neglect, the extreme beauty and humanity of the Italian's style has so far compensated for his want of nobility of thought, that he still retains his place among the European classics.

Ariosto, again, is full of the true Italian spirit of irony. The matter of the 'Orlando Furioso' was long supposed to be seriously romantic, and it is a proof of the strong hold that chivalry took on the imagination of the northern people of Europe, that  
Spenser

Spenser fully believed the Paladin, who, after running six Dutchmen through on one spear, is compared to a man in a marsh stringing frogs on an arrow, who, in his madness, seizes an ass by its tail, and flings it on to the top of a mountain a mile high, to have been intended by Ariosto as 'the ensample of a good governor and a virtuous man.' Turpin, whose narrative Ariosto follows, wrote as a believer for believers; and the more marvellous his tale the better his hearers were pleased. Bred as they were in a chivalrous atmosphere, it was no difficulty to them to conceive of heroic or marvellous actions, though such might no longer be witnessed in their own degenerate days. But Ariosto wrote for the countrymen of Pulci and Berni, in whose land chivalry had taken no root, to whose quick city wits and keen sense of reality the marvels of the monkish chronicles were nursery fables. His irony shows itself in the humility with which he professes himself to be the mere transcriber of Turpin's veracious history, painting with careful detail monsters whom he gravely assures his readers he has never seen himself, and emphasizing the wild improbability of his hero's adventures by the distinctness with which he imagines and describes them.\* At the same time he is a true poet. He had read Homer with delight, and he found in the incidents of romance the movement, variety, and pathos which make up the interest of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey.' His classic taste taught him to fuse these in a new form; to think clearly and write correctly in his native tongue; to imitate without servility; to reproduce old beauties in a new and original dress. So much the Renaissance gave him. But it could not give that lofty and spiritual sense of honour which is the soul of Christian chivalry. When he seeks to be elevated he fails conspicuously, as in the prayer of Charlemagne at the siege of Paris. He is most successful when he is mocking what is romantic, or painting what is real.

But if Italian poetry as a whole is not entitled to stand quite in the first rank, the same can certainly not be said of Italian art. In architecture, sculpture, and painting, the Italians produced splendid results. During the best periods of all these arts the imagination was directed towards some noble social end;

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\* It is curious to compare with Ariosto's mock profession of literalism Chaucer's *bona fide* apology for his translation of 'Troilus and Cressida,' an apology that he evidently felt was due to feelings which had been shocked by the representation of a character so opposed to chivalrous ideas of womanhood as that of Cressida:—

'Ne a trewe lover ought me nat to blame,  
Though that I speke a false lover some shame:  
They ought rather with me for to hold,  
For that I of Cresseide wrote or told,  
Or of the rose, what so mine author ment.'—*Legend of Good Women.*  
and

and though in later times form came, as it did in letters, to predominate over matter, this was when creative genius also was on the decline. We propose to exemplify these points by reference to the history of painting, the art in which, as Mr. Symonds says, 'the Italians, among all nations, stand unapproachably alone.' And we cannot do so more thoroughly than by examining the able, but, as we think, fallacious view which our author takes of the progress of this art. He appears to us to be the victim of two misconceptions, which materially impair the value of his judgment in matters on which he is otherwise extremely well qualified to judge. One of these relates to the scope of the art of painting, the other to the nature of the Christian religion.

Italian painting, in Mr. Symonds's judgment, reached its climax when 'the human body received separate and independent study as a thing incomparably beautiful in itself, commanding more powerful emotions by its magic than aught else that sways the soul.' This being so, painting, he thinks, 'had to omit the very pith and kernel of Christianity, as conceived by devout, uncompromising purists.'

'On the very threshold of the matter,' says he, 'I am bound to affirm my conviction that the spiritual purists of all ages—the Jews, the Iconoclasts of Byzantium, Savonarola, and our Puritan ancestors—were justified in their mistrust of plastic art. It is always bringing us back to the dear life of earth from which the faith would sever us. It is always reminding us of the body which piety bids us to forget.'

Now if it were true, either that the representation of the body *in itself* was the chief object of the Italian painters, or that the Christian religion enjoined on men the mortification of the body, then no doubt there would be a hopeless antagonism between religion and art. And it is true that the means by which painting acts upon the imagination are restricted to form, colour, and light; and hence that it is able to express fewer ideas than poetry, which produces its effects by means of language. But it would be very unwise to conclude from this that painting can express nothing but such simple ideas as 'the beauty of girlish foreheads, or the swiftness of a young man's limbs, or the simple idealisation of natural delightfulness.' Let us see what the honest enthusiasm of an English essayist could find in the work of the most perfect of all painters, the one, too, who was, perhaps, most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that Greek art, which Mr. Symonds has illustrated by the phrases we have just quoted from his book.

'When St. Paul,' writes Steele, in the 'Spectator,' 'is preaching to the Athenians, with what wonderful art are almost all the different tempers

tempers of mankind represented in that elegant audience! You see one credulous of all that is said; another wrapt up in deep suspense; another saying that there is some reason in what he says; another angry that the apostle destroys a favourite opinion which he is unwilling to give up; another wholly convinced and holding up his hands in rapture; while the generality attend and wait for the opinion of those who are of leading characters in the Assembly.'

Painting, therefore, can represent ideas of a very moral and complex kind. It cannot certainly express such purely abstract conceptions of religion as were formed by the Puritans. But why is Christianity to be cut down to the ideal of those whom Mr. Symonds calls 'religious purists'? Our author quotes such maxims from the New Testament as 'He that taketh not his cross and followeth Me is not worthy of Me;' 'Set your affections on things above, not on things on earth;' 'For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;' as if all men were bidden in these to live, even while in the flesh, a non-natural and absolutely spiritual life. But he forgets that the Founder of Christianity was called by his enemies 'a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners:' that St. Paul advised Timothy 'to drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake;' and that when he was preaching at Lystra, the same Apostle told his hearers that God 'left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.' Had the monastic ideal been the pith and kernel of Christianity, Christianity would never have established itself as the universal religion of the higher races of mankind. But those who believe that our Lord came not to destroy but to fulfil, will agree with Butler that there is no discord between the order of Nature and the order of Christianity; and that as the latter is intended to be the law of men living in society, it cannot be properly understood as eliminating any part of the human constitution.

This being so, we do not see that we are obliged to solve the problem why 'the Church in the Middle Ages hailed art as her coadjutor' by ascribing to the former, as Mr. Symonds does, a subtle policy of compromise. In truth, the compromise was effected not by the Church, but by the mixed nature of man. The force of human instinct manifests itself in the struggle between the Iconoclasts and the image-worshippers at Byzantium, and in the ultimate victory of the latter. Deeply desirous of realising what it adored, but at the same time 'seeing through a glass darkly,' the Italian imagination seized on whatever was beautiful in form and colour to represent to itself the things that eye had not seen nor heart conceived. And if in later days art dissociated

dissociated itself from religion, that again was because the religious sense had grown more feeble, not because art had grown more free.

For what is the freedom that Mr. Symonds supposes art to have obtained for itself, and for the human mind? Simply the emancipation (which he has justly blamed in the humanists) of form from matter :

‘The first step,’ says he, ‘in the emancipation of the modern mind was taken by art proclaiming to men the glad tidings of their goodness and greatness in a world of manifold enjoyment created for their use. Whatever painting touched became by that touch human; piety at the lure of art folded her wings and rested on the genial earth. . . . Then came a second stage in the development of art. By the placing the end of their endeavour in technical excellence and anatomical accuracy, they began to make representation an object in itself, independently of its spiritual significance. Next under the influence of the classical revival they brought home again the old powers of the earth, Aphrodite and Galatea and the Loves, Adonis and Narcissus and the Graces, Pan and the Fauns, and the Nymphs of the Woods and the Waves.’

This description appears to us not only, for reasons we have alleged before, derogatory to the capacities of painting as an art, but also historically incorrect. Mr. Symonds is doubtless referring to Giotto in his account of the performances of Italian art in its first stage; but it is not accurate to say that this painter made ‘piety rest on the genial earth.’ What he did was to translate divine things into a language human and intelligible. Mr. Symonds is much happier in another description of Giotto :—

‘What therefore Giotto gave to art was, before all things else, vitality. His Madonnas are no longer symbols of a certain phase of pious awe, but pictures of maternal love. The Bride of God suckles her divine infant with a smile, watches him playing with a bird, or stretches out her arms to take him when he turns crying from the hands of the circumcising priest. By choosing incidents like these from real home life, Giotto, through his painting, humanised the mysteries of faith and brought them close to common feeling.’

True; but whatever the harshness of Puritanism may say, he did not make them less divine by representing in these intelligible forms the tenderness, compassion, and purity of one whom all Christians are bound to reverence, though they do not worship—the Virgin Mary. Still less correct is it to maintain that, in the most perfect stage of art, the painters began to make ‘representation an object in itself, independently of its spiritual significance.’ Doubtless they worked in a different frame of mind from the earlier masters, but who can say that the ‘San

Sisto' of Raphael, the 'Sibyls' of Michael Angelo, and the 'Last Supper' of Leonardo da Vinci are devoid of spiritual significance? The truth is that these great painters are greatest when they deal with the most sacred subjects, because then with an equal amount of technical excellence they are lifted into a more heroic and heavenly range of conceptions than when they are representing objects of mere earthly interest. Yet this principle does not in the least tie painters down to one set of themes. 'Everything,' as Sir Joshua Reynolds says, 'is to be done with which it is natural for the mind to be pleased.' And doubtless it was natural for the mind to be pleased with a beautiful representation of the beautiful fables of antiquity. Nevertheless, few will be so daring as to place Raphael's 'Galatea' on a level with his 'Paul preaching on Mars' Hill,' or to assert that the former touches the same class of feelings as the latter. The danger, which indeed proved fatal, of the Renaissance was that art, leaving its higher aspirations and capacities, should content itself with satisfying the mere animal instincts. How long and how steadily Italian art resisted this tendency may be seen by the continuance of its vitality from Giotto to Titian, in the latter of whom the natural proneness of the Venetians to luxury and worldliness is still restrained by the taste and sobriety, the breeding and dignity, acquired from the lofty range of subjects prescribed by the Christian religion.

The later painters lost this balance. With great technical powers they wanted the sublimity of feeling which had inspired their predecessors, and consequently in their struggle to be original they left on their work the marks of violence, extravagance, and affectation. Who would not prefer a religious picture by Giotto, imperfectly drawn it may be and crudely coloured, to a Pagan group by Albani, executed with all the fluent grace and softness of outline for which that painter was famous? Why so? Because in the one case we have a noble subject treated in a noble way, that is to say with enthusiasm, sublimity, and simplicity; while in the other we have a subject in which the spectator, like the painter, feels a merely cultivated interest, and in which what we chiefly admire is the harmony of the colours and the disposition of the drapery.

The results of our survey will scarcely allow us to consider the course of the Renaissance in Italy as in itself a verification of Mr. Symonds's hypothesis of a law of continuous human progress. Instead of that national *ἦθος*, which the Greeks so long preserved and to which Demosthenes appealed in his famous oath, the Italians, absorbed in their city life, developed a spirit of individuality and self-consciousness which, in the days of their  
their

their slavery, prevented patriots like Macchiavelli from rousing them to action by recalling common traditions of patriotism. In literature this want of a national ideal depressed the imagination of the greatest writers, and encouraged the genius of burlesque. And in art the inveterate habit of disunion forced a separation between the feelings of devotion and the sense of beauty, whereby the painter's imagination, deprived of its finest materials, declined into the feebleness of barocco. 'It is one of the sad features of this subject,' says Mr. Symonds, 'that each section has to end in lamentation; servitude in the sphere of politics; literary feebleness in scholarship; decadence in art; to shun these conclusions is impossible.'

But his argument does not rest here. The solace which he finds for his melancholy reflections is the belief that the sufferings and failures of Italy were part of the order of history: that while falling herself, Italy has helped us on to that higher standpoint of culture which he supposes us to occupy; that the Renaissance, in fact, was but the first act in a great drama of mental evolution, of which the Reformation was the second act, and the French Revolution the third. The nations, he tells us in a passage somewhat poetically coloured, are engaged in a Lampadephoros or torch-race:—

'Greece stretches forth her hand to Italy; Italy consigns the sacred fire to Northern Europe; the people of the North pass on the flame to America and the Australasian isles.'

We will not pause to consider the nature of the consolation that is offered in this idea of the sacrifice of the individual to the general good, or to ask whether each nation which passes on the torch of culture is to sink exhausted in the race like Italy and Greece. It is more material to inquire whether there is any satisfactory evidence of the existence of the law of spiritual evolution imagined by our author. We must do Mr. Symonds the justice to say that he uses the word 'progress' in a frank and rational sense, not confounding it, as is so common, with the improvement of man's circumstances—the increase of wealth, relative knowledge, speed of travel, and the like—but using it to indicate a positive advance in man's capacities of virtue and happiness. 'The history of the Renaissance is the history of the attainment of self-consciousness by the human spirit as manifested in the European races.'

But allowing this to be an intelligible definition, how is the continuity of such progress to be measured or verified? If it be true that in

'Following life in creatures we dissect  
We lose it in the moment we detect,'



what is our prospect of arriving at a scientific knowledge of the laws of our own being? How can any of us, unable as we are to realise the exact nature of the consciousness of our dearest friends, pretend to enter into the spirit of those who lived, under conditions as different as possible from our own, centuries ago? It is evident that we can but judge by rough standards of action manifested in arms, laws, arts, or letters. But here again the greatest difficulty of measurement exists. For granting, as we of course grant, the unity of human nature, it is obvious that the varieties of national action and character are as numerous as the nations themselves, and though we may find humanity in every type of culture, it is not so easy to discover a continuous line of culture running from one portion of humanity to another. For instance, it is evident that the Italians made no real advance beyond the point reached by Greek sculpture, and that the nations of the north have not been able to develop their inheritance of Italian painting. There is, however, a still more serious barrier to investigation, in the constitution of our own nature. If the human mind were simple in structure, if it were either intellectual or moral, but not both, the law of its growth would be much more readily ascertained. But its nature is mixed, and its constituent parts are by no means harmonious. On the contrary, the testimony of St. Paul, no less than of Plato, speaks of the perpetual conflict that rages within us: 'I find then a law that when I would do good evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.' In the presence of this perpetual discord, what proof have we of the existence of any law so simple as that of unbroken progress, or of that 'further point' (to quote Mr. Symonds) 'outside both Christianity and Paganism, at which the classical ideal of a temperate and joyous life shall be restored to the conscience educated by the Gospel?'

The law of co-existing good and evil prevails in the various stages of society. Progress in arms generally implies the contraction of commerce; progress in commerce not unfrequently involves the decline of art. Every great nation, it is true, can boast of progress up to a certain point, and can show moments in its history when the conflicting elements of which it is composed seem to blend their opposing forces into a balanced and harmonious whole, but hitherto in all nations the common interest has been sooner or later sacrificed to some principle of selfishness:

' Utcunq̄ue defecere mores  
Dedecorant bene nata culpe.'

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It is, we think, not too much to say that in the Pagan world the animal and intellectual parts of human nature overbalanced the spiritual. In the greatest days of Athens and Rome the social equilibrium was preserved by the noble virtue of patriotism, but when patriotism decayed, human intelligence wasted itself on speculation, or sensuality. Christianity redressed the balance. The doctrines of sin, of repentance, of the Resurrection, of moral responsibility and future judgment, restored the spiritual vitality of our nature. And if, during the long period of expiring Paganism and barbarian anarchy, the spiritual part of humanity usurped an undue share of authority, still it was on this that were built the foundations of modern civilisation—the Catholic Church and the feudal system. Form and beauty were given to the new fabric by the revival of learning, and once again a true balance was established, when the taste and refinement of antiquity were employed in the service of the Christian religion.

But, as we have said, in Italy, the mother of the Renaissance, union was never long possible. The men of letters began to cultivate Paganism for its own sake, and placed the end of life in the worship of intellect to the disparagement of morality. Mr. Symonds is quite right in identifying the movement of the Renaissance with that of the French Revolution; but he supplies nothing in the way of evidence that intellectual progress towards a goal of 'self-conscious' freedom has been anything but a progress of destruction. It has operated as a dissolving force on the great fabrics of Catholicism and feudalism. The Renaissance in Italy, by reviving Pagan standards in opposition to Christian ideas, helped to undermine the national genius, even in the art in which it most excelled. The Reformation was a protest against the corruption of the Roman Church: its effects have been most beneficial in impressing on every Christian community the necessity of personal religion; but it has increased the difficulties of Church government and common worship; and in Germany, where the movement began, it threatens to end, as may be seen from the proceedings of the Protestant Synod, in open infidelity. The French Revolution struck a deathblow at the feudal institutions of France, and at the Gallican Church; but we may well ask to-day what has the philosophy of Voltaire or the legislation of Robespierre contributed towards the formation of that 'temperate and joyous natural life,' the vision of which fascinates the imagination of Mr. Symonds?

Bearing in mind, then, the course of the Renaissance in Italy, and the goal to which, according to our historian, it points the human race, it will be well for us to inquire how far we in  
England

England have advanced upon the same path. For whether Mr. Symonds's ideal be true or false, it is certain that the ideal which the English nation has hitherto respected has not been that of self-conscious, but of constitutional, liberty. And in following this they have observed the law of human nature, as defined by their own Butler, who says—in a sermon on the text, 'For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another: '—

'Since the Apostle speaks of the several members as having distinct offices, which implies the mind, it cannot but be thought an allowable liberty, instead of the *body* and its *members* to substitute the *whole nature of man and all the variety of internal principles which belong to it*. And then the comparison will be between the nature of man as respecting self, and tending to private good, his own preservation and happiness, and the nature of man as having respect to society, and tending to promote public good, the happiness of that society. These ends do indeed perfectly coincide; and to aim at public and private good are so far from being inconsistent that they mutually promote each other; yet in the following discourse they must be considered as entirely distinct, otherwise the nature of man, as tending to the one or as tending to the other, cannot be compared.'

Hence Butler derived his well-known conclusion of happiness consisting in the well-adjusted balance of our different natural powers. Nothing could contrast more strongly with this than the ideal of the Italians as exhibited in the Renaissance; no two histories are more dissimilar than those of England and the cities of Italy. The development of England has been in all directions slow and gradual, but it can boast of the establishment of an Empire which may compare with that of ancient Rome. Its progress has been achieved by reconciling the interests of opposing powers. We have struck a balance between the prerogatives of the Crown and the liberties of the people; between the authority of society and the freedom of the individual; between interests that are temporal and interests that are spiritual. The character of our society is derived from a Catholic and feudal origin, though it has been gradually modified, without being destroyed, by the spirit of liberty and the genius of learning.

'So tenacious are we,' writes Burke, in the spirit of Butler, 'of our old ecclesiastical modes and fashions of institution, that very little alteration has been made in them since the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; adhering in this particular, as in all else, to our old settled maxim never entirely nor at once to depart from antiquity. We found these institutions on the whole favourable to morality and discipline,

cipline, and we thought they were susceptible of amendment without altering the ground. We thought they were capable of receiving and meliorating, and, above all, of preserving the accessories of science and literature as the order of Providence should successively produce them. And after all, with this Gothic and monkish education (*for such it is in the groundwork*), we may put in our claim to as ample and early a share in all the improvements in science, in arts, and in literature, which have illuminated the modern world, as any other nation in Europe: we think one main cause of this improvement was our not despising the patrimony of knowledge which was left us by our forefathers.

No words could more vividly express the character of the Renaissance in England. Such has been the course it has hitherto kept; such is the faith we still profess. Nevertheless, with all the authority and antiquity of our national ideal, there can be no doubt that, if we have not yet reached the extreme limits of constitutional liberty, we are at least proceeding to a very high degree of self-consciousness. The theory of our constitution is strained by one of the parties in the State, to make it express, as far as possible, the personal wants and desires of every Englishman: every class and section of the nation has its organ in the press, in which daily or weekly it sees a reflection of its own thoughts; last, but certainly not least, the most highly educated portion of society is deliberately setting up the worship of the 'best self' as a religion quite distinct from the vulgar traditions inherited from our fathers. This new religion, revealed to us by the apostles of culture, is one of the most surprising achievements of the modern Renaissance in England.

We think it must be allowed that the following paraphrase is no caricature of the *religious* system that is offered to us for serious acceptance:—

'Gratitude and veneration are due to the admirable Butler, one of the most truly Hellenic of our divines, for his theory of the balance of human nature. And our veneration and gratitude must not be lessened by the thought that this great man was incapable, from the place he occupied in the progress of thought, of understanding the true nature of his own reasoning. He was indeed the victim of a deplorable delusion, in his belief that it was necessary for the balance of our nature to be regulated by reference to some external object or positive law instead of by our own right reason. If, like those who have developed his system, he had been able to take a survey of his own consciousness, he would have seen that man's nature has two sides, the Hebraic and the Hellenic, each of which requires its own free and harmonious development. He would further have seen that our gross British nature, with its unfortunate tendency to one-sided-

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ness, has cultivated itself on the Hebraic side, but altogether neglected itself on the Hellenic. And he would have understood that the only way to redress the balance was by getting men to rid themselves of their rigid Hebraic belief that words are intended to express things. Let this object once be attained, let men but once understand how impossible it is to confine those fine and delicate phases of perception, which are the true groundwork of religion, in the hard and fast lines of dogma, and the Promised Land of perfection will come full in view. All our old stock phrases will then receive entirely fresh meanings. For even though we confess, as we must confess, that our belief in the personality of God must be exchanged for a belief in the stream of tendency, though we perceive that St. Paul, with his great but ill-regulated intelligence, had no clear understanding of what he himself meant by the Resurrection, though we recognise that our sense of religion itself is but the product of primeval forces,—this must not frighten us out of our conviction that religion is both natural and necessary to us. For we have the ideas still in our minds, and, by letting our consciousness play freely upon them, the bracing effect of such a moral shampooing will be to invigorate our devotional feelings with a new vitality. Nor is there any danger of the feelings themselves becoming exhausted. For, though we know that we have fathomed the entire mystery of the universe, and that religious knowledge cannot advance beyond our own standpoint, still the change and play of ideas will go on perpetually, and the convenient old phrases will still remain to be used through all eternity in ever-varying senses. Another apprehension may occur to us: it is equally groundless. We may be told that, when we have let our consciousness play freely round all external objects, the images of perfection that we shall derive from them will have no basis of reality, since we shall only have been travelling round the four walls of our own mind. But the person who may make this observation will certainly be some barbarian or Philistine, to whom it will be quite sufficient to reply that when he has had our experience he will know better.'

It must be acknowledged that those who profess such a creed as this have advanced to a very elevated point of self-consciousness. But if this creed be supposed to be a development of Butler's philosophy, then we must conclude that its authors see no difference between grafting Pagan culture on the vigorous stock of Christianity, and eviscerating the substance of Christianity to ensconce Pagan sentiment within conventional Christian forms. We have heard something of making clean the outside of the platter, but we have never before seen the process elevated into a religious principle. It is intelligible that Pico della Mirandola should have reconciled Platonism with Christianity; the sublime speculations of the Greek philosopher have an obvious affinity to the Christian doctrine of immortality. It is intelligible, on the other hand, that men of the world like Macchiavelli,

Macchiavelli, while themselves living by a Pagan standard, should have recognised the utility of the Church as a safeguard of decency and order. But it is not intelligible that any man should deny that words stand for things, or that he should avail himself of the commonly received names, ideas, and even rites of Catholic Christianity to assist him in propagating the creed of Epicurus.

Again, if we watch the operation of the new ideal on the sense of national unity, we shall scarcely be able to forbear the conclusion that, as the force of self-consciousness has increased, so, as in Italy, the national feeling has declined. We do not believe in any radical change in the English character. The popular feeling during the Crimean war showed that, once in action, the English people retain all that fierceness and pugnacity for which Benvenuto Cellini gives them credit; what we are now speaking of is the change in the national *ideal*, and this may be tested by a crucial instance. A century ago there was great diversity of opinion upon the abstract justice of our dealings with our American colonies, but, when agreement became impossible, there was no question whatever as to the right and propriety of our enforcing our sovereignty by force of arms. Neither Burke nor Chatham, though disapproving of the ministerial policy, sought to thwart the full exercise of the imperial power. As Pericles said of the Athenians, these men 'speculated without falling into effeminacy.' To-day the phrase that excites the most bitter vituperation is 'British interests,' an expression which, in so far as it is considered dishonourable to shrink from a manly assertion of our own rights and duties, might be advantageously changed for 'British honour.' Mr. Gladstone warns us solemnly of the corrupting influence of 'national prestige.' Mr. Freeman exclaims, 'Perish India! sooner than my ideal of right and justice, should be destroyed.' One of the most distinguished of our poets describes his country under the uncomplimentary figure of an aged Titan

'Staggering on to her goal,  
Bearing on shoulders immense,  
Atlantean, the load,  
Well-nigh not to be borne,  
Of the too vast orb of her fate.'

All this appears to us to be the weakness of self-consciousness. The national instinct of honour is to be sacrificed to some private ideal, whether, as in Mr. Gladstone's case, of goodness, or, as in Mr. Freeman's, of antiquarianism, or, as in Mr. Arnold's, of culture. Burke would have described such ideology by his favourite epithet of 'unmanly,' and Chatham would have declared

clared that a nation which is not prepared to bear the burden of its greatness, and to make the maintenance of empire the first object of existence, is no longer capable of preserving its position.

Not only has the standard of self-consciousness diminished our national unity of feeling, it has also affected our social tone. The word 'honour' may be said to be one which Englishmen pride themselves on understanding by instinct. It has a feudal origin; the moral code which it implies is one that is primarily framed for aristocracy; it can only be truly understood by 'gentlemen.' And though its sense has been modified by changes of society, though much of its significance has been destroyed by the predominance of commercial standards and of city life, though it has to contend with such rival ideals as competition, self-help, success, and the like, it is still a great force in English society, and differs, as light from darkness, from the Italian quality described by the same word. The latter is defined by Mr. Symonds in the following striking passage:—

'The mental atmosphere was critical and highly intellectualised. Mental ability combined with personal daring gave rank. But the very subtlety and force of mind, which formed the strength of the Italians, proved hostile to any delicate sentiment of honour. Analysis enfeebles the tact and spontaneity of feeling which constitute its strongest safeguard. All this is obvious in the ethics of the "Principe." What most astounds us in that treatise is the assumption that no man will be bound by laws of honour *when utility or the object in view require their sacrifice*. Although the Italians were not lacking in integrity, honesty, probity, or pride, their positive and highly analytical genius was but little influenced by that chivalrous honour which was an enthusiasm and a religion to the feudal nations, surviving the decay of chivalry as a preservative instinct more undefinable than absolute morality. Honour with the northern gentry was subjective; with the Italians *Onore* was objective—an addition conferred from without in the shape of reputation, glory, titles of distinction, or offices of trust.'

To show by particular instances the gradual advances which have been made by English society towards the Italian ideal of honour would be improper, even if it were possible. Nevertheless it is sufficiently obvious that we have left at a considerable distance Burke's ideal of that 'chastity of honour that felt a stain as a wound,' and the enthusiasm of Hotspur:—

'By heaven, methinks, it were an easy leap  
To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon,  
Or dive into the bottom of the deep,  
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,  
And pluck up drownéd honour by the locks.'

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And to come down to a more ordinary level, we think it is demonstrable that the lapse of a hundred years has made a vast change in the standard of this most spiritual quality. The test of measurement we propose is a comparison of the views on this subject of two popular writers of English fiction. A novelist is never far in advance of the opinions of his readers, and if he has many readers, we may fairly accept his fiction as an adequate representation of the spirit of his times. The two writers we would select for comparison are Fielding and Mr. Trollope. Both of them are representative men. Fielding is a great English classic, and of Mr. Trollope an eminent contemporary has lately said, 'We have little hesitation in asserting that the present generation owes a larger debt of gratitude to him than to any other writer of fiction living or lately dead.\*' Both of them are painters of common life, delighting in the representation of common types of character, and in the treatment of common situations of moral casuistry.

But with these superficial resemblances the agreement ends. Fielding's casuistry is wholesome, open, and intelligible. For instance, all of us agree with Allworthy in thinking on the whole better of Jones for the lie by which, at the expense of a severe beating to himself, he kept the gamekeeper whom he had employed from losing his place. His lie was due to a mistaken sense of honour. To whatever depths of degradation Jones on other occasions descended, his fall was the result of passion, not of want of principle:—

'Mr. Jones,' says his biographer, 'had something about him which, though I think writers are not thoroughly agreed in its name, doth certainly inhabit some human breasts; whose use is not so properly to distinguish right from wrong as to promote and incite them to the former and withhold them from the latter; . . . though he did not always act rightly yet he never did otherwise without feeling and suffering for it.'

Very different are the representative heroes of Mr. Trollope, the Eameses, Crosbies, Newtons, and Finns. All of these are the embodiment of the spirit of vacillation, being neither good nor bad, but souls whom Dante would unceremoniously have condemned to the outer circle of his 'Inferno.' They do wrong, not from any 'subtlety or force of mind,' like the Italians described by Mr. Symonds, but simply because their principle of honour is utterly inadequate to withstand the immediate seductions of pleasure. Thus Phineas Finn, on learning from

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\* 'Edinburgh Review,' October, 1877.



a woman with whom he is in love that she is engaged to another man, says, 'As we are parting, give me one kiss, that I may think of it and treasure it in my memory.' Immediately afterwards he sees little dishonour in making love to another girl, though his intimate friend has confided to him that he is trying to gain her affection, and still less dishonour in asking his former lover to aid him in his suit. Not content with this, and while still in love with Violet Effingham, on falling in with a third heroine for whom he had felt a boyish affection, he feels that 'he would like to take her in his arms and kiss her.' All he did, in fact, was to press her hand and say, 'Dear Mary, things will get themselves settled at last, I suppose.' Upon which Mr. Trollope naively remarks, 'He was behaving very ill to her, but he did not mean to behave ill.' And indeed society in general is as lenient in its view of Mr. Finn's character as the novelist himself; for he appears to be regarded by all the men as a manly and honourable person; he is loved by every woman he meets; he obtains an Under-Secretaryship of State; and attains to truly heroic stature, on resigning his post from sentimental considerations, and marrying the lady to whom he had behaved badly without meaning it.

Lest it should be supposed we are wronging Mr. Trollope by the selection of a single instance, we quote an apology which he himself makes for another of his 'shilly-shally' heroes—an apology which we consider as one of the gravest possible symptoms of the growth in society of a diseased self-consciousness:—

'What youth in his imagination cannot be as brave and as loving, though as hopeless in his love, as Harry Esmond? Alas! no one would wish to be as was Ralph Newton! But for one Harry Esmond there are fifty Ralph Newtons—five hundred and fifty of them; and the very youth whose bosom glows with admiration as he reads of Harry, who exults in the idea that as Harry did so would he have done, lives as Ralph lived, is less noble, less persistent, less of a man than was even Ralph Newton. . . . Should we not be taught to see the men and women among whom we really live—men and women such as are we ourselves—in order that we may know what are the exact failings which oppress ourselves, and thus learn to hate, and if possible to avoid in life, faults of character which in life are hardly visible, but which in portraiture of life can be made so transparent?'

Certainly, if these faults *are* made transparent. But if on the contrary the novelist by his refined casuistry makes it appear that his characters were not so bad after all, that their actions were not unnatural under the circumstances, were indeed so much the reverse that in the same position the reader would probably

probably have done the same—if, beside this, the heroes whose errors their chronicler so pathetically laments suffer for them neither inwardly nor outwardly, but are liked by men, petted by women, marry Earls' daughters, get into Parliament, become Cabinet Ministers—we doubt very much whether we shall all be inclined to judge their failings with the severity Mr. Trollope demands from us. Indeed, it rather appears to us that in such representation of life the moral to be drawn by any man of sense is, that he is a fool who allows himself to be bound by the traditional laws of honour 'when utility, or the object in view, demands their sacrifice;' and that the real end to achieve is that 'objective *onore*, additions conferred from without in the shape of reputation, glory, titles of distinction, or offices of trust.'

Lastly, the spirit of the Italian Renaissance is manifesting itself in our art and letters. As the foundations of our national and spiritual life were laid before the genius of ancient learning reached our shores, we never became subject to the latter as Rome became subject to Greece. We adopted the architecture of the Renaissance, and though we gave it no new development, this was for the very sufficient reason that it had reached a stage at which original invention was no longer possible. From Italy, again, we derived a school of painting, which, if it produced nothing so sublime or devotional as the masters from whom it learned, has preserved to us in a truly original form the features of a heroic race of statesmen, soldiers, and actors, the manners of a still chivalrous nobility, and the charms of unrivalled female beauty. But it is our literature of imagination which, above all our other arts, illustrates our ancient fashion of opening the franchise to external influences that seem designed to benefit without destroying the English character. Shakespeare is full of the spirit of free learning, but, though he is never dogmatic, the moral sentiment in his more simply human dramas is as catholic, as in his historical dramas it is feudal. Spenser, who of all our early writers most closely approaches to the spirit of the Renaissance in Italy, has yet a 'Gothic and monkish groundwork' for his 'Faery Queen.' Milton achieved the unprecedented feat of harmonising Puritan feeling with classic form. All the best poets, essayists, and novelists of the eighteenth century accept the Christian code as their starting-point of morality, while deriving from the classics the vigour, beauty, and clearness of their style.

In the second quarter of this century the self-conscious current of thought set strongly in. Many of the component parts of the nation betrayed an intention of following an independent line

line of action. Not to speak of the great Reform Bill, the pretensions of the more extreme High Churchmen revived the idea of the ancient independence of the Church, and encouraged the Renaissance of Gothic architecture. The revolt of art from the hideous aspect of things produced by the enormous development of manufacturing industry, gave rise to the Renaissance commonly known as pre-Raphaelism. And the gradual separation that has been taking place between literature and action, between the men of culture and the body of the nation, has ended in a Renaissance in which the champions of 'liberal' education seek to impose on Englishmen a standard of taste that goes by the cant name of Hellenism. They are attempting to revive Paganism as did the Humanists of medieval Italy, and [with the same results. As their sentiment lacks real vitality, form predominates over matter; mannerism takes the place of substance; affectation expels good breeding. In this way the very men who defend (and rightly) the 'literæ humaniores' against physical science, as the best *basis* of liberal education, are giving a handle to their antagonists by their own estrangement from common sympathies. It is a striking comment on our modern English Renaissance, that at the very moment when Hellenism is being held up before us as the mirror of perfection, the University of Oxford has taken the first step towards discouraging the study of Greek. What happened under similar circumstances in Italy?—

'To some extent,' says Mr. Symonds, 'the Italian scholars had prepared their own suicide by tending more and more to subtleties of taste and affectations of refinement. The purism of the sixteenth century was itself a sort of etiolation, and the puerilities of the Academies distracted even able men from serious studies. It was one of the inevitable drawbacks of humanism that the new culture separated men of letters from the nation. Dante and the wool-carders of the fourteenth century understood each other; there was no thick veil of erudition between the teacher and the taught. But neither Bembo nor Pomponazzo had anything to say that could be comprehended by the common folk. Therefore scholarship was left in mournful isolation; suspected when it passed from trifles to grave speculation by the Church; viewed with indifference by the people; unsustained by any sympathy, and, what was worse, without a programme or a watchword.'

Mr. Symonds must furnish us with one word more:—

'The organisation of the five great nations,' says he, 'and the levelling of political and spiritual interests under political and spiritual despots, formed the prelude of that drama of liberty of which the Renaissance was the first act, the Reformation the second, the  
**Revolution**

Revolution the third, and which we nations of the present are still evolving in the establishment of the democratic idea.

How far we in England, with our mixed constitution still unimpaired, have advanced on this course of evolution, may be inferred from other symptoms besides those on which we have just dwelt. What will be the close of the drama as far as we are concerned? It is difficult to imagine any increase of our empire, of our wealth, or, *within the Constitution*, of our liberty. Two ideals of action present themselves to the imagination. One is a continued progress of the individual towards the attainment of 'self-conscious freedom;' the other is the consolidation and maintenance of our empire on the existing base of *constitutional* freedom. Between these two ideals we must make our choice, and Mr. Lowe has given us timely warning against the tendency to believe that our act of choice is determined by fate. What is really fatal is the *consequence* of our action. Up to a certain point a nation's destiny is in its own power; but it may commit itself to a course which is irrevocable:

'And when we fall, we fall like Lucifer,  
Never to hope again.'

The course that will be open to us, if we make 'the attainment of self-conscious freedom' our goal, has been indicated with engaging rhetoric. We shall encourage culture, which we are told is the study of perfection, or the development of our *best self* by the light of right reason:—

'We are sure,' says the chief vindicator of this creed, 'that the endeavour to reach, through culture, the firm intelligible law of things, we are sure that the detaching ourselves from our stock notions and habits, that a more free play of consciousness, an increased desire for sweetness and light, and all the bent which we call Hellenising, is the master-impulse now of the life of our nation and of humanity—somewhat obscurely perhaps for this moment, but decisively for the immediate future—and that those who work for this are the sovereign educators. Docile echoes of the eternal voice, pliant organs of the infinite will, they are going along with the essential movement of the world; and this is their strength, and their happy and divine fortune.'

Now, if we were living in a perfect world, if there were no such evil as self-deception, if we were so simply constituted that we could always reason rightly by merely willing to do so, no doubt this ideal would be extremely satisfactory, and nobody would think of disputing advice that would sound almost commonplace. Mr. Arnold's mistake—if we may venture to use such a word—lies in his supposing it can be demonstrated that his 'best self' is identical with 'the firm intelligible law of things.' For  
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our own part, we give the Dissenters more credit than Mr. Arnold does for believing that they are acting up to the law of their best self and of right reason, in promoting their principle of religious equality by agitating for Disestablishment. We have not the least doubt that there are many benevolent directors of Trades' Unions, who conceive that the practice of 'rattening' is conducive to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Other Liberals there are, who think that we should cut adrift from our colonies, in order that by reducing our estimates we may hasten the advent of the millennium. Mr. Arnold, who, notwithstanding his creed, has a certain loftiness of soul, does not regard these ideals as based 'on the intelligible law of things,' but the Dissenters, the trades' unionists, and the Manchester Liberals do so regard them, and we are not sure that even Mr. Arnold could convince them that he was right and they were wrong. Thus, by developing the supposed best self in a number of different directions, without reference to authority or tradition, we might soon bring about a separation between Church and State, capital and labour, mother-country and colonies. Then, no longer hampered by authority or by the sense of imperial obligation, we should have a fair field for the cultivation of perfect individual self-consciousness. And to judge from present evidence, in the number and acrimony of our sects, our intellectual activity would be a match for that of the Athenian philosophers and the medieval schoolmen. But with all our men of parts engaged in settling the first principles of existence, where would then be 'that temperate and joyous life' to which Mr. Arnold and Mr. Symonds so eloquently beckon us?

And our disunion would not end here. Can we not imagine in such a state of things some modern Lucian consoling, in the language of his Greek original, some earnest Hermotimus whose favourite system he has just undermined?

'Why should you cry, my friend?' he would say, after showing him that the professors of all other sects were equally positive, equally intolerant, and equally wrong; 'there is true wisdom I think in Æsop's old fable, in which he describes a man sitting on the shore close to the sea, counting the waves, and angry and vexed when he failed, till at last the fox came and stood by him, and said: 'Why trouble yourself, my good fellow, about those that are gone, when you might leave them and begin to count those that are to come?' So you, too, since you have made up your mind to it, will do better for the future, by determining to lead a common-sense life; you will mix with the world, avoiding all eccentric and extravagant hopes, and if you are wise you won't be ashamed, old as you are, of making your recantation and coming back to the better way.\*'

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\* Lucian, 'Hermotimus.'

Such consolation might suffice for the ancient Greek ; it will not suffice for the modern sceptic. When the nations of antiquity lost the incitement of political action, their 'common sense' caused them to turn with few misgivings to the solaces of animal and intellectual enjoyment. But now that Christianity has firmly rooted in our moral nature the ideas of sin, of repentance, of responsibility, no such social agreement will be possible. 'As Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled.' Fourteen centuries later, when Savonarola preached on the same theme, the careless citizens of Florence also trembled. The generations that have since passed have produced no change in the constitution of the mind. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that, by a general consent, the Christian law, which has hitherto regulated our opinions and sentiments, were abrogated, is it not plain that there would at once be an irreconcilable division between the animal and spiritual instincts of our nature? At one time, as in the case of the men whom Boccaccio describes driven by terror and despair to reckless revelling in the midst of the plague, the greater part of society might seek to exclude the thoughts of future existence in excesses more extravagant than those of the Pagan world. At another time, like the Piagnoni of Florence, they might repent in sackcloth and ashes. But moderation would be impossible. The recoil from sensual gratification would be temporary, but ever recurring ; indulgence would alternate with repentance ; debauchery with monasticism ; the balance of social intercourse would be destroyed by the successive predominance of opposite extremes.

We have imagined such a development of self-consciousness and individuality as might destroy patriotism and *established* religion. It may be that this is the goal towards which we are moving :

ἔσσειται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή,  
καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

But we protest with all our heart against the belief that we are being carried in this direction, whether we will or no. If we should ever lose our position as a nation, it will be because we have indulged some selfish principle of our nature, whether love of money, or of ease, or of power, without consideration of the well-being of the whole State. At present it is in our choice to postulate the truth of historical Christianity, and the political necessity of the English constitution, as the first and settled principles of English life. We have *proved* by centuries of experience, that under this order of life it is possible for the

individual to enjoy almost complete liberty and at the same time to discharge with honour his recognised duties. Supposing, then, this to be taken as our starting-point, there is nothing so rigid in our religion or our constitution as to prevent their application to modern circumstances. If we consider the extraordinary amount of agreement and variety observable in the character of English statesmen of different periods, such as Cecil and Burke; in philosophers like Bacon and Locke; in divines like Butler and Whately; above all, in men of imagination like Shakespeare and Scott, we shall find it hard to disbelieve in the existence of a national spirit adapting itself from age to age to the changes of an unbroken historical constitution. In the presence of this great and majestic tradition we shall be content to submit our individual desires to an ideal more extensive and profound than any that our own imagination can create. We shall understand in the fullest sense the meaning of the oath of Demosthenes on the souls of his ancestors. We shall perceive the mutual action and reaction of the English character and the English constitution, the mixture of prudence and magnanimity, of reverence and independence, of popular energy and aristocratic pride, that have by slow degrees acquired for us an empire of almost boundless extent. It is our lot not to augment our empire, but to maintain and consolidate it. And this can only be done if we are at the pains to preserve the local, national, and religious liberties out of which the empire has grown, and to make some of those sacrifices of self which Demosthenes vainly required of the Athenians. We do not want our men of taste to hold up half despairingly before our eyes models which we have not the power to imitate; we want them rather to use all their imagination in making the public spirit as manly and patriotic as that of the men to whom we owe our greatness. If we make this our national ideal, we admit that in our perception of formal beauty we are unlikely to rival the Greeks or the Italians; but we may experience that sense of compensation which inspired the noblest and proudest lines of the Roman poet:—

‘*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus;  
Orabunt causas molius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;  
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,  
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.’*

- ART. II.—1. *Science and Man*. By Professor Tyndall. Fort-nightly Review. November 1, 1877.  
 2. *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im modernen Staat*. Von Rudolf Virchow. Berlin, 1877.  
 3. *The Worth of Life: An Address, &c.* By William, Lord Archbishop of York. London, 1877.

THE office of the popular Lecturer on Science has of late years assumed very considerable prominence; and this prominence is founded upon legitimate claims which daily tend to increase in urgency. The constant advance of Science is alike the characteristic marvel and the characteristic influence of our day. The world has just been astonished by a new discovery, which, in practical usefulness, may surpass even that of the Electric Telegraph. The Telephone bids fair to bring the whole world within speaking distance, and thus to annihilate space in relation to the most essential of all means for communicating thought. Telegraphic communication may be expected before long to be relieved of its main disadvantage—that of brevity; and at the next Conference of Constantinople our Foreign Minister in London may converse as freely as our Ambassador with the Grand Vizier. But it may be doubted whether even discoveries of this magnitude exceed in importance the more modest and silent achievements of modern Science. On all the external circumstances of life it is throwing a light which must exert a vital influence at once upon education, upon society, and upon legislation. It is exhibiting the momentous importance of innumerable points which have been hitherto neglected as almost beneath notice, and is revealing for the first time the elementary conditions of many a problem which has hitherto baffled the most ardent reformers and the most enlightened legislators. We have placed among the books at the head of this Paper, to which we would refer the reader, an Address by the Archbishop of York, delivered last October before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. It is an Address which will in every respect repay thoughtful perusal; but there is one sentence at the conclusion which seems to need some qualification, if it is to be brought into harmony with the general spirit of the discourse. ‘Science,’ says the Archbishop, ‘is for the few; duty is universal. Science shall adorn and delight some leisure hours; but duty is about us at every step.’ There exists, in point of fact, no such positive antithesis. On the contrary, it is the grand achievement of Science in the present day to have proved that the observance in every-



every-day life of many of her precepts is nothing less than a matter of the gravest duty. She has long ceased to exist only for the few, and perhaps her chief importance now is for the many. The welfare of the few has always been comparatively independent of the external circumstances of daily existence; whereas upon those circumstances the welfare of the many is in an incalculable degree dependent. A man in comfortable circumstances may often neglect physiological principles with comparative impunity; for if he falls ill, he can probably afford himself the remedies and the rest necessary for his recovery. But similar neglect among the poor is every day entailing upon them disease, death, and the consequent destitution of their families. It is only necessary to mention, in passing, the conspicuous illustration of the importance of Science to the many, afforded by the mechanical arts, some of which have of late years been revolutionized by physical and chemical discoveries, and have introduced a consequent change in the condition of whole classes of handicraftsmen.

Such being the vast importance of modern Science to the community, it is proportionately of consequence that its principles and its definite discoveries should be made generally known, and should be explained in such manner as to attract the popular imagination, and to enter fully into the popular mind. Thus to diffuse, however, the results of Science is a matter of far greater difficulty than might be at first supposed. It is one thing to procure the intellectual assent of the readers of a magazine or of a newspaper to some scientific discovery or demonstration, and a different thing altogether to ensure that the same readers shall comprehend the discovery in practice, that they shall grasp its principle, and appreciate its bearings upon the daily realities of life. In ordinary cases, no practical knowledge is really acquired until it is brought home to the five senses—until it is seen, handled, and felt. The difficulty is not experienced merely among the uneducated. Many of the middle or even of the upper classes, who take a sincere pleasure in scientific knowledge, appear blind to its bearings on such matters as the ventilation of their houses or the education of their children, and seem indifferent to the increasing opportunities it affords them for comfort and for economy. They ride by railway, and they occasionally send messages by telegraph; but in most other respects they are content to live as their grandfathers did—to run the same risks and to commit the same blunders and extravagances. Unfortunately, moreover, the utility of many of the results of modern Science depends mainly upon the intelligent and cordial co-operation of the community at large. It is of little use, for instance,

instance, building model lodging-houses and providing them with improved methods of drainage and ventilation, when all appliances are sure to be obstructed and nullified by the unintelligent recklessness of those who use them. There is a good story of a classical scholar who bought a first-rate barometer. When it was delivered he puzzled himself greatly over the Vernier attached to the scale, and at length sent the instrument back, pointing out to the maker that there must be some mistake, since the scales of the Vernier and of the barometer itself did not agree. The world at large is similarly apt to admire Science from a distance, to read about it, and to buy some of its inventions, while remaining ignorant of their nature, and incapable of applying them. It is the special office of the scientific Lecturer to overcome this difficulty. In a manner peculiar to himself, he stands between the scientific discoverers of his age and the public at large, and he interprets to the world the secrets which the masters of modern philosophy extort from Nature. He may be one of those discoverers himself, as was Faraday, and there is in some respects a great advantage in such a combination of the two functions. The necessity of popular exposition assists a man of Science in bringing his ideas and observations into clear and definite shape; while to be a real student prevents a Lecturer from becoming a mere exhibitor of wonders, and ensures his affording instruction as well as amusement to the public. It rests, however, with those who have this gift of popular exposition to bring the truths of Science really home to the people at large. The ordinary public will not study them in books, and perhaps they could not. A certain amount of ocular demonstration is essential; and a few judicious experiments may have more effect than hours of abstract argument. The Lecturer, at all events, can show the application of principles; he can conciliate and attract his audience: he can gain attention for what is useful under the guise of what is pleasant; and can render his hearers unconsciously familiar with even the recondite truths of his Science. There is nothing in such a function unworthy of the highest talents. In all subjects there is no duty more important than that of interpreting truth to the people at large, and bringing it home to 'men's business and bosoms.' In dealing with sacred truth, the Preacher discharges a function not inferior in dignity to that of the Theologian; and if a great man of Science be also a successful Lecturer, it might be hard to say in which capacity he confers the greater benefit upon his fellows.

But the higher the value of such an office, the greater is the importance of its being exercised with discretion, and of its not  
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being discredited by the abuse of its opportunities. So far as such discredit is cast upon it, the inevitable result must be to arouse suspicion, not merely against the Lecturer himself, but against the great subject he represents, and thus to retard among the community the appreciation or the progress of scientific truth. Clergymen who misuse their pulpits to discuss subjects of which they have no real knowledge, and to disparage Science, are sure, at all events, to discredit Religion; and, similarly, scientific Lecturers who make use of their platforms to disparage religious and moral truths, with which at the same time they display a most imperfect acquaintance, must inevitably damage, with a large portion of the public, the just influence of Science. This may, indeed, be the least of the injuries they inflict. Moral and religious convictions are more sensitive, because more vital elements in our organisation than opinions and beliefs on other subjects, and a man who goes beyond his province, while also transcending the bounds of his knowledge, for the purpose of undermining such convictions, may inflict irreparable injury upon individuals, and, at all events, commits a grave offence against society.

These cautions, we regret to say, are prompted by no imaginary danger, and are suggested by no insignificant name. Professor Tyndall has justly attained an honourable place among those who combine the two offices just mentioned; and though not greatly distinguished for original researches in the fields of Natural Science, he possesses a conspicuous capacity for expounding the results of scientific discoveries to popular audiences. In experiment, in illustration, in lucid exposition, he is among Lecturers of the present day unsurpassed, if not unrivalled; and he has thus won, in an unusual degree, the ear of the public. He is not only a welcome Lecturer, alike to adults and to children, at the Royal Institution, but he is sure of a large and attentive audience in any town in the kingdom. There are few men, in fact, who have done more to render scientific truth familiar to the public at large; and the obligations under which he has thus placed his countrymen will always be gratefully acknowledged. But for this reason it is the less possible to avoid raising a protest when he misuses his position, and thus sets an example which might become a dangerous and mischievous precedent. More than once, in recent years, Professor Tyndall had severely tried the patience, not merely of the public, but of a large number of his scientific brethren, by the rashness with which he had intruded his speculations into regions far beyond those which are properly the province of the Professor of Natural Science. He had discoursed  
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on the office of the Imagination in Science, and had shown that his practice improved upon his preaching. At Belfast, as President of the British Association, he had transcended all the limits of time and space, and had declared that with the retrospective glance of genius he discerned in Matter the promise and the potency of all existence. But the public are well aware that the capacity to do good work is often associated with an inordinate sense of its importance, and they are always very tolerant of an able man who is riding his hobby too hard. Professor Tyndall did no good to the cause of Science, and he strengthened the very cause he desired to weaken, by such statements as he made at Belfast. Still, he was there, to a certain extent, on his own ground. Nominally, if not actually, he was addressing a Society of Philosophers; and if it was for once agreeable to them to leave the terrestrial regions of philosophy, and pass into the superlunary realms of metaphysics, it was for them, more than for the public at large, to remonstrate.

But the case, we submit, is different when Professor Tyndall appears distinctly in the capacity of Lecturer to a popular audience. He is then simply in the position of a public teacher, and he shares a teacher's responsibilities. His audience is not supposed to be qualified, as at the British Association, to test his suggestions and make allowance for his speculations. They come as learners, and submit themselves for an hour to his guidance. It is surely a Lecturer's duty, under such circumstances, to restrict himself to the elucidation of truths which he knows to be conclusively established, which are within the range of his own scientific knowledge, and in respect to which he may be sure that he cannot well be misleading his hearers. Common modesty and common courtesy should prevent him from intruding into other fields and disparaging the authority of other teachers. Above all, when his speculations, whatever may be their value, affect the highest problems of life and the very foundations of conduct, he ought scrupulously to abstain from throwing them broadcast before an audience which he may unsettle on such matters, but which he cannot guide. We are compelled, however, plainly to express our conviction that, in the Address which is named at the head of this article, Professor Tyndall has most seriously offended against these obligations. He appears to us, indeed—and we shall call as a witness in support of our complaint one of the most distinguished men of Science in Europe—to have violated the obligations of a man of Science no less than of a popular Lecturer. There is no greater offence against the true spirit of Science than to announce and to assume as a demonstrated truth that which

is only a probable opinion; and this is equally true, no matter what the degree of the apparent probability. For a distinguished philosopher to employ his authority in such a manner is either a damaging error of judgment or it is a betrayal of trust. Professor Tyndall, as we shall see, has placed himself between these alternatives. But he has gone further; and on a popular occasion, when he was invited as an instructor and a guide, he has employed his influence, and the credit of Science itself, to insinuate doubts respecting one of the primary truths of Morality, and respecting the elementary principles of the Christian Religion. It appears to us that such an offence, alike in the interests of Science and of Morality, deserves a prompt exposure and a severe reprobation.

The Address in question was delivered on the first of October last, before the Birmingham and Midland Institute. It is entitled 'Science and Man;' and it raises, without pretending to solve, that which is perhaps the most difficult problem which scientific thought has yet suggested to us. The first part of the Address is occupied with various illustrations of the great doctrine known as the 'Conservation of Energy.' This doctrine was essentially involved in Newton's law, that Action and Reaction are equal and opposite; but in the present day the discovery of the interchangeableness of natural forces—of their interchangeableness, moreover, in definite proportions—has thrown a new illumination over the whole field of natural science. It was known, of course, long ago that a cannon-ball, if suddenly checked in its course by a target, produced heat. But the cardinal discovery of late years consists in the establishment of a fixed relation between the velocity and the mass on the one hand, and the heat generated on the other. We are now justified in assuming, as a general rule, that every physical force which disappears in one form reappears, or becomes only latent, in another. It is a familiar saying with respect to Matter, that none of it is destroyed, but that whatever seems to disappear, like fuel, in the operations of nature, is but reproduced in another shape. It is a precisely similar principle which has now been extended from Matter to the Forces which act upon Matter; and it has become a cardinal principle of modern Science, a starting-point for new investigations and a basis of calculation, that whatever force is lost in one form is developed in another, so that if a force seems to have disappeared, it becomes a duty to attempt to discover its hiding-place. We need not follow Dr. Tyndall in the various instances he gives of the operation of this natural law. He is here on his own ground, and we are glad to listen to him without reserve. Nor need we, at least for the purposes of our argument,

argument, hesitate to submit ourselves to his guidance in applying the same law to the physical relations of the human frame. There is one phrase in the following extract to which objection may be taken; but in substance it appears an unexceptionable statement of facts of physical Science:

‘No engine, however subtly devised, can evade this law of equivalence, or perform on its own account the smallest modicum of work. The machine distributes, but it cannot create. Is the animal body, then, to be classed among machines? When I lift a weight, or throw a stone, or climb a mountain, or wrestle with my comrade, am I not conscious of actually creating and expending force? Let us look to the antecedents of this force. We derive the muscle and fat of our bodies from what we eat. Animal heat you know to be due to the slow combustion of this fuel. My arm is now inactive, and the ordinary slow combustion of my blood and tissue is going on. For every grain of fuel thus burnt a perfectly definite amount of heat has been produced. I now contract my biceps muscle without causing it to perform external work. The combustion is quickened, and the heat is increased; this additional heat being liberated in the muscle itself. I lay hold of a 56 lb. weight, and by the contraction of my biceps lift it through the vertical space of a foot. The blood and tissue consumed during this contraction have not developed in the muscle their due amount of heat. A quantity of heat is at this moment missing in my muscle which would raise the temperature of an ounce of water somewhat more than one degree Fahrenheit. I liberate the weight; it falls to the earth, and by its collision generates the precise amount of heat missing in the muscle. My muscular heat is thus transferred from its local hearth to external space. The fuel is consumed in my body, but the heat of combustion is produced outside my body. The case is substantially the same as that of the Voltaic battery when it performs external work, or produces external heat. All this points to the conclusion that the force we employ in muscular exertion is the force of burning fuel and not of creative will. In the light of these facts the body is seen to be as incapable of generating energy without expenditure, as the solids and liquids of the Voltaic battery. The body, in other words, falls into the category of machines.’

The phrase to which we object in this extract is the gratuitous interpolation—‘not of creative will’—by which the lecturer indicates and misrepresents the moral principle he is about to assail. At this point we begin to pass from the positive to the negative side of Professor Tyndall’s Address, and for the remainder, and the greater part of it, he is chiefly occupied not in the positive exposition of physical science, but in the negative criticism of received truths of morality and religion. We by no means say that the Professor’s attack is conducted with deliberate intention, and he is welcome to the

the benefit of whatever excuse he may derive from being evidently ill-acquainted with the principles and beliefs on which he is throwing disrespect; though it may be a question whether this thoughtlessness on such a subject be not an aggravation of the offence. But there can be no doubt, as we have said, that the view thus presented by physical Science respecting the action of our bodily organism exhibits anew, and in what is in some measure a fresh aspect, the old problem how the free will of man and the distinct existence of the human soul are to be reconciled with the regular course and constitution of nature. The problem we repeat, is an old one, and has occupied great reasoners from time immemorial. It has presented itself sometimes in a purely theological form, in the attempt to bring the theory of predestination and the facts of the human will and consciousness within the grasp of a logical system. But this ancient problem acquires no doubt a novel and more vivid shape under the influence of the physical law of the 'conservation of energy.' So far as that law applies to the case—and it would be rash to assume that it applies without reserve or qualification—every exertion of force within the body, whether of brain, of muscle, or of nerve, must have had a physical antecedent, and must have a physical consequent. All these are linked together by mutual action and re-action, and the question arises whether there remains any room for the interposition of the independent energy of the consciousness and of the will. Contemplating the body from the physical side exclusively, man would be thus reduced to the condition of a mere animal machine, and a philosopher who confines himself to this view may be tempted to doubt whether the venerable conceptions of the existence of the soul and of the freedom of the will are not in some way illusive. If, however, he be a man of ordinary wisdom, not to say modesty, he does not fail to reflect at once that it would be the rashest speculation thus to confine himself to one aspect of so great a mystery as human nature. He cannot fail to recognise that the moral life of mankind, their loftiest hopes and their most permanent efforts, have been bound up with this belief in the existence of the Soul and in Free Will; and however he may be forced to meditate on the difficulty himself, he reserves it for silent and mature consideration, or for grave discussion in learned society.

But Dr. Tyndall is not restrained by any such scruples, and he launches at once into the great problem of the nature of the human soul and of the human will. He repeats the well-known illustration, given by Lange, of the manner in which all the functions

functions of the mind and body may be set in motion by the slightest conceivable impulse upon the nerves. A merchant sitting at ease has a telegram delivered to him announcing the failure of some firm with which he is in correspondence. Instantly he starts from his chair, orders his carriage, drives to the Bank, sends telegrams and writes letters, and then drives home. 'This complex mass of action, emotional, intellectual, and mechanical, is evoked by the impact upon the retina of the infinitesimal waves of light coming from a few pencil marks on a bit of paper.' The impulse which set in motion all this display of force came from the centre of the nervous system. But how did it originate there? Professor Tyndall supposes two answers, which he treats as mutually exclusive. Some persons, he says, would reply, 'the human soul.' But he proceeds to argue that this is to attempt to explain what is known by what is unknown. We cannot 'mentally visualize the soul as an entity distinct from the body,' and the use of the very term 'Soul' is therefore unscientific. 'From the side of Science, all that we are warranted in stating is that the terror, hope, sensation, and calculation of Lange's merchant are physical phenomena produced by, or associated with, the molecular processes set up by waves of light in a previously prepared brain.' But even Professor Tyndall feels compelled to take notice of one fact, which is outside the range of his physical observation. He cannot but recognise that the merchant's excitement is accompanied by consciousness, and he puts the question how this arises. 'What,' he asks, 'is the causal connection, if any, between the objective and the subjective—between molecular motions and states of consciousness? My answer is: I do not see the connection, nor have I as yet met anybody who does.' We are here, he says, upon the boundary line of the intellect 'where the ordinary canons of Science fail to extricate us from our difficulties.' If we are true to these canons, we must, he maintains, deny to subjective phenomena all influence on physical processes. Observation, he admits, proves that they interact, but in passing from one to the other we meet a blank which 'mechanical deduction' is unable to fill. 'Frankly stated, we have here to deal with facts almost as difficult to be seized mentally as the idea of a soul. And if you are content to make your "soul" a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary physical laws, I, for one, would not object to this exercise of ideality.'

It is difficult to say whether the incoherence or the presumption of this argument is the more surprising. Professor Tyndall,  
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on the basis of a certain physical law, ridicules the notion that the hypothesis of a human soul affords any explanation of his typical merchant's movements. It is treated by him as equally obsolete with another notion, at which he also casts occasional sneers throughout this Address. 'On the same ground,' he says, 'the anthropomorphic notion of a creative architect, endowed with manlike powers of indefinite magnitude, is to be regarded with consideration. It marks a phase of theoretic activity which the human race could not escape, and our present objection to such a notion rests upon its incongruity with our knowledge.' But having thus pushed aside as unscientific the idea of a human soul, Professor Tyndall is immediately compelled to admit that there are facts of human consciousness which are totally unaccounted for by the physical laws on which he has been insisting. 'Frankly stated, we have to deal here with facts almost as difficult to be seized mentally as the idea of a soul.' In other words, he acknowledges that in the instance of the merchant something occurs which he does not understand, and he nevertheless persists in assuming that the only things to be considered in accounting for the merchant's action are those which he does understand. If, as he says, 'the production of motion by consciousness is unrepresentable to the mind,' how does he know in what manner or degree this unknown element of consciousness—in other words, of the soul—may determine the merchant's action? Professor Tyndall affords a new and striking repetition of Don Quixote's treatment of his helmet. Instead of a complete helmet, the knight found he possessed only a single headpiece. 'However, his industry supplied that defect, for with some pasteboard he made a kind of half beaver or vizor, which, being fitted to the headpiece, made it look like an entire helmet.' But with the very first stroke this imperfect helmet fell to pieces. The knight was disconcerted, but again patched it up so artificially that at last he had reason to be satisfied with the solidity of the work, 'and so, without any further experiment, he resolved it should pass, to all intents and purposes, for a full and sufficient helmet.' Professor Tyndall, however, is even less scientific. He finds an enormous gap in his theory which he avows his inability to fill up, even artificially; but nevertheless he resolves that it shall pass, to all intents and purposes, for a full and sufficient theory. 'If we are true,' he says, 'to physical canons'—that is to say if we exclude all other canons whatever—'we must deny to subjective phenomena all influence on physical processes;' and yet, as he adds, in the very next sentence:—'observation proves that

that they interact.' It is not often that a writer claiming to be scientific asserts in one sentence a principle which he admits in the next to be contrary to observation.

But even more surprising is the presumption of the Professor's final concession. 'If,' he condescendingly says, 'you are content to make your "soul" a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary physical laws, I, for one, would not object to this exercise of ideality.' That is to say, if we are content to limit our conception of our souls to that negative aspect of them which may be afforded by physical Science, Professor Tyndall will graciously permit us to talk about them. We are to assume that all our knowledge of human nature is limited by the discoveries of the Professor and his friends, and we are to remodel our modes of speech accordingly; but if we will humbly submit our vocabulary to their interpretation, one of these philosophers, at all events, will consent to our using the immemorial language of civilised mankind! We are sometimes disposed to apprehend that the sense of humour is dying out of our generation. There is something portentous in the solemnity of our leading magazines, presenting as they do, month by month, some new solution of the problem of the universe on Comtist, or mathematical, or physical principles, and each new discoverer appearing more serious than the last. We long for half an hour of Swift or Pope to afford us a hearty laugh at all this solemn impertinence. But Pope's own Goddess of Dulness must have established her empire over the Midland Institute if they were not sensible of the humorous incongruity of the attitude assumed by their Lecturer. Professor Tyndall, on a platform at Birmingham, condescending, 'for one,' to allow the human race to talk about their souls, affords a picture which is not surpassed in the 'Dunciad.' But if it be necessary in these ungenial days to treat with seriousness such an amusing exhibition of unconscious vanity, it is only necessary to remind the reader for a moment of all that Professor Tyndall neglects in this crude definition. Men have learned to talk about their souls, not because in the explanation of life on physical principles they found themselves unable to account for the 'emergence of consciousness,' but because they have in all ages been sensible of high moral and spiritual faculties which seemed to reveal to them the permanent realities of their existence. 'Content to make your "soul" a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary physical laws!' It is language only worthy of a man whose soul is not above the level of a laboratory, and is unworthy of any man in Professor Tyndall's position. The 'Soul' is the rendering, whether poetic or not, of those

those lofty faculties which are the organs of truth, of beauty, of goodness; which are the home of faith, of hope and of love; in which the aspiration and the conviction of immortality are enshrined, and which are capable of trampling upon all physical sensations, whether of pleasure or of pain. Collect the passages in literature, sacred or profane, in which the word 'Soul' is used, and you will have collected a treasury of the loftiest emotions and the noblest thoughts which have animated human nature. In the presence of such recollections, we refrain from characterising as it deserves the request that we should be content to treat the soul as the poetic rendering of a phenomenon which is not intelligible to Professor Tyndall.

But the Professor having confessed that his physical science is completely at fault before the phenomenon of human consciousness, and having been thus compelled to tolerate the use of a word which is a standing protest against his exclusive theories, proceeds, nevertheless, to apply his physical standard of measurement to the profoundest problem of life. 'We now,' he says—unconscious that these admissions have in the least disqualified him—'stand face to face with the final problem. It is this: Are the brain, and the moral and intellectual processes known to be associated with the brain—and as far as our experience goes, indissolubly associated—subject to the laws which we find paramount in physical nature? Is the will of man, in other words, free, or are it and nature equally "bound fast in fate"?' On the answer to this question depend, as any person possessing a competent acquaintance with the subject and with history is aware, religious, moral, and social issues of the highest practical moment. Professor Tyndall, indeed, endeavours to put aside the consideration of these momentous issues by sheltering himself under the authority of Bishop Butler. The question of moral responsibility, he allows, 'here emerges, and it is the possible loosening of this responsibility that so many of us dread.' But he urges 'that the notion of necessity certainly failed to frighten Bishop Butler. He thought it untrue, but he did not fear its practical consequences. He showed, on the contrary, in the "Analogy," that, as far as human conduct is concerned, the two theories of free will and necessity come to the same in the end.' A more complete misrepresentation of Bishop Butler's argument could hardly have been offered; and this misapprehension affords a fair measure of Professor Tyndall's qualifications for discussing such a question. In Butler's chapter 'on the opinion of Necessity considered as influencing practice,' he is throughout, for the sake of the argument, tolerating an assumption

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tion which he at the same time refuses to admit. His argument is summed up at the conclusion of the chapter. That which he maintains is, 'that a Necessity, *supposed possible, and reconcilable with the constitution of things,*' does in no sort destroy the proof of future retribution. In other words, he says it is unnecessary for his purpose to discuss the question whether the opinion of Necessity be true or not. If it be true, it is at all events consistent with a state of things under which men are punished and rewarded for their actions in the natural course of events. But if it be consistent with an existing state of rewards and punishments, it is also consistent with a future state, and therefore cannot overthrow the revealed doctrine on this subject. 'If,' says Butler, '*Necessity, upon the supposition above mentioned,*'—that is, of its being possible and reconcilable with the constitution of things—if, upon this supposition 'it doth not destroy the proof of Natural Religion, it evidently makes no alteration in the proof of Revealed.' But he immediately proceeds to denounce such suppositions as absurd and pernicious. 'From these things,' he concludes:—

'We may likewise learn in what sense to understand that general assertion, that the opinion of Necessity is essentially destructive of all religion. First, in a practical sense, that by this notion atheistical men pretend to satisfy and encourage themselves in vice, and justify to others their disregard to all religion. And secondly, *in the strictest sense, that it is a contradiction to the whole constitution of Nature, and to what we may every moment experience in ourselves, and so overturns everything.* But by no means is this assertion to be understood as if Necessity, *supposing it could possibly be reconciled with the constitution of things and with what we experience,* were not also reconcilable with Religion, for *upon this supposition it demonstrably is so.*'

Professor Tyndall has treated Bishop Butler as he has treated Nature, and has confined his attention to those parts of him which fell in with his own notions, however intimately they might be united with the rest, and however much they might thus be qualified. Bishop Butler pronounces that the opinion of Necessity is a contradiction to the whole constitution of Nature, and so overturns everything; and Professor Tyndall represents him as maintaining that, as far as human conduct is concerned, the two theories of 'Free Will and Necessity come to the same in the end.'

A man who can thus flagrantly misquote a great writer like Butler proves that he has not acquired the elementary knowledge necessary for dealing with such a subject. But Professor Tyndall proceeds to do equal injustice to the idea of Free Will itself. 'What,' he asks, 'is meant by Free Will?' It is a question

question on which he was bound to acquire some competent knowledge before discussing it. 'Does it,' he asks, 'imply the power of producing events without antecedents—of starting, as it were, upon a creative tour of occurrences without any impulse from within or from without?' Of course, if Free Will be discredited at the outset by these ridiculous travesties, it is easy to demolish it. No doubt notions have been entertained respecting the range of Free Will as extravagant in one direction as those which Professor Tyndall entertains respecting the human soul are extravagant in another. But it would be as unjust to estimate by such extravagances the deliberate views of the best moralists and divines, as to judge all Natural Philosophers by Professor Tyndall's present performance. His recklessness on this point is the more to be regretted because he might render invaluable service, and service entirely within his province, by demonstrating to his audience the momentous influence exerted upon our inclinations, and consequently upon our temptations, by the neglect of physical laws on our own part or on that of our ancestors, and by the morbid tendencies thus established in our physical frames. As we said at the outset, Natural Science is daily rendering the world incalculable value by distinguishing between the various elements of our organisation, and by showing that many of the miseries which afflict us depend in great measure upon the neglect of the simplest requisites for physical health. The various parts of our nature have their own laws, all of which alike demand obedience with a view to the complete welfare of mankind, and the best reformers will be baffled if they deal with moral causes alone, to the neglect of physical. But Professor Tyndall, instead of simply offering his own contribution, as a natural philosopher, to our knowledge of one branch of these laws, falls into the very error from which he recoils in theologians, and would concentrate our whole attention upon physical laws, to the disparagement of moral.

No competent moralist will pretend to exclude natural causes from a momentous influence upon human character and upon the elaboration of motives. But that for which a moral or religious teacher contends, as for the most vital point in human life, is that whenever a natural motive or inclination raises consciously the question of right and wrong, there a man is free to choose the right and to reject the wrong. Free Will has nothing to do with a 'tour of creative occurrences.' Professor Tyndall is at liberty, so far as the essential principle of morality is concerned, to make the environment of circumstances as complete, and as independent of the individual, as he pleases. The vital question

question is whether, when, by means of these circumstances, a question involving moral choice is consciously raised, a soul in which the moral sense is still alive has or has not the power of free decision. If that question be answered in the negative, 'everything,' as Bishop Butler says, 'is overturned;' the springs of moral action, the sense of responsibility, the hope of reforming the degraded is destroyed. The whole life of society, the vital action of a religion, the value of a system of morality, depend upon the degree in which this capacity for moral decision is quickened. Weaken, for instance, the belief in this power of moral choice, and you will immediately stimulate a spirit of heartless contempt towards the weaker members of society, which, we regret to say, is painfully illustrated by the levity with which Professor Tyndall himself speaks of those whom he considers incorrigible criminals. The Governor of a prison once told him that one class of prisoners appeared to him irreclaimable. If confined at all, their prison should be on a desert island. 'But,' adds Professor Tyndall, this Governor 'was disposed to regard the sea itself as a cheap and appropriate substitute for the island. It seemed to him evident that the State would benefit if prisoners of the first class were liberated; prisoners of the second class educated; and prisoners of the third class put compendiously under water.' That there are criminals who, with our present knowledge and experience, are practically irreclaimable may be too true; but a deeper respect for the moral capacities of human nature would have prevented a public teacher from insulting their melancholy fate with a jeer. For a similar reason Professor Tyndall is led to propound a theory of public justice, which is excellently exposed by the Archbishop of York in the following passage:—

'We must,' says the Archbishop, 'be free to act. That brilliant speaker, Professor Tyndall, lecturing at Birmingham the other day, adopted frankly the theory of necessity, and in the name of science dismissed free-will from all civilised society. To the obvious re-monstrance of the murderer against his punishment, that we hang him for what he could not help, the Professor answers: "We entertain no malice against you, but simply with a view to our own safety and purification we are determined that you and such as you shall not enjoy liberty of evil action in our midst. You who have behaved as a wild beast, we claim the right to cage and kill you as we would a wild beast. You offend, because you cannot help offending, to the public detriment. We punish, because we cannot help punishing, for the public good." Whether such reasoning would have a moral effect on a murderer or not, I will own that it carries no persuasion to me. You have no right to kill a man for doing what he could not help, simply because you dislike his ways, or because they threaten society.

That is only answering murder by murder. On those terms one does not know where it may stop. It may be extended to bores. "You have bored me at my house and at my club; you waste my time; your opinions are antiquated, and therefore unendurable; you are of no use to anybody, and very much in the way of the spread of a refined materialism. 'The public safety'—(here I revert to the Professor's own words)—'is a matter of more importance than the very limited chance of your moral renovation, while the knowledge that you have been hanged by the neck may furnish to other bores the precise motive, that may hold them back.'" "But," says the unhappy bore, "by what right?" "The reply is," says Professor Tyndall, "the right of society to protect itself against aggressive and injurious forces, whether they be bond or free, forces of nature, or forces of man." Of course the neck of this bore is safe in the Professor's hands, who is much kinder than his own truculent logic. But the answer is—No responsibility, no guilt; no guilt, no punishment; punishment without guilt is blind revenge or warfare.'

But, however Professor Tyndall may deem himself qualified to eliminate from our minds on scientific grounds the primary conception of morality, there is one condition which might, at least, be expected of him. He ought, at all events, in simple loyalty to the trust placed in him by his audience, to take care that he employs for such a purpose none but facts of Science which are really established beyond the reach of reasonable scientific doubt. It is an offence against his first duty as a Lecturer to quote as settled principles of Science mere hypotheses, however probable or favoured by current opinion; and it is unpardonable to use them before a popular audience as affording decisive evidence against received moral principles. This, however, is what Professor Tyndall proceeds to do; and, as we have already intimated, we need not rely on our own authority in charging him with this offence. He goes on to say that 'it is not from the observation of individuals that the argument against "Free-will," as commonly understood, derives its principal force.' It is, he says, indefinitely strengthened when extended to the race; and he then proceeds to lay down without reserve the extreme form of the Darwinian doctrine of the Descent of Man, accompanying his statement with an assumption that the doctrine is now finally established and unquestionably accepted. The following passage concludes the Lecturer's argument on this point, and embodies the statements against which, on purely scientific grounds, we protest:—

'Most of you have been forced to listen to the outcries and denunciations which rang discordant through the land for some years after the publication of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species." Well, the world—even the clerical world—has for the most part settled down

down in the belief that Mr. Darwin's book simply reflects the truth of Nature: that we who are now "foremost in the files of time" have come to the front through almost endless stages of promotion from lower to higher forms of life.

'If to any one of us were given the privilege of looking back through the æons across which life has crept towards its present outcome, his vision would ultimately reach a point when the progenitors of this assembly could not be called human. From that humble society, through the interaction of its members and the storing up of their best qualities, a better one emerged; from this again a better still; until at length, by the integration of infinitesimals through ages of amelioration, we came to be what we are to-day. We of this generation had no conscious share in the production of this grand and beneficent result. Any and every generation which preceded us had just as little share. The favoured organisms whose garnered excellence constitutes our present store owed their advantages, firstly, to what we in our ignorance are obliged to call "accidental variation;" and, secondly, to a law of heredity in the passing of which our suffrages were not collected. With characteristic felicity and precision Mr. Matthew Arnold lifts this question into the free air of poetry, but not out of the atmosphere of truth, when he ascribes the process of amelioration to "a power not ourselves which makes for righteousness." If, then, our organisms, with all their tendencies and capacities, are given to us without our being consulted; and if, while capable of acting within certain limits in accordance with our wishes, we are not masters of the circumstances in which motives and wishes originate; if, finally, our motives and wishes determine our actions—in what sense can these actions be said to be the result of free-will?'

Now there is an obvious extravagance in the opening statement of this passage that 'the world—even the clerical world—has for the most part settled down' in the belief that, in accordance with the Darwinian theory, men have attained their present development 'through almost endless stages of promotion from lower to higher forms of life;' but we might have felt some difficulty in disputing Dr. Tyndall's statement from a scientific point of view. Rash and unscientific as appears to us the manner in which many natural philosophers have committed themselves to that theory, we might have hesitated, on any authority inferior to that of Professor Tyndall himself, to dispute the weight of the scientific testimony in favour of it. But such authority is at hand in the remarkable pamphlet which we have placed second at the head of this article. It is a speech by a scientific man in Germany, whose authority no man of Science in any country will dispute. The name of Professor Virchow is at the present day, and must always remain, one of the most distinguished in the history of pathological research. He is Professor of Pathology in the University of Berlin; and



he has also played a prominent part in public life. For his present reputation in Germany it will be sufficient to quote the description given of him the other day by the Berlin Correspondent of the 'Times' in referring to the speech now in question :—

'The declaration contained in it,' said this correspondent, 'coming from such a man as Professor Virchow, made no little noise in German lands. The great pathologist being considered a luminary in natural Science, opposed to every species of orthodoxy and altogether innocent of faith, the cautious distinction he drew between fact and conjecture went far to convince the uninitiated that the production of man in the chymist's retort was not likely to be recorded among the discoveries of the age.'

The speech, in fact, was delivered on the occasion of the fiftieth annual gathering of German Natural Philosophers and Physicians at Munich, and was elicited by some statements from one or two other German Professors, who in the recklessness of their speculations had distanced even Professor Tyndall. The most advanced advocate of the Darwinian theory abroad is probably Professor Haeckel of Jena, and this gentleman avowed his conviction not only that man had been developed out of the lower animals, but that organic life itself was a mere natural development of inorganic; and that, as Professor Virchow put it, 'Carbon, Oxygen & Co. had, at some time or other, separated themselves from common carbon, and under special circumstances produced the first elements of an organic cell, and at the present day continue to produce them.' As the advocate of the Germ-theory of disease, Professor Tyndall may provisionally be acquitted of holding the doctrine of development at what we may call its inorganic extremity. But at its organic extremity—its assertion of the development of man from an inferior animal—he proclaims it to be the indisputable doctrine of Science. Let us hear, then, what Professor Virchow, who, it will now be seen, is a perfectly impartial and a supremely competent witness, has to say on this point :—

'There are,' he says, 'at present few students of nature who are not of opinion that man stands in some connection with the rest of the animal world, and that such a connection may be discovered, if not with the apes, yet possibly at some other point. I freely acknowledge that this is a *desideratum* in Science. I am quite prepared for such a result; and I should neither be surprised nor astonished if proof were forthcoming that man had ancestors among other Vertebrates. You are aware that I am now specially pursuing the study of anthropology. *But I am bound to declare that every positive advance which we have made in the province of prehistoric anthropology has actually removed us further from the proof of this connection. Anthropology is at this moment studying the question of Fossil men.* . . .

If,

If, then, we study the earliest indisputable specimens of Fossil men—who in the course of descent, or rather ascent, must stand nearer to our original ancestors—we invariably find a *man*, just such as men are now. . . . The old Troglodytes, the dwellers in pile-villages, and others, prove to be an exceedingly respectable society. . . . On the whole we must in reality acknowledge that there is an absence of any fossil type of a lower human development. Nay, if we take the sum of all the known fossil men and compare them with man as he now exists, we can positively assert that among living men there is a far greater number of relatively inferior individuals than among the fossils which are as yet known. Whether none but the highest geniuses of the Quaternary Period have had the good luck to be preserved to us, I will not venture to surmise. Ordinarily we conclude from the character of a single fossil object to the general character of those which are not found. This, however, I will not do. I will not assume that the whole race was as good as the few skulls which have been preserved. But I must say that not a single skull either of an ape or of an anthropoid ape has yet been discovered, which could really have belonged to a human being. Every increase in our possession of the objects which furnish materials for discussion has removed us further from the hypothesis propounded.'

The Professor proceeds to admit, of course, that it is possible the missing link in the evidence may yet be discovered; but he concludes:—

'Only, as a matter of fact, we must positively recognise that as yet there always exists a sharp line of demarcation between the man and the ape. *We cannot teach, we cannot pronounce it to be a conquest of Science, that man descends from an Ape or from any other animal.* We can only indicate it as a hypothesis, however probable it may seem, and however obvious a solution it may appear.'

Such, in the opinion of one of the first men of Science in Europe, is the present position of the Darwinian theory of the descent of man. It is a mere problem, an interesting speculation, a natural and attractive generalisation; but facts, and more particularly those recently discovered facts which afford its most direct test, are dead against it. It reflects, as we have said, grave discredit upon Professor Tyndall's judgment as a man of Science that he should thus treat as an established truth a speculation which is at present absolutely discountenanced by our latest knowledge. But what can be said of his recklessness in employing this unjustifiable assumption for the purpose of attacking the notions of moral responsibility entertained by the vast majority of the members of a Midland Institute? Even if the guess of Mr. Darwin were less problematical than Professor Virchow shows it to be, it would still be incumbent on any scientific

scientific man, addressing a mixed audience, to refer with the utmost reserve to its possible bearings upon those moral and religious beliefs which form the general foundation of life and conduct. But for a trusted Lecturer to take an uncertain hypothesis, to treat it as a recognised law of nature, and to employ it in a direct attack upon the moral convictions of an unlearned audience—this is a course which, it appears to us, deserves the strongest moral reprobation.

But Professor Tyndall cannot content himself with thus recklessly intruding into the domain of the moral philosopher. It is, indeed, the clearest condemnation of his course that he at once finds himself confronted by religious as well as by moral convictions, and is compelled to recognise that he is menacing the very foundations of religious life. He proceeds to observe that it may be urged, as it most certainly must, that when he supposes the existing supremacy of a moral majority in Society to be independent of a belief in free will and its cognate responsibility, he is assuming a state of things brought about by the influence of religions which include both this belief and the dogmas of theology. It will be argued, he says, that if theologic sanctions be withdrawn, 'we shall all become robbers, and ravishers, and murderers.' We will return presently to the very important consideration which is thus outrageously misrepresented. But how does Professor Tyndall meet the objection? Not content with offering pleas in mitigation of its force, he thinks it within the legitimate compass of his argument to deny the essential importance and value of religious truths and convictions, and to tell his audience, almost in so many words, that atheism and materialism are just as compatible with elevation of moral character as religious convictions and Christian Faith. Nay, while paying a passing homage to 'the spiritual radiance shed by religion on the minds and lives' of men personally known to him, he implies, not obscurely, that of the two principles he would rather trust himself to the negative than the positive. 'If,' he says, 'I wished to find men who are scrupulous in their adherence to engagements, whose words are their bond, and to whom moral shiftiness of any kind is subjectively unknown; if I wanted a loving father, a faithful husband, an honourable neighbour and a just citizen—I should seek him and find him among the band of "atheists" to which I refer.' To counter-balance the marked influence of religious faith in Faraday's character, he dwells upon the moral excellence of Mr. Darwin, who, he informs us, 'has neither shared the theologic views nor the religious emotions which formed so dominant a factor in Faraday's life.' 'Not,' he exclaims, in a passage which unconsciously

consciously reveals his ignorance of the real nature of the theological truths he disparages:—

‘Not in the way assumed by our dogmatic teachers has the morality of human nature been built up. The power which has moulded us thus far has worked with stern tools upon a very rigid stuff. What it has done cannot be so readily undone; and it has endowed us with moral constitutions which take pleasure in the noble, the beautiful, and the true, just as surely as it has endowed us with sentient organisms, which find aloes bitter and sugar sweet. That power did not work with delusions, nor will it stay its hand when such are removed. Facts, rather than dogmas, have been its ministers—Hunger and thirst, heat and cold, pleasure and pain, fervour, sympathy, shame, pride, love, hate, terror, awe—such were the forces whose interaction and adjustment throughout an immeasurable past wove the triplex web of man’s physical, intellectual, and moral nature, and such are the forces that will be effectual to the end.’

It is not worth while troubling our readers with a formal refutation of this loose and reckless declamation. Professor Tyndall, who had just been exaggerating the undoubted influence of social and hereditary influences upon character, ought to have been the first to recognise that the excellence of the non-religious characters of whom he speaks may be their unconscious inheritance from the Christian Society which has given them birth. The question is not whether individuals may retain in many respects the moral standard of the Christian religion while renouncing its creed, but whether the general tendency of the doctrine of Necessity and of Atheism be not, with the mass of men, and in the long run, demoralising. As to Professor Tyndall’s description of the power which has moulded our morality, it was pointed out by Professor Wace, at the Church Congress, that it includes the very influences which some of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity have invested with supreme force. The ‘Facts’ of a Divine Life, enshrined in Christian dogmas, have indeed been the ministers of the moral elevation of our race. ‘Fervour, sympathy, shame, pride, love, hate, terror, awe’—all these emotions, as Mr. Wace said, have been evoked by Christian faith towards Divine Persons in a depth and strength which no other influences have approached. In this reckless materialistic talk Professor Tyndall was not merely undermining dogmas, he was insulting and disparaging some of the most sacred affections which the human heart has ever entertained. We ask again whether any reprobation can be too strong for such wanton and unscrupulous destructiveness? If, in the manner so flagrantly illustrated in this Address, Lecturers on Science, however distinguished, begin to abuse the opportunities afforded them, and to betray the trust reposed in them, they will

will provoke in the public mind a deep distrust of their whole teaching and a just reprobation of their influence.

While these pages are passing through the press, we have received from the other side of the Atlantic a very able review of Professor Tyndall's Address.\* The critic, with some severity, though in no unfriendly spirit, exposes and condemns the Professor's rash assertions and unscientific method; and after a careful analysis of the address he thus sums up:—

'The argument [of Professor Tyndall] consists of four divisions. Of these divisions the first recapitulates the history and evidence of the conservation and correlation of force in the domain of physics. In this argument Professor Tyndall is at home. His statements are clear, his examples are pertinent, and the experiments are manifold. . . . The second division is that in which he argues that the animal body is a machine, which is controlled by those forces and only those forces, and obeys those laws and only those laws, which are found in the inorganic sphere. This argument seems to us obviously defective, in that it omits many of the phenomena which are most characteristic of the animal body, and transfers analogies from one physiological function to another, with an intellectual haste and audacity which are utterly foreign to the methods of physical Science, or indeed of any Science, whether pure or applied. The third division declares that all those phenomena commonly called psychical should be treated by the scientific man as utterly unknown—as incapable themselves of being explained by any other than material forces and laws, and of being stated in any other than figures of poetic ideality. This position he does not argue. He simply begs the conclusion, and not only this, but he dishonours Science itself by this very assumption, because he dishonours the agent which is the creator of Science, and by its own sovereignty is the lawgiver of Science, imposing upon its own work the methods of procedure, and declaring the manifold services, Professor Tyndall himself being witness, which theory, question, imagination, and experiment have contributed towards its triumphs. Moreover he asserts that the soul, though potent and sovereign in these creations, is nothing but an idealized abstraction; although when he forgets his theory, he himself gives fervent and eloquent testimony to the spiritual light and comfort and peace of his great teacher Faraday, and the simple and sturdy honour of 'Mr. Charles Darwin, the Abraham of scientific men—a searcher as obedient to the command of truth as was the patriarch to the command of God.' The fourth division consists of the rambling and somewhat incoherent argument, upon the higher themes of man's responsibility to himself, his fellow men, and to God. In all this part of the discourse there is not the slightest suggestion of the methods of induction or experiment, such as are pursued in physical science. There is not a single

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\* 'Professor Tyndall's Last Deliverance,' in the 'New Englander' for January, 1878. example

example of those analogies which open to the sagacious interpretations of scientific genius glimpses of a brilliant speculative theory. The author gathers the scraps of his readings and the shreds of his reflections in literature and theology, and sets them forth with no force except such as startling paradoxes always obtain when they fall from lips as eloquent as those of this attractive speaker. All recognition of the methods of physical Science seems to have departed from his memory. The four divisions of the argument are held together by the foregone conclusion of the author that the devotee of Science may recognise nothing in the universe but matter and fate and evolution, and requires for the explanation of the existence and history of this universe neither intelligence nor goodness.'

As we stated at the outset, it is in the interest of the legitimate influence of Science, no less than in that of Religion, that we offer these remonstrances against the example which Professor Tyndall has set; and on this point also we are able to fortify ourselves by an appeal to the same high scientific authority whom we have already quoted. The Speech by Professor Virchow is throughout a protest, in the name and in the interests of Science, against such reckless dogmatizing as that of Professor Tyndall. It was elicited, as we have explained, by two speeches, the one by Dr. Haeckel, the other by Dr. Naegeli, which asserted in the most positive form the extremest modern theories of development. Dr. Haeckel went so far as to demand that his theory of the development of human beings from inorganic matter—Carbon & Co., as Professor Virchow put it—should be taught in every school in the land. Now Dr. Virchow is a statesman as well as a philosopher, and has played a very important part in the recent parliamentary history of his country. He is accustomed, therefore, to judge of the practical bearing of things, and he appears to have thought it necessary at once to interpose his influence in order to check this rash dogmatizing among his brethren, and at the same time to obviate the reaction which it was calculated to provoke. That such a protest should have been addressed by a scientific man to scientific men affords a strange illustration of the truth that human nature is very much alike in all classes and professions. A dogmatic habit of mind was till lately the special reproach of theologians. It is a fault of which they have had occasion bitterly to repent; and their temper at the present time is apt to be only too apologetic and cautious. But the dogmatic energy which has thus disappeared from their minds seems to have been transferred—perhaps by some application of the law of the Conservation of Force—to the minds of men of Science; and Professor Virohow has to address to his brother Professors  
a rebuke

a rebuke which, a generation ago, would have been deemed appropriate only to hot-headed Divines.

A more admirable performance than this Speech, produced, as it must have been, at very short notice, could hardly have been delivered. It is equally characterised by severe scientific statement, by practical judgment, and by pleasant touches of humour. It will, we hope, be presented to the public in an English dress; for the whole of it deserves to be read and carefully weighed by every man of Science in this country, as well as by every one who is interested in the relations between Science and Religion. Professor Virchow abstains from any direct discussion of religious or moral questions; and when he refers to them, it is in a tone of respect and reserve which offers a strong contrast to the intrusiveness of our English Lecturer. He confines himself to an attempt to define the true position of scientific men when they come before the public in the capacity of teachers. The speech has therefore a direct bearing on the duties of a Public Lecturer upon Science, and a more uncompromising reprobation of Professor Tyndall's method could not, from a scientific point of view, have been written. The protest is couched in language of such earnestness and vigour, as proves that Professor Virchow felt the danger his scientific friends were incurring to be both grave and imminent; and although his warnings have reference to the special perils of German political life, they are far from being out of place among ourselves. He speaks in view of the bitter controversy which Ultramontanism is now waging against German institutions; and he plainly states his apprehension that if men of Science do violence to the general sense of the public by the rashness of their dogmatizing and the extravagance of their claims, they will give the Ultramontanes an advantage which, in that country, may be pressed so far as even to fetter the freedom of scientific discussion and of scientific teaching. 'The fact,' he says, 'that we are now in a position to discuss scientific questions thus freely affords no guarantee to any one who has had my experience of public life that we shall always enjoy the same freedom.' He states accordingly, at the outset, that the main purpose of his observations is to insist that, at the present moment, it is the special duty of scientific men to take care that 'by their moderation, by a certain renunciation of favourite fancies and private opinions,' the present favourable disposition of the country towards them should not be lost. 'I am,' he says, 'of opinion that by too free a use of the liberty which present circumstances afford us, we are actually in danger of imperilling the future; and I would utter a warning against further indulgence in that wilfulness

wilfulness of favourite and private speculations which now prevails in many provinces of Natural Science.'

Dr. Virchow proceeds, accordingly, to insist on the broad distinction, which scientific men ought to be the first to draw between truths, which are definitely established by unquestionable proof, and ideas which are as yet mere problems or opinions. In proportion to the importance of obtaining a prompt public recognition of established scientific truths is the importance and the duty of not advancing this claim for mere opinions, however plausible. He takes occasion to observe that by a large portion of the public, any general theory advanced by scientific men is sure to be carried still further 'with a thousandfold greater confidence.' He tells an amusing story of the exaggerated form in which one of his own discoveries came back to him from America: and 'imagine,' he says, 'in what form the Evolution theory presents itself already in the mind of a Socialist'! Professor Tyndall talks as if it involved no risk whatever to practical life to eliminate a belief in free-will from the public mind, and to proclaim the descent of human beings from lower forms of life. But Professor Virchow, who has some experience of the tendency of these theories in practice, is of a different opinion. 'Yes, gentlemen,' he proceeds,—

'such a popular exaggeration of scientific theories may to some appear ludicrous; but it has a very serious bearing, and I will only hope that the descent theory may not entail all the alarm among ourselves which similar theories have actually produced in the neighbouring country. *Undoubtedly this theory, if it be rigorously carried out, has an uncommonly serious side; and it will probably not have escaped you that Socialism has established a sympathy with it. This is a fact which we must clearly recognise.*

These are grave words from a man in Professor Virchow's position; and though Socialism is not in this country the danger that it is in Germany, such language should serve to warn our men of Science that they are playing with edged tools, even if for the present they do so with impunity. Nevertheless, if any scientific doctrine, however perilous, be conclusively proved, it must be proclaimed and generally taught. But Professor Virchow next proceeds to warn his scientific brethren, by various examples taken from the history of Science, against rashly pledging themselves and their sciences to mere hypotheses, however attractive or even probable. He introduces these observations by a confession, which Professor Tyndall would do well to study, of the limitations of even the widest scientific knowledge:—

'That,' he says, 'which is my accomplishment as a man of Science is precisely



precisely the knowledge of my ignorance. In Chemistry, for instance, —a science of which, though a proficient in it, he confesses he has not full mastery—‘the chief thing is, that I know what I do not know.’ ‘To attain,’ he says again, ‘such a clear view of the principles of the natural Sciences, and such an exact acquaintance with the gaps in your own knowledge as to be able to say to yourself, whenever you come upon such a gap, “Now you are entering an unknown land”—this is what we ought to attain. If we were all sufficiently clear on this point, *there is many a one among us who would smile upon his breast, and confess that it is a very serious matter to draw universal conclusions respecting the development of things in general, while a man is not even master of the whole material out of which such conclusions have to be drawn.*’

This passage may be especially commended to Professor Tyndall’s reflections the next time he is tempted to make an excursion into the field of theology. We shall rejoice if he succeeds in acquiring the accomplishment, which Professor Virchow rates so highly, of knowing what he does not know.

We cannot follow Professor Virchow into the various illustrations he quotes ; but one of them offers so close a parallel to the present position of the Darwinian doctrine that it may possess a special interest for our readers. The Professor is admitting that there is considerable attractiveness to a scientific mind in the notion of a continuous growth of all organic life, and its natural development from inorganic. ‘It corresponds to that tendency towards generalisation which is so natural to man, that in all times, even up to the most ancient period, it has found a place in the speculations of mankind.’ But, on the other hand, he says, we must emphasize the fact ‘that all real scientific knowledge respecting vital processes has proceeded in precisely the contrary way.’ That is, it has proceeded by the establishment of exceptions to hypotheses which were at one time deemed universal in their application. For instance, says Professor Virchow, we date the commencement of our real knowledge of the development of the higher organisations from the day when Harvey laid down the law *omne vivum ex ovo*, every living thing springs from an egg. It would be the greatest ingratitude not to recognise that this theory constituted an immense advance, and was of the highest value for practical purposes. But it has been proved not to be universally true. Since Harvey’s time a great series of new forms of life have been observed, in which the multiplication of the kind is effected by several various methods. Even if the Darwinian theory were better established than it is, it would be liable to similar exceptions. Of course, says Professor Virchow, if a man is determined to have a theory  
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of the Universe, and equally determined not to accept any theory which supposes a Creator, he is forced to surrender himself to a thorough-going theory of development. There is no escape from the alternative; while, at the same time, it remains a bounden duty to acknowledge that no proof of the theory has been furnished. But theories positively asserted and afterwards disproved have recoiled upon Science to its discredit; and the Professor extracts from these illustrations the very necessary warning that, 'if we wish to maintain our claim upon general attention, we must resist the temptation to thrust our own surmises, our own mere theoretical and speculative edifices, into the foreground, as though we intended, by means of them, to construct a complete theory of the universe.'

These memorable warnings were delivered at Munich on the 22nd of last September, and it was about a week afterwards that Professor Tyndall supplied so conspicuous an illustration of all the faults in scientific temper, and all the errors in practical judgment, which the great German pathologist dissected. With one more extract, pregnant with good sense and true Science, we shall leave Professor Tyndall in Professor Virchow's hands. 'We must,' he says,

'strictly distinguish between that which we wish to teach and that after which we are only enquiring. . . . Every attempt to transform our hypotheses into dogmas, to introduce our surmises as the bases of instruction—above all, the attempt simply to dispossess the Church and supplant its dogmas forthwith by a religion of evolution—believe me, gentlemen, such an attempt must be wrecked, and in its wreck will involve the greatest dangers to the general position of Science. . . . Whoever speaks or writes for the public ought, in my opinion, to examine with double accuracy how much of what he thinks and says is objectively true. He ought to be as careful as possible that all his purely inductive generalisations, all his general conclusions according to the laws of analogy, however probable they may seem, should be printed in small letters under the text, and that in the text he should place nothing but that which is really objective truth. . . . Bacon of old said truly that knowledge is power. But the knowledge he meant was not speculative knowledge, not the knowledge of mere hypotheses, but objective and actual knowledge. Gentlemen, I think we should misuse our power—we should imperil our power—if in teaching we do not confine ourselves to this thoroughly legitimate, thoroughly secure, and unassailable province.'

Admirable words! But we cannot reflect, without some shame, that it should thus be left to a German Professor to inculcate, not only the principles of scientific thought, but common sense, and common modesty upon an English Natural Philosopher.

ART. III.—*Mycenæ; a Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns.* By Dr. Henry Schliemann. The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London, 1878.

**T**HERE are few sciences which have made greater progress during the past half century than archæology; none which have more completely changed their method. The antiquary of tradition was supposed to love things not because they were interesting but because they were old, and to heap them about him without order or method. He was supposed to hate all new movements, to shut his eyes to all that was taking place in the world, and to live amid cobwebs in dreamy meditation on the past. But the archæologist of to-day has no time for dreaming. His life is one long effort to keep up with the discoveries which thicken from day to day. The books he uses become antiquated and of little value in a quarter of a century.

It is strange that for an age so sceptical as ours should be reserved a discovery which, if the substantial truth of Dr. Schliemann's interpretation of it be ultimately accepted, may turn out to be one of the greatest blows which historical scepticism has ever received. But is that interpretation the true one? To this question we will address ourselves, premising only that our knowledge of the treasures discovered has been gained by the eye and the hand, and not merely from printed or written descriptions.

Had Dr. Schliemann's excavations been carried on in some ruined town of Mexico, or an abandoned site in eastern Asia, and there produced these results, the scientific archæologist would have felt perhaps equal interest. In the absence of tradition and record, the modern and rapidly rising comparative science of pre-historic archæology would have attempted the task of classifying them in point of handiwork and style, using very similar methods to those employed by the geologist when he finds a new formation or a new fossil. But the interest of the educated public would have been far more languid than it is at present. Now every one feels that what lies at the root of Greek art lies at the root of all art, and carries the seeds of modern civilisation. Even if these discoveries had been made at Orchomenus or in Ceos, they would not have stirred, as at present, the pulse of every scholar. But Mycenæ is indissolubly connected with those immortal poems which have been the delight of civilised mankind for nearly three thousand years. The city of Agamemnon cannot even be named without arousing  
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some of that enthusiasm which the *Iliad* never fails to excite. Nor is any Greek city more noted than Mycenæ in early history and in the traditions of the *logographi*. Hence we have an abundance of historical and legendary material for the valuation of the new discoveries, and all persons of ordinary education watch with interest the controversy which rages over them.

In days when the timid sailor dared not venture out of sight of land or out of reach of a port, the Argolid possessed remarkable facilities for commerce. The Levantine sailor, at least until the sixth century B.C., loved above all to pass close under the lee of islands, or between islands and the coast, and dreaded the free motion and fierce gales of an open sea. To this day, when a sudden storm rises in the Ægæan, the steamboats run for the shelter of the nearest island, and placing it between them and the wind, ride at anchor and wait. And those islands are perfect breakwaters. The change which comes over the sea when, during a high wind, one passes behind one of them, is marvellous. Now a vessel starting from Argolis could sail northwards behind a perfect screen of islands and without once striking into open sea, past Ægina, Ceos, and Eubœa, as far as Pheræ in Thessaly. Or it could voyage eastwards between two rows of islands as far as Cnidus or Miletus, or southwards to Crete. Or it could pass from the isthmus at Corinth, and go westward through the sheltered Corinthian gulf to Leucas and Epirus. Being so favourably situate, it was impossible that the Argolid should have failed to carry on large commerce from times of the remotest antiquity. In the very beginning of his work, Herodotus states that the Phœnicians had no sooner settled on the shores of the Mediterranean, than they found their way to Argos, bearing Egyptian and Assyrian wares. These they would spread out on the beach, and hold a five or six days' fair, and they thought themselves fortunate if after disposing of their goods they could attract aboard their ships the fair daughters of the land, when they would at once set sail, bearing their precious prizes to the harems of the East. In the legend which states that Danaüs, who drove out the Pelasgic king Gelanor, was the son of Belus and brother of Ægyptus, we find a clear assertion in mythic form that the seeds of the higher culture which turned Pelasgians into Danaï came from abroad, and were brought from the seats of the ancient monarchies of Mesopotamia and of Egypt. But other foreign influences besides those of the sons of Belus, aided in the civilisation of Argolis. Hither came, or rather returned, Perseus with a band of Cyclopes of Lycia, who built for him the mighty walls of Mycenæ and carved the lions over its gate. Mycenæ is not one of those cities like Ephesus and  
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London, which seem from their position as if they must always have existed. The site is somewhat strangely chosen as if fixed on by individual will, and tradition assigns to the foundation a particular period, and that period not extremely remote. Some of the descendants of Perseus reigned at Mycenæ, but the legends are so confused that it is impossible to say how many generations elapsed before they gave way to the family of Pelops. We have already traced Assyrian, Egyptian, and Lycian influences in the Argolid. Pelops introduced a Phrygian element. At that time the golden sands of the Pactolus had made Lydia and Phrygia among the richest countries in the world. Pelops is said to have brought great store of wealth with him to Greece and chiefly by that means to have extended his sway over the part of Hellas which still bears his name. Homer makes constant mention of the wealth and splendour of the children of Pelops. Agamemnon, his grandson, seems to have placed Mycenæ for the first time on a higher level than the older and neighbouring Argos. He made it his capital, and thence ruled over Corinth and other cities of Achaia, over all Argolis and many islands. Under Orestes it may have held still the foremost place, although the dominions of Orestes were wider even than his father's. But with the Dorian invasion, Mycenæ at once recedes among the less conspicuous cities of Hellas. This we know from the circumstance that Temenus, the eldest of the Heraclidæ, set up his throne at Argos, and Argos and Mycenæ can never have been great together. From the reign of Orestes to the destruction of the city by the Argives, about B.C. 470 we know scarcely anything of its history, except that it was no longer a capital. Its splendour began with its foundation by Perseus, and ended at the most five or six generations later with the death of Orestes. And the splendour which marks this brief period seems mainly derived from foreign sources, especially from Lycia, the country of the Cyclopes, and Phrygia, the country of Pelops. Much interest attaches to the word *πολύχρυσος*—gold-abounding—frequently applied by Homer to the city of Agamemnon, which now seems so apt. Whence could Mycenæ have gained the gold for the abundance of which it has become proverbial? Certainly not from Greece, which even at that period produced but little. It must either have been received from the Phœnicians in the way of trade, or else brought by the house of Pelops from Lydia. The distance of Mycenæ from the sea, and the situation of Argos and Nauplia, which would naturally make those cities rather than Mycenæ the emporiums of Phœnician trade, seem almost to shut us up to the latter alternative.

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The next period of Mycenaean history which has an interest for us comprises the few hours when Pausanias was wandering amid the ruins. But for the information given us by that traveller, it would never have occurred to any one to seek for treasures on this spot: had he taken a little more pains to make his information accurate and his language clear, he might have left small room for divergent theories as to the origin of the recently-found hoard. But his words are so loose and careless that it is hopeless to try and fix a definite meaning upon them; and though the traditions they embody are local, yet these have evidently become corrupt and confused by frequent repetition. Pausanias, in speaking of the antiquities of Mycenæ, mentions them in the following order:—The walls, the gate of the lions, the well Persea, the underground treasure-houses of Atreus and his sons, the tomb of Atreus, the tombs of Agamemnon and his companions, that of Electra, and finally the tomb of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra outside the wall. Now no scheme of word-bending can show in this list a geographical order. It is clear that Pausanias's account is not taken from notes made in the order of the objects he saw one after another; for no traveller could visit the well or rather cistern Persea, which is supposed still to exist in the midst of the acropolis, while passing from the gate of the lions to the treasure-houses, which are on the slope below. And no traveller, in passing from the treasure-houses to the tomb of Ægisthus without the wall, would pass Agamemnon's tomb within the wall. It is clear that Pausanias is writing from memory rather than from notes, and that he mentions the various localities just as they occur to his mind, one by one, and in no set order. We must therefore be careful not to press his words; nevertheless a few points seem to be clear. Pausanias evidently, in speaking of Mycenæ and its walls, means the acropolis or citadel, and the wall which to this day surrounds it. The traces of a city built on the lower slopes of the hill beneath the acropolis had probably disappeared in his age almost as completely as in ours. He distinctly implies that the tombs of Agamemnon and his companions, and probably that of Atreus also, were within the walls of the citadel. The tombs of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra were without the citadel. As to the underground treasure-houses of Atreus and his sons, Pausanias does not imply in any way where they were situate; but there can be no reasonable doubt that he refers to the still preserved conical buildings of Cyclopean masonry, which are on the site of the lower city. It seems reasonably certain then that, in the second century of the Christian era, local tradition designated these conical structures as the treasuries of Atreus

and his sons, and pointed out within the walls of the acropolis a spot where Agamemnon was buried, together with the companions who returned with him from Troy and were murdered by Ægisthus. The tradition preserved even the names of those companions, Eurymedon the charioteer, and Teledamus and Pelops, infant children of Agamemnon and Cassandra. Whether Cassandra herself was buried with these infants, was a matter as to which there was doubt. The inexactness of Pausanias's language leaves us uncertain whether Atreus and Electra were supposed to have been buried at the same or another spot, the former alternative seeming more probable.

The third important period of Mycenaean history belongs to the present century. In it Dr. Schliemann is the principal actor; but the interest does not begin with him, neither let us hope will it end with his retirement from the scene, for there is much yet to be found at Mycenæ. In the year 1808 or 1810, Veli Pasha, who was then Governor of Peloponnesus, heard the report that wealth was hidden in the building called the Treasury of Atreus. He dug down to the entrance, and his workmen searched inside. What they found is now disputed, and will probably never be known. On the one side it is said that not only were large masses of gold and silver ornaments discovered, but also twenty-five colossal statues. This story goes a long way towards refuting itself; for colossal statues do not easily disappear, and these having been, according to tradition, sold to travellers at Tripolitza, should be still remaining in that town or else discoverable in some of our great museums. The part of the story which concerns the statues being thus found wanting, we are inclined to reject the whole of it and to prefer the rival story, supported, according to Dr. Schliemann, by the memory of the oldest inhabitants, that Veli Pasha found next to nothing for his pains. Had the treasures of Agamemnon fallen into the hands of the Asiatic barbarian, Troy would indeed have been avenged.

After a brief excavation at Tiryns, where little of value was discovered, Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann settled at Mycenæ on the 7th of August, 1876, and set sixty-three workmen to dig in the trenches. These men were divided into three parties, of which one was set to dig down to the entrance of a small subterranean treasury in the immediate neighbourhood of the lions' gate; a second was to excavate through the lions' gate a passage into the acropolis; and the third party was ordered to make a huge trench just within that gate. Belief in the use of the spade, both for military and civil purposes, is rapidly spreading. It is undoubtedly his determined and uncompromising use of that valuable

valuable weapon which lies at the root of all Dr. Schliemann's successes. Through it he has become the Todleben of excavators. The first result achieved by excavation in the present instance was the important discovery that Mycenæ, after its destruction by the Argives about B.C. 470, was again inhabited by a colony which owned the supremacy of Argos, and which must, as Dr. Schliemann thinks, have remained on the spot for at least two centuries, as the layer of debris resulting from this occupation extends to a depth of three feet below the surface. From the character of the terra-cotta figures and fluted vases found in the debris we may judge that they belong to the Macedonian time. But discoveries of a far more startling character soon thickened. The trench cut within the lions' gate laid bare a most remarkable double circle of upright slabs, in which the two rows of stones had been joined at the top with cross-stones (some being still *in situ*), so that the whole formed a circular bench. Within this circle were several upright grave-stones, some sculptured and some unsculptured, fixed in the earth, marking the spot where mighty heroes were buried. As to the circle itself, Dr. Schliemann contends, in accordance with a theory originated by Professor F. A. Paley, and supported by Mr. Newton, that it was the Agora of the city, where the assembled people sat in a circle and listened to an orator standing in the midst. His learned friends supply him with many passages in support of a view, which, despite its complete novelty, can scarcely be gainsaid. Of these perhaps the most appropriate is Mr. Newton's quotation from Pausanias. It appears from that writer that the Megarians once consulted the oracle at Delphi as to the means by which they might insure future prosperity. The oracle bade them, among other things, to consult with the greater number: 'and they, thinking that this saying referred to the dead, built their council-house there, so that the tombs of their heroes might be within the council-hall.' The council-hall was doubtless situate in the agora. Thus it would seem that both at Megara and Mycenæ the agora was formed around the tombs of those heroes of whom the city was proud, and on whose advice it would wish to rely in times of danger and difficulty. If this were so, we should at once have an explanation of the otherwise scarcely comprehensible fact, that the tradition as to the locality of the heroic tombs lingered until the day of Pausanias. Oddly, by a curious piece of mistranslation, Dr. Schliemann misses a very strong argument in favour of the view which he adopts. Almost the only inscription found at Mycenæ consists of the words *τοῦ ἡρώος εἶμι*, which occur on a fragment of black pottery of the fifth or sixth century B.C. Translating these words, 'I am sprung



from the hero,' Dr. Schliemann quite misses their force. Clearly after the *εἶμι* we must supply *ἱερόν*, which in this sense is always followed by the genitive case, and construe 'I am dedicated to the hero,' which at once proves that in or near the agora was a *heroön*, or chapel, in which vessels were dedicated to the service of some local hero.

How the spade brought to light tomb after tomb, and how each tomb yielded its golden hoard, Dr. Schliemann has told in a narrative which, if somewhat involved and difficult to follow, will well repay a careful perusal. We have no space to reproduce or even to summarise it. Our observations will be confined to that which all the tombs had in common: the distinctive peculiarities and the contents of each may arouse interest, but are not from our point of view essential, since they indicate no difference of period. All the tombs of the agora would seem to have been dug at once on some great occasion. The method in which the chambers where the corpses lay were formed is remarkable and, so far as we know, unique. After the chamber had been dug deep in the rock, its sides were formed of irregular blocks of schist, sometimes merely heaped up without any binding materials, but usually joined together with clay. The floor was strewn with loose pebbles; on it were laid small pyres, one for each person who was to be buried there. When the bodies had been placed on the pyres, these were set on fire, so that the clothes and the flesh were burned with the subterposed wood. After such imperfect cremation—and of course any cremation at the bottom of a pit must be imperfect—ornaments of gold were placed on each corpse, in addition to those which it bore when burned, and golden cups, arms, and other objects of value were strewn about. The bodies were then covered all together with a layer of clay mixed with small pebbles, and the earth was filled in. Though the original dimensions of each chamber were very large, yet the length and breadth were so diminished by the walls as sometimes to leave scant space for the bodies. Thus in the tomb called by Dr. Schliemann No. 1, the actual dimensions of the bottom were 15 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 2 inches. Into this space three bodies of tall men were crowded, and as they were placed transversely, it is evident that they had to be forced into their last resting-place in a manner which was undignified and scarcely decent. It would be very hard to withhold consent from Mr. Gladstone's assertion that such burial cannot have been normal. No early race of men would thus usually treat their leaders; least of all the race which built the magnificent underground treasures of Mycenæ to receive the regal remains. An apparent exception to this rule has indeed been found in the cemetery of Hallstadt  
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in Austria; and at first sight the similarity supposed to be found between the modes of sepulture at Hallstadt and Mycenæ in so striking a respect as the use at both places of careless burial and imperfect cremation, might dispose us to imagine a connection between the two places closer than further investigation will warrant us in recognising. The two cases are really not parallel. At Hallstadt the bodies are laid sometimes in strange attitudes, but they are not cramped for room. The corpses there are partially burned, but the incompleteness lies not in the quality of the burning, which is effectual as far as it goes, but in the cutting off for cremation of some part of the body, which was reduced separately to ashes, these ashes being then buried with the rest of the body. Whatever the origin and meaning of so strange a custom, which seems to be peculiar to Hallstadt, it offers no parallel to the partial and incomplete cremation of the whole of the dead bodies at Mycenæ.

Besides the agora and tombs, there were not many antiquities to be traced; and such remains of walls as were found both to the north and the south of the agora furnish us with few certainties and a wide field for conjecture. In many cases these walls enclosed, in Dr. Schliemann's opinion, not houses but cisterns. These cisterns he supposes to have been fed from the fountain Persea, which rises at a much higher level just outside the walls of the citadel. The water was apparently conveyed by means of very extraordinary water-conduits, which were formed of uncut stones laid together without any binding material, so that 'it is really wonderful how a current of water could have passed along them without being lost through the interstices.' And it is at least equally wonderful why the people of Mycenæ should have made great reservoirs of water close to their gate and around their agora. On this subject, as on so many others mentioned in the book before us, the last word is certainly not said. In the labyrinth of walls which bound the agora on the south, Dr. Schliemann would fain see the substructions of the royal palace of the Pelopidæ, the palace itself being raised on these and composed mainly of wood. Certainly it would give completeness and rotundity to Dr. Schliemann's discoveries if he could point with certainty to the royal palace as well as the royal graves. The palace of a city would usually be placed on the largest level spot in the acropolis, and we have the testimony of Euripides (the citation is due to Mr. Paley) to the proximity at Mycenæ of palace and agora. But it must be remembered that the reasons for finding the Mycenæan palace at this spot are rather poetical and literary than archæological. We can testify from personal observation that, looked at from the agora, the space to the  
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south seems to present nothing but a wilderness of walls, and no plan of a large or stately building can be traced. One seems to see rather clustering houses of the poor nestling close to the agora, or the barrack-rooms of soldiers, than the spacious dwelling-place of a wealthy Pelopid prince.

We now reach the all-important question, What is the relation between this third and most modern phase of the history of Mycenæ and those which preceded it? Who built the subterranean treasure-houses ascribed by tradition to Atreus and his sons? Who buried in the earth all the vessels of gold and of silver, the warlike weapons and articles of luxury found by Dr. Schliemann? And what bodies were those which were found amid the treasures? In attempting to answer this question we must rely almost wholly upon internal evidence. The science of comparative archæology has by no means attained full development. But it has advanced of late years in all respects, and we shall be much surprised if it ultimately turn out unable, in the presence of remains so extensive and characteristic as those of Mycenæ, to fix their historical position and their relation to the other monuments of Greek and Oriental antiquity.

The subterranean treasure-houses, of which several are now known to exist in the lower city of Mycenæ, are so well known from the numerous accounts of travellers that they need not be described at length. They consist of a circular chamber in the shape of a bee-hive, formed of massive stones laid in circles one over another, the circles becoming smaller and smaller in diameter towards the top until the whole is covered in by a single massive stone. This circular chamber is approached by a sunken way, and into one side of it opens a small rectangular apartment, and the whole is so covered in with earth as to resemble in appearance a large mole-hill. A building of the same kind exists at Orchomenus, where it bears the name of the treasury of Minyas; but not, so far as is known, elsewhere. It has been disputed whether these constructions were intended for tombs or for treasuries, but by far the most probable opinion is that they were both. In the rectangular chamber, which opens out of the larger one, were placed, in all likelihood, the remains of a hero or a monarch. In the circular outer chamber were stored all the articles of pomp and luxury which had surrounded him in life, and which were destined for his use and enjoyment in the shadowy future world, which was considered as a somewhat slight and joyless continuation of the present. Here were his cups of gold and silver, his tripods of bronze, his warlike weapons, and, by a strange piece of realism, even whetstones wherewith to keep these weapons keen, his sceptre, and all his wealth

wealth wherein he delighted. How his body was adorned we may judge from the decoration of the bodies which Dr. Schliemann found. Perhaps a favourite slave or a wife was laid at his feet to do his behests in the future as in the past. Then the door was probably covered in with earth, and all trace of the entrance obliterated;\* he was to lie there undisturbed for all time, the spot being only held in remembrance as a sacred place by the inhabitants.

Everything leads us to believe that these treasuries and the walls of the citadel are about synchronous. Both are alike built of tier upon tier of huge squared blocks of tufa. The principle of the entrance-gate is the same in both. Upon two uprights is placed transversely a block of enormous size, above which is a triangular slab, doubtless carved in both cases with lions in relief, although the reliefs of the treasuries have disappeared. In the still extant gate of the citadel the stones on either side of this triangular slab are arranged, just as they are in the treasuries, each tier somewhat overlapping the tier below, and the ends cut obliquely so as to fit on to the triangular slab—the very principle on which the whole of the treasuries are constructed. The doorway of the best-preserved of the treasuries has lost its decoration; but in the earth close by were found fragments of pillars of a similar character to the pillar between the lions on the citadel gate, and in addition specimens of that kind of ornament—consisting in rows of raised disks or bosses—which appears on the top of the above-mentioned pillar.

It would seem that the kings who walled in the citadel also built on the lower slopes of the hill a spacious city. Many remains of such a city still exist, fragments of a wall, a bridge, a road. That this city dates from an early period is rendered probable by the general facts of the history of Mycenæ, and is made all but certain by the application by Homer to Mycenæ of the epithet 'with broad streets' (*εὐρύγυια*). For broad streets could not have existed on the narrow and steep rock which forms the site of the citadel, but may well have been cut along the slopes of the base of the hill. Indeed traces of one broad street which ran along the ridge of the lower slope still remain; and it is on either side of this road that we find the remains of the treasuries. It was amid the clustering dwellings of their people that the princes descended from Perseus or from Pelops erected these sepulchral monuments for themselves or each other, to contain the ashes and the treasures of the monarchs as they died.

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\* See below, p. 90.

It is highly probable that although Homer does not expressly mention these conical treasure-houses, they existed in his time. Homer speaks of the *λάϊνος οὐδός*, the stone temple, as already existing at Delphi. This was said in antiquity to be the work of Trophonius and Agamedes; and these same builders are recorded as having been engaged on works of just the same character as these conical structures. They made a *θησαυρός* for Hyrieus, a *ταμειῶν χρυσοῦν* for Augeas, and an underground temple at Lebadea in Bœotia. Homer also frequently speaks of walls of bronze, as for instance when he describes the palace of Alcinoüs; a phrase which first received a reasonable explanation when it was noticed that the whole of the inside walls of the Mycenaean treasuries from a height of some five feet upwards had been covered with plates of bronze or copper, many of the nails which had secured those plates still remaining. We are therefore justified in supposing that these underground treasuries belong to the same age as that in which the citadel-walls were built, and to an age not more recent than that of Homer.

But do the graves opened by Dr. Schliemann within the gate, and the treasures contained in them, belong to the same period? The connection of these with Greek work is by no means apparent, and in order to trace it we must briefly sketch the rise of the Hellenic style in metal, pottery, and wood. In all these materials the Greeks worked on models furnished by the Phœnicians. The characteristics of the Phœnician style of art may be best studied in those wonderful cups and bowls of bronze or of silver which have been brought from so many lands, from Nimroud, from Cyprus, from Italy. These well-known vases are adorned with horizontal rows of *repoussé* work, each row resembling a relief, such as those found on the walls of Assyrian palaces or Egyptian temples. In the vases brought by Mr. Layard from Nimroud, which were once supposed to be Assyrian, but are now generally acknowledged to be of Phœnician work, there is a similarity of general design, the interior of all consisting of a boss or centre, around which are several concentric zones or bands, divided either by plain spaces or by borders of rope-pattern. But there are varieties in detail, which enable us to distinguish at least four classes. First may be placed the bowls and plates in which the concentric bands contain only a pattern, generally a pattern reproducing in conventional form the general design of some plant, as the lotus or honeysuckle. In the second place come those in which the concentric bands are filled with innumerable repetitions of the same animal form, which thus degenerates almost into a pattern. On one

one bowl we find no less than six bands, all filled with stags of exactly similar form and attitude. On another, near the edge, is a band of sphinxes walking, a tree growing before each. In the third place we class the vessels where the mere succession of forms gives way to a hunting or fighting scene. In these the resemblance to the wall-reliefs is the closest. We see here an antelope, on which a panther springs down from above; in front of it, a bull attacked by a panther from below, a griffin being pulled down by a panther, a lion seizing a bull by the haunch. There we see a pair of vultures tearing the body of a hare; or again men fighting against lions, the position of each man and each lion being somewhat varied. Or the group may be still more elaborate. In some cases we see the King in his chariot with an attendant, shooting at a lion, and other hunting scenes such as the sculptors of Assyria loved. In the fourth class we would place the vessels of still more ambitious design, such as those on which appear hills covered with trees and grazed over by game. Some of these seem intended to represent large tracts of country; some are even supposed to portray the world as it represented itself to the Phœnician imagination.

In Cyprus and several parts of Italy have been found silver bowls, gilt, of a character so similar to these that we cannot hesitate to attribute them to the same fabricators. From Citium we have representations mainly of the second and third classes, processions of chariots, horsemen, footmen, hunters slaying lions and griffins, kings destroying their enemies. From Amathus we have the still more complicated scene of the assault on a fortress. Some of the Cypriote bowls have a decidedly Egyptian cast, and are adorned with figures of Egyptian deities.\* The vases found in Italy are of a similar character. On them we see horsemen and footmen with Egyptian head-dresses, battles and lion-hunts, cows suckling calves, and oxen pulled down by lions, Nile-boats, and Egyptian deities.

These bowls and *patere* are good specimens of the kind of metal-ware carried by the Phœnicians to their markets on the borders of the Mediterranean. They doubtless carried also the ivory and porcelain of Egypt and the woven stuffs of Babylonia. But the objects we have described were apparently of their own

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\* For an account of the antiquities found at Cyprus, we would refer our readers to the valuable work of General Cesnola, recently published. Of this important contribution to the history of art and archæology, we hope to give a detailed notice in a future number of this Review. The discoveries of the author, and the conscientious care with which he has presented them to the public, deserve grateful recognition.

manufacture. Of this the proofs are manifold. They combine, sometimes in a manner quite bizarre, the representations of Assyrian and Egyptian art. We find in close juxtaposition the lotus, the hawk, the pshent, the scarab, of Egypt; and the bull, the antelope, the chariot, of Assyria. In one band appears the King drawing the bow as he draws it continually in the reliefs of Assyrian palaces, in the next a troop of warriors armed in the Egyptian style. The geographical position of the people of Tyre and Sidon and their roving habits made them the natural carriers between the two great empires of the East. No people but the Phœnicians could have left their traces on so many shores from Italy to Nimroud. Finally, to make assurance doubly sure, one of the Palestrina vases bears a carefully engraved inscription in early Phœnician characters.

With regard to the rich stores of works in gold, silver, and bronze, which have been found in the cemeteries of Etruria, and which bear the character of Phœnician design, it is wholly impossible to say how far they are of Phœnician and how far of Etruscan workmanship. If the Etruscans at this early period were able to produce splendid specimens of the toreutic art, such as those which adorn the collection of the Vatican, they adhered so closely to the imported model, that we might search in vain for any signs in their work of a national school of design. Indeed, in the absence of remains from Tyre and Carthage, the gold breastplates, the ornaments, the bronze shields and caldrons from Etruria and the Campagna, will give us the best notion of the metal-work, which, together with the more distinctive bowls and plates above mentioned, the Phœnicians spread by their commerce among the Mediterranean nations. In the days when they were copyists of the Sidonians, the Etruscans succeeded no better than in the later days when they imitated the Athenians, in adding life or novelty of design to their works, admirable as their manual execution often is.

It was very different soil into which, in Greece, fell the seeds of Sidonian skill. The Greeks soon surpassed their masters, and gave to everything they did a tinge of their own. They were not content with equalling or surpassing in manual skill the imported works of art; they desired to make that skill the servant of culture and religion, to confine their representations to the worthy deeds of national heroes, and the sacred legends of the gods. They imported a new and human meaning into the series of animals and warriors. But naturally this process took time, and for a long while the Greeks were content, like the Etruscans, with imitating what was most imitable in the imported

ported works. Thus, about the twenty-second Olympiad, Alyattes dedicated at Delphi a silver *lebes*, with an iron stand, which had been made for him by Glaucus of Chios. Speaking of this stand, Hegesander says that on it were represented animals, creeping things, and plants (*ζωδάρια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζώφια καὶ φυτάρια*), doubtless arranged in formal rows, with figure balancing figure, and attitude attitude, as in Etruscan works. Not dissimilar in character, if we may trust the slight descriptions which have at present reached us, is a plate of bronze recently discovered at Olympia.

It is noteworthy that neither Greeks nor Etruscans seem to have taken for their models the bolder and more imaginative specimens of Oriental art, but rather the more comprehensible and the more easily appreciated. We do not find, in the western imitations of Phœnician metal-work, copies of those bronze and silver bowls which are filled with the scenes and symbols of Assyrian and Egyptian worship. Nor do we find imitations of those very remarkable landscapes which we have mentioned, rows of highly conventional hills, covered with forests, wild-beasts, and hunters.

It is clear that those Greek and Etruscan artists who were able to appreciate the meaning of religious myths, and the elaborate conventionality of the Phœnician landscapes, would needs have had skill and originality enough to produce works of the same class, but better suited to the tastes and beliefs of their compatriots. But horses, lions, chariots, battles, appear in the Phœnician works treated with a combination of simplicity and vigour which would at once captivate the admiration and stimulate the imitation of all workers in metal. We cannot be surprised if the early Greeks abandoned under their influence those more primitive and more original kinds of handiwork, which we should have expected, and now know, to have earlier existed among them.

We are very fortunate in possessing a careful description by Pausanias of one of the earliest and most important of original Greek works, the chest or coffer which was in his time supposed to have been dedicated at Olympia by the children of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, and which there is every reason to suppose as ancient as the seventh century, B.C. This coffer was of cedar, adorned with bands of reliefs, executed partly in gold, partly in ivory, partly in the wood of the coffer. The subjects of these reliefs are multitudinous, and are taken partly from Greek legends of the gods, but far more frequently from the traditional lives of Herakles, the Dioscuri, and other national heroes. Three characteristics of their style are specially brought before us  
by



by Pausanias. In the first place it is very noteworthy that several materials are combined to produce the effect, gold, ivory, and wood being especially mentioned, all three favourite materials with Greek artists in early times. Secondly, there is throughout the groups, as has well been pointed out by Professor Brunn, a constant balancing of scene with scene, and figure with figure. The groups seem to be arranged in sets of three, whereof the two outer are carefully matched one with another, duel against duel, or wooing against wooing, while the figures in the central group are arranged about the middle point. In this way the whole still remains somewhat architectural in form and constitutes a kind of pattern, though in a less marked degree than do the rows of animals and plants in purely Oriental works. Thirdly, each scene is accompanied by a long inscription in hexameter verse, explaining its meaning, which inscription being led *boustrophedon* into all parts of the field, serves for ornament as well as use.

Unhappily no Greek work in metal of this period and this kind has come down to us. But on the vases of earthenware in use in the archaic times of Greece, of which the museums of Europe possess great store, we may see the character of such scenes as Pausanias describes, and trace the process by which they gradually made their way, first by the side of and afterwards in the place of the Phœnician designs. These vases are variously called Corinthian and Asiatic, which latter name may be retained for want of a better, but, although their character is at first Asiatic, it afterwards becomes truly Hellenic. They are made of fawn-coloured clay; the outline of the figures upon them is scratched with a tool, and the filling in is done in two colours, black, and dark red or maroon. In those which are simplest in style we find at top and bottom patterns of Oriental design, and round the body of the vase one or two bands or friezes of animals in still attitudes, all alike one to the other. Not the attitudes only, but the choice of subjects too is borrowed from the East; the favourite animals among the painters being cocks, lions, goats, boars, bulls, with sphinxes and other winged monsters of Oriental type. The lotus ornament and the sacred tree of Assyria are common on these vases; the field between the animals is filled up with flowers and archaic patterns. Presently among the rows of animals appear chariots or foot-soldiers, or processions of horsemen: and finally we come to set scenes taken from the Greek legends of the national heroes; here, as in the chest of Cypselus, long inscriptions being sometimes inserted, with the names of all the characters who appear. These scenes eventually occupy the best part of the vases, leaving only

only space above or below them for a narrow frieze of animals. Thus the human gradually encroaches on, and drives out the animal and the merely ornamental element, and vases become monuments of the national religion and preserve to posterity the worthy deeds of heroes. The favourite subjects in very early times are—the hunt of the Calydonian boar; incidents of the Trojan war, such as the conflict of Achilles and Memnon, that of Menelaus and Hector over the body of Euphorbus, or the death of Ajax; incidents of the Theban war, or from the life of Theseus; or finally the inexhaustible labours of Herakles. The early Athenian vases, bestowed as prizes in the Panathenæa, belong by colour and style to this class; but all that remains in them of Asiatic device is a pair of mannerized owls near the top of the vases, the sides of which are occupied respectively by paintings of a gymnastic contest, and of the great goddess Athenê, patroness of the festival.

There are among these vases some which in wealth of subject and elaboration may compare even with the chest of Cypselus itself. Such is the celebrated François vase of Florence, which is covered with mythological and heroic scenes, all of which are explained by a multitude of legends, written in very ancient Attic characters. On it we may trace: the procession of deities at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; the surprise of Troilus and Polyxena by Achilles at the well; the chariot-race at the obsequies of Patroclus; the hunt of the Calydonian boar; the return of Hephæstus to Olympus, carried on a mule and attended by Dionysus and all his rout; the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, headed by Theseus and Peirithoüs, with several other subjects.

Such being the almost undoubted origin of the art specially called Hellenic in pottery and metal-work, let us turn to the cups at Mycenæ, of gold, of silver and of earth, the ornaments and the wood-work. Here we at once feel ourselves at an earlier stage of development. And as we have last spoken of pottery, let us begin with the pottery of Mycenæ, and feel our way thence to the other remains. The greater part of it must certainly be considered as an early variety of that known of recent years as the *geometrical*. The most marked and best known representatives of that class come from Athens, being found there in very early tombs. In the Athenian vases the straight line prevails in the ornamentation over the spiral and the circle. Their patterns are made of hatched lines, herring-bone devices, mæanders, chequers, zigzags, and vandykes. Water-birds, cranes, or swans, are sometimes introduced at intervals in subordination to the design, and as mere accessories. Far more seldom appear quadrupeds,

quadrupeds, horses, lions, or goats; more rarely still groups, a lion slaying a stag, a dog pursuing a hare, warriors fighting. The drawing both of men and animals is of the rudest, and shows ignorance of the simplest rules of perspective.

Very like these Athenian vases are those of which Dr. Schliemann found fragments in the doorway of the treasury (Plate XX.). The pottery discovered in and over the tombs, although it cannot be placed in another class, is of a still ruder and less marked character. In it spiral patterns and concentric circles take the place of mæanders and zigzags, and generally there is some resemblance to the patterns of the Mycenæan gold ornaments. But the animals which alternate with the patterns are like the animals usual in the class of geometric pottery. And in fact one may trace an almost uninterrupted gradation from the rudest of the Mycenæan to the most finished of the early Athenian vases.

To the same class of antiquities, the geometrical, we must assign much of the gold-work of Mycenæ. Here we must range the breastplates and the diadems of beaten-gold, the handles of the swords and the sword-belts. Here must also be placed the objects called by Dr. Schliemann by the somewhat misleading term *buttons*, objects formed by pressing on a carved surface of wood or bone a thin plate of gold, until it completely took the pattern. But the gold-work of Mycenæ, although of the geometrical type, is in many respects *sui generis*. In the adaptation of patterns to the peculiar lustre of gold, in a perfect mastery of the material, it is unrivalled. The appearance of the gold-work of Dr. Schliemann is really splendid, and the designs in it are wrought with a neatness and facility which contrasts strongly with the want of skill shown when vegetable or human forms had to be introduced. It is quite certain that the goldsmith's art could not have reached so great a perfection except among a people very wealthy in the precious metals, and accustomed for ages to use them for purposes of personal adornment. And this is equivalent to saying that the art of the Mycenæan goldsmiths was an exotic, imported from the wealthier countries of Asia, for Greece was never rich in gold. The recurrence of many Mycenæan patterns on the tombs of kings in Asia Minor suggests a Lydian or Phrygian origin for this art.

But, whether Lydian or Greek, the metal-work of Mycenæ has affinities which are unmistakable. When Dr. Schliemann first exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries photographs of the objects he had discovered, the most learned and distinguished members of that Society were at once struck with the analogy between them and the work of what is called the Bronze age in Northern

Northern Europe ; such work as is found in early tombs in Denmark, Ireland, and Austria. With them also we must range the products of the Italian *terremare*, of which so rich a harvest has been reaped, and which Dr. Helbig has satisfactorily proved to belong to the early Aryan inhabitants of Italy, before Etruria and Greece had given to Italian art a higher development. In the north of Europe this style lasted even after the beginnings of Christian influence ; in Italy it probably survived as late as the sixth century B.C. ; in Greece there is every reason to believe that it gave place to the Græco-Asiatic style quite two centuries earlier. All this is but consistent and natural, and to find in the late use among northern nations of this kind of decoration an argument for bringing the Mycenæan remains down to a lower period, or assigning them to a barbarous people, is to mistake the nature of the problem before us. The use of the geometrical style of decoration marks a certain stage of civilisation ; which stage was passed through at an earlier period by the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. With regard, however, to the origin of the style there is much room for variety of opinion.

Dr. Conze, discussing more particularly the pottery of the geometrical class, has maintained that the patterns predominating in it are characteristically Aryan, and brought with them by the Greeks from the primitive seats of the Indo-Germanic stock. Dr. Helbig has maintained, in opposition to Conze, that this ware is of Phœnician origin. The latter authority has on his side very definite and cogent reasons. It seems that vessels of quite a similar character have been dug up at Jerusalem ; fragments of the same kind were brought by Mr. Layard from Nimroud, in one case at least marked with Phœnician characters. Facts like these certainly go far to disprove a purely Aryan origin for the geometrical style of ornament. Nor is there any improbability in the supposition, that it was from the Phœnicians that the natives of Northern Europe received the rudiments of a more formed style of art. The trade in amber and tin attracted, from very early times, Phœnician vessels to the English Channel and the Baltic Sea. A second stream of Phœnician influence may have flowed overland from Etruria through Gaul and the Tyrol, and a third westwards from Byzantium and the shores of the Black Sea. We have not, however, here space to argue the question as it deserves, and we must leave it at this point to return to the gold objects of Mycenæ.

It is not hard to find a reason why geometrical patterns should give way at Mycenæ before Assyrio-Phœnician influence. Later probably the Greeks had no such store of gold for the patterns

patterns to suit. As civilisation advanced they would grow tired of mere patterns, however splendid, and cultivate rather the kind of ornamentation which had a human meaning. And certainly, compared with the bowls of Dr. Schliemann, rudely hammered out of a plate of gold, or made of strips of gold nailed together and adorned only with olive sprays, or flowers, or a few rude dolphins, the silver-gilt bowls of the Phœnicians must have seemed paragons of skill and beauty. And compared with the rude men and animals of the pottery of Mycenæ, the stately animals and monsters of the Phœnico-Asiatic vases must have seemed indeed splendid. What wonder if artists of the Argolid, finding themselves thus surpassed, unlearned their own methods, and took a new start under the guidance of the strangers?

Yet the break with the past was not utterly complete. We yet find in the treasures of Mycenæ some points of contact with later Greek art, some instances in which the Hellenic type which finally prevailed was taken from the more primitive style of design rather than from that which superseded it. These analogies and links are found mostly in the treatment of certain marine creatures, which are much affected in the art of Mycenæ, and but little in that of Phœnicia. Thus the dolphin, which we find at Mycenæ on a gold cup (p. 205), is identical with the dolphin on the early Greek pottery of Ialysus in Rhodes, on the coins of Zancle in Sicily, struck in the sixth century B.C., and on a thousand objects of later Greek art. The cuttle-fish of Mycenæ (pp. 166, 181, 268) is identical with the Greek cuttle-fish of the coins of Etruria and Eubœa, the latter perhaps of the seventh century before our era. Sometimes one observes the same similarity in creatures of the land. Thus the dogs of wood which were affixed to a coffer found by Dr. Schliemann, but which he unfortunately does not engrave, seem to be of exactly the same breed as the dogs figured on an archaic sepulchral relief at Orchomenus and the early coins of Cumæ and other Greek cities. Nor have some of the lions of Mycenæ, especially those figured on pages 178 and 361, quite an un-Hellenic air.

But unquestionably the later Greeks borrowed from Phœnician sources the style in which they represented most animals. And at the time of the greatness of Mycenæ, the Phœnician style had not yet fully developed itself out of the combination of the Egyptian and Assyrian. We therefore see in the treasure what we might have expected to see, many of the animal types bearing a merely barbarous character, or at best having all the appearance of home-growth, while in others we already find  
foreign

foreign influence at work, though not yet quite victorious. The types of the former class, the native, were destined to die out and disappear. First among them we would cite the stag (pp. 179, 257), a rude dappled creature quite of domestic invention. Here too must be ranged the very remarkable butterfly (pp. 168, 176, 183), and the boar, for such seems to be the animal of page 181. But other animal forms are as clearly Phœnician, or rather Egyptian, modified by passing through a Phœnician channel. Of these the griffin and sphinx (pp. 177, 182, 183) are undoubtedly instances; no Philhellene would dare, we believe, to claim for these monsters a western origin. The hawks too, miscalled pigeons by Dr. Schliemann, which figure on a cup (p. 237), present us with quite an Egyptian type. And the ox-head and lion-head (p. 211) of Mycenæ both distinctly approach the Egyptian form. If any doubt remained as to the existence of Egyptian and Phœnician influence at Mycenæ, it would be removed by the discovery in one tomb of splendid tassels formed of Egyptian porcelain (pp. 241-2), which can only have come from the banks of the Nile.

But while the animal forms thus betray Phœnician influence, the human do not so; or at least, if the style be borrowed from Phœnicia, it has passed through many an intervening stage and become strangely barbarised. But we must distinguish. The human forms on the vases of earthenware (p. 103) are perhaps of all the products of Mycenæan workmanship the most certainly Greek, and they are of an extreme rudeness. They belong clearly to the infancy of a nation, though to an intelligent and artistic infancy. Just such drawings are daily made by children of three or four years, and are hailed as prodigies by parents possessing imagination. But every touch is local; naturalism here appears in its most complete form, and presents us with images, rude indeed, but full of interest and reality. But the human form, as it appears on the signets and on the tombstones, is of another character. Here we have figures lank and distorted, with exaggerated muscles and in constrained attitudes, fighting their foes or hunting the quarry. An archæologist, looking at these figures by themselves and apart from their surroundings and the circumstances of their discovery, would not hesitate to assign them to a period of decay in some developed civilisation. They are full of decline and not of progress. They are nearly on a level with the military figures on the money of Constantine and his successors. Yet we know that this appearance is delusive. A ring in form precisely similar to these signets was found in a very early tomb at lalysus.

Lentoid gems from the Greek islands present us with human figures by no means dissimilar. The lankness of their proportions and the violence of their movements is nearer akin to the spirit of Egyptian than of Assyrian art. But through what strange schools the art of Egypt must have passed before it sank so low, we have no means of ascertaining.

It is strange that the tombstones, which must have been executed on the spot, present us not only with patterns just like those on the gold ornaments, for this might have been expected, but also with the same kind of human figures which the signets bear. Rude indeed are these sculptured men on foot and in chariots, so rude that we are tempted to think they are the very first attempts in that line of a people used up to that time to execute only patterns and animals in stone. In that case it would be comprehensible that the sculptors should copy as best they might the only representations of the human form known to them, those cut on the gems and gold signets of the wealthy, all of which may perhaps have come from abroad. Human figures of native device do indeed appear on the pottery, as we have already observed, but these are only painted, and to pass from painted to sculptured figures, however simple the transition may appear to us, is in the infancy of art a difficult and unusual operation.

The art which was contemporaneous with the Homeric poems was neither so primitive and barbarous as that which prevailed at Mycenæ when Dr. Schliemann's treasures were wrought, nor so advanced as that which must have existed at Corinth in the days of the children of Cypselus, in the seventh century before our era. It resembles in some respects both of these, and forms a link, where few links exist, between one and the other; but we hold, and we trust we shall be able to prove, that it has more in common with the later than with the earlier phase. If, indeed, we were to take Homer *au pied de la lettre*, and treat all his descriptions of works of art as sober and prosaic accounts of objects which he had seen and handled, we might fancy that his art was more advanced than any of the archaic Greek works which have come down to us. But Homer was a poet, and saw everything through the sweet haze of a joyous imagination. He had a rare faculty for perceiving beauty in the commonplace. There are several passages in the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' which enable us to prove this to demonstration. It is as a much beautified and enlarged copy of his own time and of the chiefs among whom he moved, that Homer represents the times and the heroes of the Trojan war. If Hector or Ajax casts a stone, it is such a mass as two men of the poet's own day could not lift.

Diomedes

Diomedes in one day wounds and overthrows two of the immortal gods. The very horses of Achilles and Æneas are of heavenly breed, and far surpass in all qualities the animals of more degenerate days. The hall of Menelaüs glitters as you approach it with light like that of the sun or the moon. A hecatomb of cattle is a usual sacrifice for an Achæan hero, and he is able to produce from his tent talents of gold, vessels of silver, and tripods in unlimited abundance. Thus, again, when the poet has to describe the palace of Alcinoüs, of the wealthy Phæacian race, he runs riot and talks of dogs of gold and silver and torch-bearing youths of pure gold. Even the doors are of the same metal, while the door-posts for variety's sake are of silver. Of course we know that among the early Greeks the precious metals were not thus common. In the same way, when Homer describes a work of art, especially when he ascribes the making of it to a god, we must not for a moment suppose that he had seen anything resembling what he celebrates. We can only conclude that he had seen something which enabled a fervid imagination to conjure up that which is described. If the poet saw a dog in bronze, he would at once fill his heroes' halls with dogs in gold. If he had seen a shield with three or four simple scenes depicted on it, he would imagine that a shield made by Hephæstus must contain a score of complicated scenes. Even in seeing, his eyes had a vivifying power, of which a modern could scarcely form a conception. Thus in describing a buckle or fibula, such as he may have seen, bearing the subject of a dog seizing a fawn, he says, 'All wondered at the way in which the dog gazed at the fawn as he throttled him, and the fawn, struggling to escape, quivered in every limb.' Such language would be almost too vivid in describing a picture by Landseer, and when we compare it with the most expressive works which can be assigned to Homeric times, it may well appear almost absurd. But in all this Homer was neither before nor behind his contemporaries. They said of the mythical Dædalus, who was supposed to have been the first to separate the legs of statues and to indicate the pupils of the eyes, that Dædalus made statues to see and to walk; and so little was this of a metaphor to them, and so completely did they mean what they said, that in some temples they even chained the Dædalian figures of deities by the leg to prevent them from running away. So Homer speaks of the golden maids of Hephæstus as living and moving: and on the same principle, when tripods were set on easily-revolving wheels, Homer feigned that they could go to the agora and return by their own volition. He was like those unspoiled children, to whom a four-roomed cottage is a palace, and a wooden Dutch doll a fine lady.



If we keep this consideration in mind, we may safely examine wherein the works of art described by Homer resemble those of the Phœnician period, and wherein rather the more primitive productions of earlier times, such as are found at Mycenæ. The latter part of this task, which naturally comes first in treatment, may be lightly dismissed, if not altogether passed by, for Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Schliemann vie one with the other in finding as many points of contact as possible between the newly discovered treasures and the Homeric poems. It must be confessed that some of their comparisons are fanciful, but enough are sound to make it clear to any unprejudiced enquirer that treasures and poems have something in common. We have already spoken of the most important point of resemblance to the Homeric world found at Mycenæ, the bronze- (or copper-) clad walls of the treasuries. The sword of Agamemnon, as Homer describes it, must have much resembled the sword found at Mycenæ, and in both cases a sword-belt of gold was used to support the weapon. The practice also of adorning objects with ἤλοι (whether we translate the word by 'buttons' or 'bosses') of precious metal, must in either case be common to Mycenæ and the land of Homer. In one place (p. 205) Dr. Schliemann has well shown that in Homer's time the custom prevailed of affixing the lids of boxes by means of wires twisted into a knot, which was the custom at Mycenæ too. Resemblances in details are far more plentiful than general resemblances. Thus the λέβης ἀνθεμόεις of Homer can scarcely have been very different in style of ornament from the cup (p. 234), which has around it a row of flowers in *repoussé* work. And the golden goblet of p. 237 must be of the same sort as the cup of Nestor, described by Homer and so celebrated in antiquity, which had on each handle a pair of doves and two bottoms below. The doves are paralleled by the hawks on the handles of the Mycenæan vessel; and Dr. Schliemann seems to be quite right when he remarks that the two bottoms can be nothing but the bottom of the cup and the bottom of the stand.

Far more numerous and striking are the resemblances which may be traced between Homer's description of works of art and the known specimens of the Asiatic style, whether in metal or pottery. Couches in Homer are adorned with gold, silver, and ivory, inlaid in the wooden substance. In just the same way gold and ivory were used in inlaying the chest of Cypselus; but in the Mycenæan treasure we have no instance in which ivory is inlaid; in the case of the coffer of cedar the figures of dogs attached to its surface were entirely of wood. Generally it is observable how much Homer speaks of ivory, which could only

only reach Greece from a Phœnician source, and which is found in extraordinary quantities amid the remains of the later or Asiatic period, but which scarcely figures at all at Mycenæ. Iron too, by no means unfamiliar to Homer, seems to have been unknown at Mycenæ. In Homer the sword of Agamemnon is kept in a silver sheath. A dagger from Præneste, of about the seventh century, B.C., has such a sheath, with a *repoussé* pattern of Asiatic type; but the sheaths of Mycenæ were of wood. A silver *crater* from Camirus, of Asiatic style, shows traces of gilding round the edge and on the handles, reminding us of Homer's *crater*—

ἀργύρεος δὲ  
ἔστιν ἅπας, χρυσῶ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται—

the goldsmiths of Mycenæ could not plate on silver, but only on copper. To pass from material to style, scarcely any words could convey more exactly the characteristics of the Asiatic style of art than those used by Homer in his description of the sword-belt of Herakles:—

ἵνα θεσκελα ἔργα τέτυκτο,  
ἄρκτοι τ' ἀγρότεροί τε σύες χαρσποί τε λέοντες  
ὑσμῖναι τε μάχαι τε φόνοι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε—

words which bring up before us vividly a composition of perhaps three bands, the upper one consisting of boars and bears, the middle of combats of warriors, the lower of a procession of lions. In the same way the celebrated description of the shield of Achilles, though such a work of art could not have existed for many centuries after Homer, is clearly inspired by the contemplation of shields of Asiatic style, the division of the field into tiers or bands being the radical principle of arrangement; while we observe that correspondence of scene with scene, and that balancing of figure with figure, which are among the best established characteristics of such works as the coffer of Cypselus and the throne at Amyclæ.

In the shield of Achilles we notice one peculiarity which seems to attach to an Oriental source, and to indicate a period earlier than that in which the Greeks developed their own art on an Oriental basis. In the earliest truly Hellenic works of art, the representations are of individuals, either deities, or more commonly heroes. Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles, or Theseus, are represented in action, and an inscription is appended beside them so as to preclude all mistake on the matter. It may be partly due to the necessary absence of inscriptions; at any rate it is a fact, that the scenes of the Homeric shield are of quite another character, representing, not special persons, but cities at  
peace

peace or war, bands of dancers, the keeping of cattle, and similar ethical or general subjects. In this Homer is nearer than any Greek artist to the Assyrian reliefs, in which also we find an absence of inscriptions, as well as scenes which are quite typical and abstract in character. This generality is also a marked characteristic of Phœnician reliefs, and of the Etruscan reliefs which are copied from them. But it is certainly contrary to the genius of Greek art, which was no sooner weaned than it passed from the abstract and ethical to the concrete and mythical. Thus, even in Hesiod's description of the shield of Herakles, a work of almost undisputed antiquity, and which is in many respects a copy of the Homeric prototype, we have a representation of Perseus pursued by the Gorgons (a favourite subject on early vases), of Apollo amid the Muses, and of the battle between Centaurs and Lapithæ.

The conclusion forced upon us by this comparison, which might, if space permitted, be worked out to far greater length, is that the poems of Homer date from a period when the Asiatic style of art was gradually supplanting older and more primitive styles, but before the latter had quite disappeared. Homer evidently thinks that the most skilful works of art are either fashioned by the gods or come from the East. In the twenty-third book of the 'Iliad,' Achilles proposes, as a prize for swiftness, a silver *crater*, which, says the poet, surpassed in beauty all in the world, for it was made by the skilful Sidonians, and brought by Phœnician traders over the sea. Among the Greeks, there had already begun that sense of the inferiority of their native productions which caused them to take, in many respects, quite a fresh start in the matter of art, under the teaching of the strangers.

It would be most desirable, were it possible, to fix the date of the introduction of the Phœnico-Asiatic style into Greece and Italy. Such a date, could it be ascertained, would be a starting-point whence we could mount upwards to the times of primitive Greek art, and whence we could trace downwards the gradual formation out of Asiatic elements of a purely Hellenic style. Unfortunately a rude approximation is all that can be reached. Of the Phœnician bowls above-mentioned, the earliest class seems to be those from Nimroud. It is stated that these were found in such close juxtaposition with sculptured remains of the reign of Sargon, as to leave small doubt that they were part of the booty collected by that monarch in the course of his victorious expeditions to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Sargon ruled in the latter part of the eighth century before our era. The bowls from Cyprus and Italy are of a somewhat later date. With regard to

to the Italian vessels in particular, Professor Helbig maintains that they were brought from Carthage, a city not founded before the eighth century. They are found in connection with Etrurian and Phœnician inscriptions, which are assigned on grounds of palæography to the seventh century, and with Egyptian vessels ascribed by Lepsius to the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty. The style of adornment of these vases is largely made up of Assyrian elements, and the Assyrian arms and influence did not reach Phœnicia until the twelfth century before our era. Probably, therefore, the Phœnico-Asiatic style was gradually formed about the tenth and ninth centuries before our era, and propagated by Phœnician commerce during the eighth and seventh centuries into Italy and Greece.

That the pottery of the Asiatic style was contemporary with the metal-work which followed Phœnician influence, we know from the evidence of the necropolis of Camirus. It is also asserted that vases of this class were found at Corfu in the tomb of Menecrates, which can scarcely be assigned to a later period than B.C. 560.

We are now in a position to draw together the ends of the various threads which have been separately woven, and to see what is the most reasonable theory that can be formed as to the date and the historical bearing of the objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann. It must at once be confessed that for an exact determination of date the materials are wanting. Nevertheless, some approximation may be made. Certainly they must be assigned to a period before the eighth century B.C., because in them there is no trace of the style of art properly called Asiatic. They must even precede that century by some ages. For both at Spata in Attica, and at Ialysus in Rhodes, treasures have been found which also precede the introduction of the Asiatic style, and yet which are of an unquestionably later date than the treasures of Mycenæ. For the transition from the style of Mycenæ to the style of Spata, and from the style of Spata to the Græco-Asiatic art of sepulchres like those of Camirus in Rhodes, we must allow at least two centuries. Or, to take another view, for the transition from the art of Mycenæ to that of Homer, and then for the passing out of use of many of the peculiarities of Homeric art before we reach the earliest truly Hellenic productions, we must allow two or three centuries. Placing Homer somewhere about the ninth century, we may be fairly sure that the graves of Mycenæ were not dug and filled before the eleventh. We would venture to fix the year 1000 before our era as about the lowest time to which, with archæological propriety, we may bring our objects down. The upward limit cannot be fixed so easily

easily or so closely as the lower. But certainly the Mycænæan treasures are of a decidedly later date than those of Troy. To the latter, M. François Lenormant has laboured hard to assign an epoch ; and that on which he has fixed, the fifteenth or fourteenth century, seems to be well selected. He tries to show that the spread of the Phœnician settlements and of Phœnician trade in the Mediterranean did not take place before the fourteenth century, after the great emigrations and re-settlements of the peoples of the Mediterranean, of which we find traces on the Egyptian monuments. The Trojan treasures, as not showing traces of Phœnician influence, he would place before that epoch ; the Mycænæan treasures, being full of traces of the beginning of such influence, must be ascribed to a later time. The fourteenth century seems therefore on archæological grounds to be about the most ancient, and the eleventh about the most recent period to which we may fairly assign the newly-found hoard.

The historical evidence falls in with and confirms the archæological. According to tradition, Mycænæ was only built some five or six generations before the Trojan war. Its wealthy Phrygian kings began to reign two or three generations later, that is to say, according to the received chronology, about 1250 years before our era. And with the Dorian conquest, at the end of the twelfth century, the political importance and the preponderating wealth of Mycænæ came to an end. And it is certain that none but kings, and those wealthy kings, could have left so rich a treasure as has been found. Nay, further, those kings cannot have been Hellenic in origin, Greece being almost destitute of the precious metals. It seems, then, impossible to avoid the conclusion, that what has been dug up is the remains and the treasures either of the Perseid, or more probably of the Pelopid kings of Mycænæ.

Nevertheless, looking at the facts of the case with dispassionate eyes, we may see that the evidence is not conclusive that the remains are those of Agamemnon and his companions. It is true that in the time of Pausanias the spot where Dr. Schliemann dug was pointed out by tradition as that where Agamemnon and his friends were laid. But to a tradition of this sort, lingering so long after the event, we can attach but little value. Pausanias is so indifferent a witness as to things which he must have seen with his own eyes, that we are in no way bound to believe him as to events which took place a thousand years before he was born ; provided, that is to say, they ever took place at all. We cannot, moreover, by any ingenuity make the numbers of people in the various graves agree with the words of the traveller. But, without undue reliance upon Pausanias,  
Mr.

Mr. Gladstone has evolved a theory of great acuteness, which professes to account for all the strange circumstances of the discovery, for the hasty interment, the half-burned bodies, the lavish heaping of gold ornaments around. He suggests that the bodies may really be those of Agamemnon and his companions, and the method of interment may be accounted for as follows. Perhaps the usurping assassins allowed their victims the honour of a burial in the agora, and dug the graves wide and deep, but conducted the actual burial with haste—almost with indecency. Perhaps Orestes, when he came to the throne, desiring to make what amends he could, opened the tombs and had the bodies roughly burned, covering them with ornaments of gold, partly ‘to replace in the wasted bodies the seemliness and majesty of nature, and to shelter its dilapidation.’ Perhaps filial piety dictated the lavish deposit of arms and valuables, and the erection of sculptured tombstones on the spot.

We may say at once of this conjectural explanation, offered by Mr. Gladstone with considerable diffidence, that it accounts perfectly for much that is strangest in the tombs of Mycenæ, and it is not open to many serious objections. There is certainly among most scholars a strong tendency to doubt or deny the truth of the Trojan legends to history. But we must not let scepticism carry us too far. All that Mr. Gladstone’s theory assumes is the truth of the legend that a great King of Mycenæ, returning from an expedition in the Troad, was murdered by his wife and her paramour, buried in the city, and afterwards avenged by his son on the murderers. The name of this King may or may not have been Agamemnon. In any case this Agamemnon of tradition and legend is not the Agamemnon of Homer, but related to him in the same way as the Charles the Great of history was related to the Charlemagne of romance. It is all but certain that Homer sang at least two centuries after the graves were dug at Mycenæ, and two centuries, before the use of writing, would separate a hero from his poet more effectually than six in our days. We find, then, in Mr. Gladstone’s suggestion neither extravagance nor an excess of credulity.

At the same time we would venture, for the sake of the sceptics, to place by the side of Mr. Gladstone’s theory another, which seems to us of equal plausibility, and somewhat less startling. Either one or the other may be established or refuted in the course of the further excavations proposed at Mycenæ. It is not impossible that, either when the Dorians invaded Argolis, or on some other occasion when the city was in danger, the people of Mycenæ may have been stricken with fear on account of the persons of their kings and heroes buried in the underground

underground buildings called treasuries, and on account of the wealth of gold buried with them. So they may have removed bodies and treasures alike to a spot within the walls of the acropolis, thinking that at least within those mighty walls safety would be found. They may have formed an enclosure and dug deep into the rock, and at the bottom of the tombs have hastily erected rude pyres whereon to burn the bodies of their heroes. This burning may have been dictated by the altered custom which then prevailed as to the rites of burial. Or perhaps it may have been intended to remove the corpses yet more securely out of the reach of enemies. After the funereal fire, they may have heaped in the graves all the treasures which had before surrounded their dead. In after days they may have formed an agora round the spot, and have erected tombstones over the various graves. This hypothesis would account for many circumstances. It would explain the dismantled and empty condition of the underground treasuries. That these have not been entered and pillaged within historical times is certain, for Dr. Schliemann found the *dromos* or entrance to the one which he searched full of archaic pottery, and the earth there quite undisturbed. Yet the treasury itself was empty. It would account for the number of the bodies buried at one time and the mass of wealth which lay about them. It is indeed open to one objection, that the bodies of the kings would, unless embalmed, have passed in the course of a century or two into such a condition as would prevent their being removed to a new tomb. We would, however, suggest that some circumstances seem to point to a certain decay in the bodies before they were buried in the agora. This is suggested by their cramped position, and the fact carefully noted by Dr. Schliemann (p. 299), that in the case of a male body the golden shoulder-belt 'was not in its place, for it now lay across the loins of the body, and extended in a straight line far to the right of it.' It is further exceedingly likely that the early Mycenæans partly embalmed the bodies of their dead princes. The gold masks on their faces remind us in a striking manner of the gilded faces of the Egyptian mummies, and suggest that among other Egyptian customs, which penetrated into Greece at an early epoch, the dressing of the dead with spices may have held a place. This theory is the only alternative to Mr. Gladstone's which we have been able with all reflection to discover, and we are content to leave our explanation and his side by side, without finally declaring ourselves in favour of either.

So far of the matter of Dr. Schliemann's book; the manner we must dismiss shortly. We do not hesitate to say that,  
archæologically

archæologically regarded, Dr. Schliemann's book is of very great value. We would take, as English men of science generally take, a more generous view of his career and achievements than has been the case in Germany, which has hitherto rather played the part of step-mother than of mother, treating him as prophets are proverbially treated in their own country. In the light of discoveries such as his one can afford to overlook little deficiencies in scholarship, and an over-affection for certain views which somewhat disfigure the volume before us. There is one quality which is allowed to cover a multitude of sins—love. And if love covers many faults, it surely will cover most effectually those which arise from its own excess. It is, in fact, from an excess of zeal for the writings and genius of Homer, and a too literal veneration for his every word, that most of Dr. Schliemann's faults take their rise. If we indicate a few of them it is not from any wish to carp or depreciate, but in order to set the reader on his guard against a too indiscriminate reliance on the judgment of our author.

The head and front of his offending is that to him nothing of all he has found at Mycenæ is common or unmeaning. So far is he from the cynicism which takes no interest in anything, that he finds the interesting and the beautiful where ordinary eyes see only the commonplace and the ugly. Thus in describing the ring, of the greatest archæological interest, but of uncouth Oriental work, which he figures on page 354, he speaks of the noble Grecian features of one of the women represented on it, and of masks or visors which he supposes two of the others to be wearing, when it is quite clear from the general style of execution that the artist had only just sufficient skill to represent a face—small details, such as the contour of features, being quite beyond his grasp. The said artist gets far more than is his due in the concluding words with which Dr. Schliemann dismisses him, 'This ring must have been seen by Homer before he described all the wonders which Hephæstus wrought on the shield of Achilles.' In another place, speaking of the very sorry stag of another signet, Dr. Schliemann says that 'it seems to turn its head back full of anguish,' a phrase which calls to mind what Homer says of a representation probably very similar.\* Is it this too ardent imagination which caused the author to discover at Troy the physiognomy of an owl in the primitive representations of a woman?

This source of delusion is naturally more fruitful still when the writer is mounted on a favourite hobby. And of all his

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\* See above, p. 83.



hobbies, probably that about Ἡρῆ βοῶπις bears him furthest afield. Probably no moderate and well-instructed archæologist would venture to deny that Hera was in many places identified with the moon-goddess, and so with the symbolical cows and bulls which have been from the remotest antiquity associated with the moon-goddess and her worship. And considering the two facts, first, that Isis and Athor were in Egypt represented as women with cow-heads, and second, that we find at Mycenæ constant and undeniable traces of Egyptian influence, it would be most rash to say that the deity called in the Homeric and historical ages Herê at Argos, may not have been in very early times worshipped in bovine and semi-bovine shape. Indeed, there are many indications that this was the case, indications which, were this a strictly archæological treatise, we would produce at length. But all this may be granted without our being compelled to see cow-worship everywhere, and cow-idols in every rude terra-cotta image. Of the terra-cotta animals figured at pages 74, 106, and elsewhere, Dr. Schliemann admits that the greater part are horses, some are rams and other animals. In the excavations at Cyprus multitudes of horses, cows, chariots, and other objects rudely formed in terra-cotta, are constantly found. They may have been children's toys, or they may have had some sepulchral meaning. Terra-cotta vases adorned with cow-heads are also found in Cyprus. And it is still more unfair to make of the poor half-fledged arms of the rude terra-cotta figures of women, the horns of cows. Does Dr. Schliemann suppose that at Mycenæ there was a race of cows whose horns grew beneath their shoulders? We have not the slightest doubt that had Dr. Schliemann found these same figures at Troy, the horns would have become wings, and the figures would have been supposed to represent the owl-goddess. As a matter of fact, human figures in terra-cotta of just the same shape were found at Ialysus in Rhodes, and elsewhere, and were no doubt, at the time of their fabrication, supposed to be quite passable imitations of women. It is evidently with great regret that Dr. Schliemann confesses the animal on page 257 to be a stag rather than a cow.

As a misleading force, next to 'Herê boöpis' ranks, with the author, the desire of connecting Mycenæ with Troy. Of the Trojan antiquities we have said nothing, because it is evident to an archæological eye that they belong to a period far more remote than those of Mycenæ, and enter into quite another category. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, makes an effort in the 'Introduction' to account for the great differences between the Trojan and Mycenæan hoards, by supposing that when the objects were buried

buried Troy was reduced to penury, while Mycenæ was in full glory. But this statement is quite misleading. We do not say that the Trojan antiquities are of a different date from those of Mycenæ because they are fewer in number, and poorer in material. The difference is not one of degree, but of kind. Comparing article by article what has been found on the two sites, we discern a complete difference in style, in workmanship and in civilisation, which compels us to assume quite a different period of time, and an absence of relations between the two cities. Dr. Schliemann is so determined to find Trojan symbols at Mycenæ that he turns into Trojan idols the very unmistakable heads of lions on the signets engraved on pages 354 and 360, which heads, alternating with those of oxen in the last case, have quite as much right as the latter to be considered as religious symbols. Indeed, from the remotest antiquity, both in Egypt and the East, the lion has been the symbol of the sun and the bull or the cow of the moon. Everywhere in monuments deriving from the East we find lion and bull, apart or together, as religious emblems. When Dr. Schliemann sees everywhere moon-worship and overlooks the evidence of contemporary sun-worship, though even in later Argos Apollo was held in as much honour as Hera, he is clearly misled, because he is too much *homo unius libri*, and despises other authority in comparison with Homer.

But we have done with fault-finding. When an explorer has by patience and faith won treasures for science from the graves of past generations he has done the essential part of his work. When, in addition, he gives a careful and accurate account of the circumstances of finding, he has amply discharged his duty, and we cannot fairly expect from him an exact appreciation of the value and bearing of his own discovery. To possess the indomitable energy and patience of the discoverer, and to be at the same time an accomplished archæologist and scholar, is not for every one. Such a combination exists in but one Englishman of our generation, the discoverer of the Mausoleum. But, although Dr. Schliemann can scarcely claim a union of virtues so rare, he has, we repeat, produced a work archæologically valuable as a contribution to the history of art, and as a record of the circumstances of his own discovery, quite invaluable. He has, in fact, laid the whole learned world under the deepest obligations, and we must express our regret that there are some scholars who seem to have taken pleasure in carping at Dr. Schliemann's mistakes, and who have refused to acknowledge the pre-eminent services which he has rendered to all genuine lovers of ancient literature and art.

- ART. IV.—*Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England.* Presented in both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London, 1877.
2. *Annual Summary of Births, Deaths, and Causes of Death in London and other large Cities, 1875.* Published by the Authority of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England. London, 1876.
  3. *Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England.* Presented in both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London, 1876.

THE Annual Report issued by the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England is one of the many works performed by official hands of which comparatively little account is taken. Yet the volume always contains much that is valuable, and often much that is really interesting. But the form in which it appears, the long tables of figures, the innumerable columns carefully headed with their separate subjects, the immense mass of details, all are sufficient to turn aside the mere casual reader. And yet it is in the fact of this immense mass of details, combined with their skilful, their scientific arrangement, that the interest of the volume lies. The rise, maintenance, and progression of each generation of our fellow-countrymen is chronicled here, or rather, as each generation is connected by countless links of living interest both with that which precedes it and that which treads on its heels, we can never single out in fact, as we fancy we can in imagination, any one generation from its fellows, and we have laid before us here the gradual development of the entire population. The volume contains, so far as many points of material welfare are concerned, a history of the maintenance and progress of the English nation. The countless incidents which affect the welfare of the people, the births, the marriages, the deaths, the illnesses, the migrations, the adversity, the prosperity, are all reflected in these pages; marked, not indeed in any startling story, or with any striking connection of incidents, but by the slow and regular aggregation of details; the whole forming a history almost perfect in itself, constructed on the principle of allowing the facts to state themselves, preserving them strictly, truthfully, and completely. Separated from each other, these facts would be valueless, and generally devoid of interest. Collected and compacted together, they preserve a record of what has occurred, of the higher value from the fact that it gives a most honest transcript of

of what has been. It may be compared to one of those strange preservations of the past which have been found in excavating the relics of Pompeii, where the ashes accompanying the outburst of the volcanic forces which destroyed that doomed city have formed a covering so complete for those who were overwhelmed in the catastrophe, that the shape of every limb of the sufferer, of every fold of the garment, has been retained. Modern investigation pours a liquid and plastic material into the mould thus created, and is startled by recovering the almost life-like image of the once brilliant maiden or the stalwart soldier who succumbed, ages since, before the terrible storm which preserved their forms, as it fixed them, in death.

Almost as complete, almost as minute, is the record of the past preserved by the registration of facts collected by the care of the Registrar-General. The chapter in the Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report, which narrates the 'March of an English Generation through Life,' gives a picture, vivid by its lively representation, of the various illnesses and accidents which befall the average inhabitant of our island. It commences by singling out, in imagination, a million children from the moment of birth. Of these, some are born feeble, some are early attacked by disease, their frail and immature forms are surrounded by many perils; it will be found that more than a fourth part of the whole number, taking England all over, will have been removed by death before they reach the age of five years. Most of the survivors have been attacked by some sort of disease, or by more diseases than one. Yet increasing strength enables them to withstand better the onslaughts of illness, and less than a seventh part of the number of deaths recorded in the first period of five years is enumerated in the second. The deaths between the ages of ten and fifteen are fewer than at any other time of life. It is as if the destroying angel looked compassionately, for a few moments, on the weakened numbers of that mighty host, from which he had already exacted so heavy a tribute. At the age from fifteen to twenty the mortality increases again, especially among women; as consumption and childbirth, for a greater proportional number of deaths occur among those who marry at a very early age—alas! that the fair brides wedded in the first sweet bloom of youth should have to suffer thus—make severe havoc in their ranks. At this age the more dangerous occupations of men over those of women begin to show their influence, and fully eight times as many men as women die violent deaths. The number of deaths from violent causes increases in the next five years—from twenty to twenty-five—while, during it, nearly half

half the mortality is from consumption. From this point onwards the progress of the career of the remainder is only chronicled by the Registrar at intervals of ten years. In the period from twenty-five to thirty-five consumption is again the most fatal disease; most of those who die have already settled into their several avocations, and are fathers and husbands, mothers, and wives. Hence the deaths which occur leave more sorrow and trouble behind them than those which take place at an earlier age. Between thirty-five and forty-five the same conditions continue in the main. The new generation, which is in time to succeed the one whose fate has been the object of inquiry, has now been born. We must not, however, pause to contemplate their career, but must fix our attention on the further progress of the rapidly-thinning ranks whose onward march we have been mentally accompanying. The deaths by consumption still predominate; but the strain of time on the structure of the body has also been great at this age, and many succumb to diseases of the principal organs. The violent deaths at this age continue at much the same quota as at the period when men first begin to enter active life. The period from forty-five to fifty-five is justly marked as being 'nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,' for the million which was surveyed in imagination at the outset has now dwindled down to half that number. The number of deaths at this age is considerably greater than in the preceding decade. Consumption is still very destructive, and diseases of the brain and diseases of the heart show, by the number of their victims, the effect of the continued strain of wear and tear. 'To the age of fifty-five,' of the million singled out in imagination, to quote from Dr. Farr, from whose remarks the foregoing observations have been condensed, 'near the middle of the possible lifetime of humanity in its present state, 421,115 attain, and from this point of time it is possible to look ahead, and discover the particular rocks, foes, collisions, tempests to be encountered, to be dreaded, or to be weathered by the fleet on its way to the utmost butt of existence, and very seamark of its journey's end.'

One thing to remark is, that the rate, the degree of danger, which has hitherto increased slowly, now increases at so much faster a pace that, although the number of lives grows less, the number of deaths increases in every one of the next twenty years, and is afterwards sustained for ten years longer, until at last, in the distance, all sink into the elements from which they came.

Of the 100 women living of the age of fifty-five and upwards, it is worthy of note that eleven are spinsters, forty-three widows, and

and forty-six wives; of 100 men nine are bachelors, twenty-four widowers, and sixty-seven husbands.\*

To continue the chronicle. At the age of fifty-three the number of men and women surviving becomes equal; but from fifty-five and onward the women exceed the men in number. Between fifty-five and sixty-five the diseases of the lungs, heart, and brain are very fatal to life. Among the men violent deaths are about as common as at the earlier stages. But it is a sad thing to contemplate that suicides are more numerous, the greater number of deaths from that cause, in proportion, occurring at this age. That the cares and troubles of life increase, while vigour and energy decline, probably accounts for this melancholy fact. Between sixty-five and seventy-five the deaths are more numerous than in the ten years previous. By this time the majority of the grandchildren of the generation under consideration have been born, sixty-seven being about the average age of grand-paternity. A second great landmark in the life of the generation is thus passed. The age of seventy-two is that when the greater number of *men* die. From seventy-five to eighty-five the influence of weather upon health becomes more marked. One would hardly expect to find that, on an average, out of every million born, 161,124 reach the age of seventy-five. But by eighty-five this number has dwindled to 38,565, of whom Dr. Farr calculates that only about 220 reach the age of 100.

Interesting as this chronicle is, recalling as it does to the mind the beautiful story of the 'Vision of Mirza,' it is impossible to read it, any more than it is possible to read that charming allegory, without a feeling of melancholy. One cannot help reflecting on the regrets which must accompany each departure from life—the hopes unaccomplished, the vigour prematurely cut short, the families dispersed, the histories of pain and sorrow condensed into one brief line of the general statement. One cannot help thinking of the continuous and constantly recurring labours of the father of the family, the life-long exertions, the struggles to make or to maintain his position; of the labours, less seen but none the less arduous, of the mother, holding the household together with the bond of affection which makes the 'house,' the 'home.'

'Und füget zum Guten den Glanz und den Schimmer,  
Und ruhst nimmer.'

It is well to turn from these pages to those which relate the beneficial influences of improvements in the sanitary arrangements in towns. Thus a notable increase of health in Salisbury,

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\* 'Supplement to Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General,' p. xxxii.  
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gradually but steadily improving during the course of thirty years ; in towns circumstanced as differently from Salisbury as Macclesfield and Wisbech, a diminution ; and again an increase of mortality in Hull in the same period,—show how possible it is to combat the necessarily injurious influences of overcrowding and unhealthy occupations, if only there is a resolute determination to do so.

A short but very instructive statement in the Report chronicles the different influences which the fact of living in a healthy or an unhealthy district of the country has over the lives of the population. It were natural to expect that in this vast metropolis, with its great density of population, its ceaseless wear and tear, with an atmosphere at all times heavily laden with smoke, with an uncertain and trying climate, life should not attain the length which may be expected in the calm quiet of a country home. But the metropolis is far from containing the least healthy portion of the population of England ; the death-rates in the district in which Manchester is situated, and still more in the district of which Liverpool is the centre, are very considerably higher. The picture of 'the march of an English generation through life,' given in the preceding pages, would have presented very different and far sadder features had it been one which gave the experiences of an equal number of persons living in Manchester or Liverpool. Not only would fewer have reached maturity, but the deaths at almost every age would have been more numerous, and the comfort of those who did reach the higher ages would have been far more seriously interfered with by disease and suffering.

For it must be ever borne in mind that an excessive mortality at any age of life in a district means far more illness, far more distress, far more want, in that district than in those portions of the country which enjoy better health. The man in any rank of life, who is taken away early, probably leaves behind him those to whom his earnings, his assistance and his care, were most valuable. Had he lived longer he would have been able to provide more completely for his children, who have either to be brought up in the workhouse among all the countless disadvantages of a pauper training, or if they struggle on at home, yet miss continually the help which a parent only can give.

Dr. Farr has an interesting chapter on the pecuniary value of life. A certain amount of expense has to be incurred in any class before a child can attain such an age and such strength that it can earn its own livelihood. It is very difficult to estimate what the expenses of even a careful man who passes through the ordinary University career must have been before he  
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is able to earn anything for himself. Among the lower ranks the problem is simpler, though the facts and the general course of events have, making due allowance for difference in station, a considerable similarity.

‘ The value of any class of lives is determined by valuing first at birth, or at any age, the cost of future maintenance; and then the value of the future earnings. Thus proceeding, I found the value of a Norfolk agricultural labourer to be 246*l.* at the age of twenty-five; the child is by this method worth only 5*l.* at birth, 56*l.* at the age of five; 117*l.* at the age of ten; the youth 192*l.* at the age of fifteen; the young man 234*l.* at the age of twenty; the man 246*l.* at the age of twenty-five, 241*l.* at the age of thirty, when the value goes on declining to 136*l.* at the age of fifty-five: and only 1*l.* at the age of seventy; the cost of maintenance afterwards exceeding the earnings, the value becomes negative; at eighty the value of the maintenance exceeds the value of the earnings by 41*l.*—*Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General*, p. xlii.

A computation of this kind places the value of a population before us in a new light. We see how great the vigour of the productive activity of the inhabitants of these islands must have been which has enabled the British Empire to make such vast strides in material wealth during the last forty years, while parting with so many of the youngest and ablest of the community to colonise other lands, and to carry to them that wealth which their labour would otherwise have been worth to the mother country. This branch of the subject, the pecuniary value of life, naturally leads Dr. Farr to consider the health of men engaged in various occupations. In doing this, Dr. Farr has done full justice to the memory of Bernardo Ramazzini, who first collected, towards the latter half of the seventeenth century, a series of careful observations on the diseases of men engaged in different modes of work in the city of Modena; and different as life on the northern slope of the Apennines is from life in England at the present day, yet the classification made by Ramazzini was so complete, that it has been of great service to modern investigators into the same subject.

To commence with those occupations by means of which food and refreshments are distributed to the rest of the community, it is curious to notice, and contrary, we believe, to the ordinary opinion, that the mortality among butchers is greater than the average rate. This is the case whether the butchers carry on their trade in London or the country. Though butchers out of London enjoy healthier lives than those in London, yet, at all but the earlier ages, whether in the country or in the metropolis, the butcher is a less healthy man than his compeers. At the



earlier ages, from fifteen to twenty-five, the health of butchers, both in London and in the country, is better than that of the rest of the population of the same ages. This appears to show that butchers are selected lives; that is to say, that young, strong, active, and naturally healthy men, pass into this class of occupation by a kind of natural selection, but that as life goes on, and their original vigour declines, the deleterious influences of their calling gradually affect their health. Fishmongers are not more healthy than butchers. But bakers, though this might not have been expected, do not appear to be more unhealthy than the average of their fellow-citizens, except that as they grow older their occupation appears to tell on them. For the class of publicans we shall prefer to quote Dr. Farr's own words.

'The numerous, useful, and as a body respectable men who supply the community with drinks, food, and entertainment in inns, are shown to suffer more from fatal diseases than the members of almost any other known class. They might themselves institute a strict enquiry into its causes. But there can be little doubt that the deaths will be found due to delirium tremens and the many diseases induced or aggravated by excessive drinking. It seems to be well established that drinking small doses of alcoholic liquors, not only spirits, the most fatal of all the poisons, but wine and beer at frequent intervals without food, is invariably prejudicial. When this is carried on from morning till late hours in the night few stomachs—few brains—can stand it. The habit of indulgence is a slow suicide. The many deaths of publicans appear to prove this. Other trades indulge in the publicans' practice to some extent, and to that extent share the same fate. The dangerous trades are made doubly dangerous by excesses.'—*Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Report of the Registrar General*, p. iv.

The clergy generally, whether of the Established Church, whether Dissenting ministers or Roman Catholic priests, have, on an average, good health. It is otherwise with the medical profession. The classes which minister to the health of the body have far less healthy lives than the clergy, and up to the age of forty-five experience a mortality much above the average. The hard struggles of life, anxiety as to success, contact with disease, disturbed rest, are among the causes which appear to lead to this result. Chemists and druggists also are less healthy than the average. So also are commercial clerks, mercers, and drapers. Those engaged in the service of railways likewise experience a high rate of mortality. Coachmakers are a fairly healthy class. Wheelwrights, carpenters, joiners, sawyers, and those who work in wood, have lives healthier than the average of men. The influence of the occupation on  
health

health is clearly shown in the case of the blacksmith, who, carrying on his occupation under much the same circumstances as the wheelwright, not necessarily in the towns, but scattered among the villages and hamlets of the country, is nevertheless not so healthy a man as the wheelwright. The health of carvers and of gilders is, on the average, now better than it used to be. But Dr. Farr observes that both the carver and gilder and the plumber and glazier require more protection against the metallic poisons, to the influence of which they are exposed in their several callings. How much may be done by care in these matters is shown in the following sentence:—

‘The wool, silk, cotton-manufacturing population no longer experience an exceptionally high mortality. Lord Shaftesbury and his enlightened colleagues must be gratified, if not entirely satisfied, with the success that has crowned their life-long labours. And it is creditable to the mill-owners to find the men and boys in their employ suffering less than many other people in towns.’—*Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General*, p. lvi.

What has been done for the operatives in these branches of manufactures still remains to be done for those who work up the goods which are the produce of their toil. Tailors and shoemakers still need much to be done for their health. Tailors especially are less healthy than the average, and the health of those employed in the earthenware manufacture especially appears to suffer from their occupation.

‘At the age of joining it is low; but the mortality after the age of thirty-five approaches double the average; it is excessively high; it exceeds the mortality of publicans. What can be done to save the men dying so fast in the potteries and engaged in one of our most useful manufactures?’—*Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Report of the Registrar General*, p. lvii.

Mining is also an unhealthy occupation. Some classes of mining are more dangerous than others; but, in the aggregate, miners’ lives wear out more rapidly than metal-workers’, and both classes are far less healthy than the agricultural labourer. Outdoor occupations, in which there is not an excessive exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, are beyond doubt the healthiest which a man can undertake. Farmers and agricultural labourers are at the present time among the healthiest classes in the community. For some reason, which is not exactly understood, the young farmer appears to have a less healthy life than the labourer of the same age. But, from the age of thirty-five and upwards, the farmer is the healthier of the two. It is to be hoped that an improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourer

labourer may be accompanied by an improvement in his health. The health of the largest class of workers in the community is of vast importance to the well-being of the State.

After reviewing the chances of life among the different classes of the community, Dr. Farr proceeds to consider how great a part of the sufferings which they endure is due to preventible causes. Much may be, and has been, done by the law to promote health, by removing or diminishing the causes from which diseases spring. First among these come the two elements of water and air. Legislation has done much to improve the condition of the labourers in factories and mills, but Dr. Farr insists that much more may still be done to secure a removal of dangerous dusts from flour-mills, cotton-mills, and shops. Vegetable dusts, such as those which are produced in a flour-mill, are injurious to life, but they are much less hurtful than mineral dusts. Still there is every reason to think that their removal would be an advantage to the health of those at present exposed to their influence; but it is probable that it is rather from scientific and mechanical improvements than from legislative action that amelioration in their condition is likely to proceed.

Dr. Farr calls to mind, in speaking of this subject, the Chinese saying which regards the wants of the population as so many 'mouths to be satisfied.' And when we reflect on the millions who inhabit these islands, on their many and varied wants, on the fact that so large a proportion of their food has annually to be imported, and from great distances, it certainly appears a marvellous thing that all the necessities of so many persons can be supplied. The population contains men in work and men out of work, the extremes of life, the infant and those in extreme old age, the sick, the infirm, the incapable; and it speaks a great deal in favour not only of the charity of neighbours, often but little better off than those they assist, but of the manner in which the poor relief of the country is administered, that so few people die of want annually among us. 'The deaths now ascribed in all England directly to privation are at the rate of three every fortnight—seventy-seven annually.' The fact that of these the majority are men, shows that the resolution not to apply for parochial relief is at the bottom of the deaths of many of these sufferers. Otherwise it is obvious that the feebler sex, those who at the best of times are able to earn less, whose powers are more rapidly exhausted, and who form considerably more than half the old folks of the country, would, if unassisted by extraneous relief, die from want in the greater numbers of the two. 'Without the institution of poor relief—imperfect it may be, but still admirable

rable and English—the deaths from starvation would, amidst all the chances of life, badness of seasons, the fluctuations of trade, amount to thousands a year.\*

The deaths from want and privation touch the heart deeply, and it is only right they should. When one compares the boundless affluence of some members of the community, possessors of wealth sufficient to gratify every fancy, every inclination, every wish of its owner, with the abject want of those unable to procure even the bare necessities needed to sustain life in the roughest and humblest manner, it seems incredible that any persons should be allowed to die of sheer want in this wealthy land; and, doubtless, if the necessities of the sufferers had but been known they would have been supplied. But the dulling effects of poverty, added to a reluctance to parade distress, in some cases account for the fact that no application has been made for assistance. And it is as well to turn to the other side of the picture. Those whose death is ascribed by the Registrar-General to excess in food greatly exceed in number those who die from want. And this number shows a far larger proportion. 'Though their numbers are fewer, the deaths of the wealthy and their servants ascribed to gout greatly exceed the deaths of the poor from starvation. The deaths by gout are nearly six weekly, 299 annually.' Dr. Farr does not ascribe all these deaths to actual excesses in food, but to untoward combinations. There may be some hereditary predisposition besides actual excess in food and drink. And yet these deaths are but a small part of those which are properly to be ascribed to excess. If there are, as there must be, many more than those who actually succumb from hunger, whose lives have been shortened and rendered unhealthy by privation, on the other hand those whose constitutions have been sapped, and whose deaths have been accelerated by excesses, must be many more indeed than those registered as due to gout. Could an accurate statement be drawn up of all the illness, all the misery which is caused by excess, the suffering caused by it would greatly exceed that induced in this country by want alone.

The relations which exist between the rate of increase of the population and the rate of mortality deserve careful attention. It is possible in some degree to influence for better or for worse the rate of mortality among the population, and it is certainly one of the most remarkable instances of the controlling force of man over the powers of nature to find that by legislative enactments, and by scientific adaptation of means to

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\* 'Supplement to Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar General,' p. lxi.  
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the desired ends, it lies within his power to influence, not only the happiness, but the length of life of his fellow-creatures. The birth-rate is under control likewise, but not of the same description. 'A flow of prosperity in the country is immediately followed and marked by the launch of a whole fleet of marriages. The ruin of an industry or the depression of a trade implies a stagnation of marriages. There are thousands of couples always on the look-out, ready to embark as the prospects brighten.' And the numbers of marriages, and the consequent numbers of births, influence the death-rate in more ways than one. If the various districts of England are arranged in order, from those in which the death-rate is least to those in which it is greatest, it is found that the mortality increases with a very constant regularity in proportion to the density of the population. Hence as the numbers thicken, the demands on those numbers also increase. Every additional birth is met by an additional death. The birth-rate has, under any but very unhealthy circumstances, slightly the advantage over the death-rate; but in those districts which are very densely peopled, the increase of the population goes on slowly when it becomes closely aggregated. The population may even under these circumstances tend to diminish. In Liverpool the population would not be kept up in numbers, far less would it increase, if it were not for continual immigration, which supplies fresh blood to fill the gaps made by the unhealthy circumstances which prevail in that town. Such districts are rare in England; but there are a good many instances in which the rate of increase among the population has declined as that population has increased in density. This forms a curious commentary on the balance between advance and retrogression which accompanies the apparent prosperity of a district. The stability of the rate of increase is thus promoted by the fact that the augmentation of numbers brings with it a diminution in the rate of progress.

The improvements which have been made of recent years in official registration have been of service also in other ways than in tracing the progress of disease. Considerable light is also thrown on the condition of the body politic by their means. Thus the remarkable fact that emigrants have returned to this country in such great numbers of recent years, has been traced out clearly by the care which has been bestowed on registration. There is no country in Europe probably in which emigration, and immigration also, have so great an effect on the condition of the people as in England. Emigration plays a great part in influencing the demand for labour, and the number of those who have returned to this country, especially from America, shows how severe the  
recent

recent crisis in that country must have been, and also that, notwithstanding the dense crowding of the population here, and the intensity of the struggle for life, yet the greater wealth, resulting in the more abundant appliances for production in this country, goes a long way to make up for the more abundant natural advantages of other lands.

Other curious points connected with the social condition of the people are recorded in the Report. It appears that during the last thirty years women have been married in England on an average at younger ages than they used to be—that is to say, women are married now at earlier ages than their mothers and probably their grandmothers were. At the present time not much short of a quarter of the brides in England are married under the age of twenty-one. This, beyond doubt, shows a considerable improvement in the condition of the people. And it is satisfactory to find that, while the birth-rate has continued at much the same average, the number of children born in wedlock has progressively increased.

The mortality of unmarried men continues above the average. This may be ascribed in part to the want of the comforts of home; but it is also probably due to the fact that it is rather the weakly men who do not marry. The proportion of those who have signed the marriage-registers in writing has greatly increased of late years. And the increase among those who are able to write their own names has been considerably greater among the women than among the men. Thirty or five-and-thirty years ago, though education was generally very backward, it was undoubtedly more backward among the girls than among the boys in England. There are still fewer women able to write their names on their marriage-day than men. But the spread of education throughout the country will rapidly show itself in this direction. It appears that marriages by banns rather than by licenses are considerably on the increase in England. Beyond doubt the arrangements for marriages by banns give facilities for clandestine marriages in large towns. The number of names read out, the want of clearness in the reader, render it difficult to trace a name among the multitude. The Registrar-General observes in his Report for this year that 'the banns of 99 couples have been published in the church of St. Pancras, of 125 couples in St. Mary's, Lambeth, of 202 couples in the Cathedral Church of Manchester on one Sunday; in many cases the names being merely mentioned, unaccompanied with any announcement of condition, whether bachelor, widow, &c., and in many cases no searching inquiry having been made as to previous actual residence in the parish, or as to consent of parents

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in case of minors. Nor is the banns-book accessible and open to the public.' The Registrar-General very naturally compares this state of matters with the care taken to prevent illegal marriages by the Registrars. Instances, no doubt, take place in which these safeguards are broken through: and the following extract from the Report is suggestive of the necessity of more stringent regulations being established:—

'With respect to marriages by license in the Established Church, no interval, during which inquiry may be made by parents or guardians or relatives, is necessary between the application for the granting of a license and the solemnization of the marriage; a clergyman holding the office of surrogate, after administering to one of the parties to be married the oath that there is no legal impediment, may grant a license for a marriage in his own church, which he may himself in a few minutes be called upon to celebrate.

'Some years ago two persons called at a church in London at 10.30 a.m. requiring to be married immediately, but producing no license; they were told at the church that by going to Doctors' Commons they might obtain a license and be married that morning. They went accordingly, returned with the license, and were married before twelve o'clock that same day.'—*Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General*, p. xvi.

It is worth remark that in 1875 the mortality throughout the country was high—while the birth-rate was low. The temperature of the year was exceedingly variable. Though the winter generally was very severe, yet it was broken by periods of warmer weather. These sudden alternations of temperature proved fatal to many persons, especially to those who were beyond the prime of life, while very young children also suffered from these influences in a similar manner. These vicissitudes of temperature appear to have influenced health all over the country, and they show the manner in which the forces of nature will exert their sway, notwithstanding all that man can do to shield himself from their power. Yet, as has been related, much has been done, and much more may be done. The Registrar-General's Report for 1877 mentions, among other matters, the way in which a watch can be, and has been, kept over some of those districts in which the mortality of the population has been shown to be above the average. Eighteen districts were selected in this manner. They were chosen because the annual rate of mortality was shown to have been higher in them for the ten years, from 1861 to 1870, than in the previous ten years. And special inquiries were made in these districts as to the reasons why the health of the population had retrograded in them. The Report states, with regard to these inquiries: 'For most of the  
particulars

particulars relating to the hygienic conditions of these eighteen districts, I am indebted to the courtesy of the respective Medical Officers of Health of the urban and rural sanitary areas which are situated in these registration districts.\* Now, investigations of this description are very important things. If the health of any district has suffered through the incomplete character of the sanitary works within it, through the fact that these works have been tardily or imperfectly carried on, or are insufficient to keep up with the increase of the population, the results of the inquiry should be made public in very distinct manner. The health of any population is most closely bound up with its well-being. And it is a very important thing for a place to know whether or not its population is more or less healthy than other populations similarly situated in other parts of the country; and further, whether, if it is less healthy, this fact proceeds from causes which are, or are not, preventible. Information of this description would stimulate the exertions of the local Officers of Health, and would stimulate, too, the local authorities who are charged with carrying out sanitary works in the exercise of their duties.

While feeling that the Registrar-General has only been performing his duty in requiring the medical officers, in those districts throughout the provinces in which the mortality has been for a considerable time above the average, to supply him with a statement of the causes likely to affect the public health within their boundaries, it is worth noticing, that matters requiring, but not receiving, attention at least as close, occur continually in London itself. When we say requiring, but not receiving, attention, we do not in the least mean to infer that these matters fail to receive the attention of the Registrar-General himself, but that all that lies in his power to do is to report on them. The power of action does not lie, with regard to such subjects, in his hands, and consequently when he has reported he has done all that is in his power to do. We refer at this point to the quality of the water supplied by the Metropolitan Water Companies. An analysis of the water furnished by the different Companies forms part of the regular Reports of the Registrar-General. This analysis is based on a chemical examination conducted at the present time by Professor Frankland of the Royal College of Chemistry. It is impossible to give here a complete description of the very careful statement which Professor Frankland periodically draws up, but space may be found

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\* 'Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General,' p. xxxiii.



for a few of the leading points in it. There are eight Companies which supply London with water, but of these, the historic venture of Sir Hugh Myddelton, the 'New River Company,' and the more modern 'East London Company,' are considerably the largest, and furnish between them not much less than the half of all the water which is used, and considerably more than half what is used in the great mass of London which lies north of the Thames. To show, if there is any need, that the complaints are not of recent standing, we will take the Report of the condition of the water supplied in the year 1875. That Report contains what may be aptly termed a historic statement of the quality of the water for the eight years previous. The following statement occurs in it:—

'The water both of the Thames and Lea has again suffered marked deterioration during the past year, whilst that from deep wells in the chalk has slightly improved. Notwithstanding the application of partial remedies for sewage pollution at Banbury, Eton, and Windsor, and the greater care exercised by most of the Companies in the storage and filtration of the water, the organic pollution contained in the Thames water delivered in London, though subject to fluctuations from the greater or less prevalence of floods, does not diminish.

'Taking the mean proportion of organic impurity in the Thames water delivered in London in 1868 as 1000, I find that in subsequent years down to 1875 inclusive, the following proportions were present.

Year.	Proportion of Organic Impurity present in Thames Water as delivered in London.							
1868	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1000
1869	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1016
1870	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	795
1871	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	928
1872	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1243
1873	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	917
1874	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	933
1875	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1030

'The maximum organic pollution in the water drawn from the Thames occurred in January, February, March, August, and November, when the river was in a very objectionable condition. Of the five Companies drawing from this river the West Middlesex Company delivered the best, and the Lambeth Company the worst water.

'The most serious pollution of the Lea occurred in the months of January, February, August, November, and December, but the worst water delivered by the New River Company during these months was much superior to that procured from the Thames.

'Taking, as before, the mean proportion of organic impurity in the Thames water supplied to London in 1868 as 1000, I find in that and subsequent years, down to 1875 inclusive, the following proportions

proportions in the Lea water delivered by the New River and East London Companies:—

Year.	Proportion of Organic Impurity present in Lea water as delivered in London.								
1868	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	484
1869	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	618
1870	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	550
1871	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	604
1872	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	819
1873	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	693
1874	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	583
1875	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	751

‘The water of the Lea, therefore, appears to be progressively, though irregularly, deteriorating in quality, but it is still much superior to that of the Thames.’—*Annual Summary of Births, Deaths, and Causes of Death in London and other large Cities, 1875*. Published by the authority of the Registrar General, p. xxxv.

The water supplied by the New River and East London Companies is, it will be observed, among the best in quality which is furnished to the inhabitants of London. The Kent Company, which derives its water from deep wells sunk in the chalk, supplies a class of water which is infinitely purer than that obtained either from the Thames or from the River Lea. As the Report continues, ‘the water of the Thames and the Lea is, at its source, as free from pollution as the chalk-well water; but in its downward course the river-water becomes largely contaminated by sewage and the washings of cultivated land, and especially so in winter.’ It might be possible, therefore, to obtain much purer water both from the Thames and Lea. It is beyond our province to follow here the efforts which have been made recently to prevent the contamination which these rivers receive. At the present time, things may be taken to continue in much the same state as that described in the Report of Dr. Frankland; and the Registrar-General’s Report remains a remarkable monument of the care which may be taken to preserve a record of what should be done, and of the want of care which fails to supply any machinery for providing that what ought to be done should be done. The water-supply of London is indeed a subject which would have tested the energies of Imperial Rome in her palmiest days of prosperity. A very ingenious and carefully thought-out paper, by Mr. Edward Easton and Mr. F. J. Bramwell, read before the Economic Section of the British Association at their late meeting in Plymouth, proposed to cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty, by dividing the water-supply of London into two parts; one of water for the purposes

purposes of drinking and of extinguishing fires, to be delivered by a separate and new system of mains and pipes, on a system of continued high-pressure ; the other of water for washing and other purposes, to be supplied by the existing system, The reason for this division is based on the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient quantity of really pure water for both purposes. It is very doubtful whether this plan would answer in actual practice. We only refer to it as a proof of what is felt to be needed. In the meantime, however, while this scheme is being debated for the use of London, Manchester proposes to send to the Lake district for a supply equal in quality to that which Glasgow already enjoys, and which is drawn from Loch Katrine. These facts show how closely population in this island is already pressing on the means of life. They show the necessity of careful and well-considered legislative action to secure for the large masses of population throughout the country what they require, and of the undesirableness of considering the wants of each place by itself, without regard to the needs of the rest of the community. Meanwhile it is well to observe that the metropolis, notwithstanding all the great improvements recently made in it, is really, in such matters as the mode of dealing with the water-supply, among the most old-fashioned places in the kingdom. This is a natural consequence of its having been the first to attract and to employ arrangements which have remained unaltered and unimproved in London, while they have been carried to greater perfection elsewhere. While a continuous water-supply at a high pressure may be spoken of as general among the large towns of the north, and in other parts of England, London remains the only great example of supply on the intermittent system, with all the attendant disadvantages and inconveniences of cisterns. Great part of the difficulty in this case, as in most cases of the same kind, lies in the details, in the condition of the ' fittings.' Attention to detail, though distasteful to most minds, lies at the bottom of success in matters of this description. Without question the re-arrangement of the existing system to admit of constant supply, would be attended with considerable expense, but there can be little doubt that an improvement in the water-supply would be followed by an improvement in the health of the population ; and an improvement in health means—to put it on that ground alone—a great economy.

The Report of the Registrar-General calls attention to the curious fact, that the numbers of medical men in the country have not increased in proportion to the numbers of the population. The proportion of medical men to population has declined since 1851, when it was 9·7 to 10,000 persons living. In 1861 it was 8·3 to

83 to the same number, and in 1871 it was only 7·8. It would be interesting to trace to what this diminution in the number of medical men is due. It is certainly strange that, at a time when the population generally has increased greatly in wealth, and also in its consumption of luxuries, a growth in the number of those who have charge of its health should not have taken place.

The Supplement to the Thirty-fifth Report of the Registrar-General, on which much of the foregoing statement has been based, contains a most carefully drawn up statistical account of the number of deaths from the prevalent diseases in each of the districts into which the country is divided for registration purposes, and which are more than 600 in number. These facts are given thus for the ten years over which the inquiry extends. When one sees this enormous mass of detail, and considers the immense labour which must have been employed in its construction, one also has to feel of how much service it would be to the public health if, whenever such a statement is prepared, a copy of the return for each district were sent to the principal local authorities, together with a summary Table giving the results for the whole of the country. It would thus be a very easy thing for those living in a particular district to ascertain whether their district were more healthy or less healthy than the average; and, where it differed for the worse from the average, it would be interesting to those living in each place to search out the cause, and, if possible, to guard against the recurrence of the disaster. Such subjects, which affect the welfare of all the inhabitants, would be discussed with great eagerness within the boundaries of each district. And the interest in them is not confined to those living in each district alone. It is not without a deep meaning that 'Health, wealth, and happiness' are combined in the words of our time-honoured Liturgy. The health of a family is, as all know full well, closely combined with the happiness of a family. Whatever promotes health, in its broadest meaning, promotes happiness as well, and the nation is in this sense but an aggregate of families. What seems a slight improvement, or a slight deterioration, when carried on for a considerable length of time, produces a very important effect on the condition of the community. The higher civilisation which our country has already attained is but a faint foreshadowing of what might be reached were all the hindrances to further progress rooted out or restrained. Dr. Farr has drawn a picture, with no uncertain or feeble hand, of the advance which has been shown to have been made within the short limits of the lifetime of one generation (so far as these matters

matters can be ascertained by a careful system of registration), in health, and more than in health, in education and in morality. No doubt there are many points which cannot be ascertained by these means; but a proper use of them supplies a vast deal of information. It is only needful to allude to the deep feeling of regret which would have been expressed if contrary results had been noted down, to show the value of what has thus been ascertained. And from the results of the past the country may well take courage for the future.

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ART. V.—*Democracy in Europe; a History*. By Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B., D.C.L. In 2 volumes, 1877.

SCARCELY thirty years separate the Europe of Guizot and Metternich from these days of universal suffrage both in France and in United Germany; when a condemned insurgent of 1848 is the constitutional Minister of Austria; when Italy, from the Alps to the Adriatic, is governed by friends of Mazzini; and statesmen who recoiled from the temerities of Peel have doubled the electoral constituency of England. If the philosopher who proclaimed the law that democratic progress is constant and irrepressible had lived to see old age, he would have been startled by the fulfilment of his prophecy. Throughout these years of revolutionary change Sir Thomas Erskine May has been more closely and constantly connected with the centre of public affairs than any other Englishman, and his place, during most of the time, has been at the table of the House of Commons, where he has sat, like Canute, and watched the rising tide. Few could be better prepared to be the historian of European Democracy than one who, having so long studied the mechanism of popular government in the most illustrious of assemblies at the height of its power, has written its history, and taught its methods to the world.

It is not strange that so delicate and laborious a task should have remained unattempted. Democracy is a gigantic current that has been fed by many springs. Physical and spiritual causes have contributed to swell it. Much has been done by economic theories, and more by economic laws. The propelling force lay sometimes in doctrine and sometimes in fact, and error has been as powerful as truth. Popular progress has been determined at one time by legislation, at others by a book, an invention, or a crime; and we may trace it to the influence of Greek metaphysicians and Roman jurists, of barbarian custom

tom and ecclesiastical law, of the reformers who discarded the canonists, the sectaries who discarded the reformers, and the philosophers who discarded the sects. The scene has changed, as nation succeeded nation, and during the most stagnant epoch of European life the new world stored up the forces that have transformed the old.

A history that should pursue all the subtle threads from end to end might be eminently valuable, but not as a tribute to peace and conciliation. Few discoveries are more irritating than those which expose the pedigree of ideas. Sharp definitions and unsparing analysis would displace the veil beneath which society dissembles its divisions, would make political disputes too violent for compromise and political alliances too precarious for use, and would embitter politics with all the passion of social and religious strife. Sir Erskine May writes for all who take their stand within the broad lines of our constitution. His judgment is averse from extremes. He turns from the discussion of theories, and examines his subject by the daylight of institutions, believing that laws depend much on the condition of society, and little on notions and disputations unsupported by reality. He avows his disbelief even in the influence of Locke, and cares little to inquire how much self-government owes to Independency, or equality to the Quakers; and how democracy was affected by the doctrine that society is founded on contract, that happiness is the end of all government, or labour the only source of wealth; and for this reason, because he always touches ground, and brings to bear, on a vast array of sifted fact, the light of sound sense and tried experience rather than dogmatic precept, all men will read his book with profit, and almost all without offence.

Although he does not insist on inculcating a moral, he has stated in his introductory pages the ideas that guide him; and, indeed, the reader who fails to recognise the lesson of the book in every chapter will read in vain. Sir Erskine May is persuaded that it is the tendency of modern progress to elevate the masses of the people, to increase their part in the work and the fruit of civilisation, in comfort and education, in self-respect and independence, in political knowledge and power. Taken for a universal law of history, this would be as visionary as certain generalisations of Montesquieu and Tocqueville; but with the necessary restrictions of time and place, it cannot fairly be disputed. Another conclusion, supported by a far wider induction, is that democracy, like monarchy, is salutary within limits and fatal in excess; that it is the truest friend of freedom or its most unrelenting foe, according as it is mixed or pure; and this

ancient and elementary truth of constitutional government is enforced with every variety of impressive and suggestive illustration from the time of the Patriarchs down to the revolution which, in 1874, converted federal Switzerland into an unqualified democracy governed by the direct voice of the entire people.

The effective distinction between liberty and democracy, which has occupied much of the author's thoughts, cannot be too strongly drawn. Slavery has been so often associated with democracy, that a very able writer pronounced it long ago essential to a democratic state; and the philosophers of the Southern Confederation have urged the theory with extreme fervour. For slavery operates like a restricted franchise, attaches power to property, and hinders Socialism, the infirmity that attends mature democracies. The most intelligent of Greek tyrants, Periander, discouraged the employment of slaves; and Pericles designates the freedom from manual labour as the distinguishing prerogative of Athens. At Rome a tax on manumissions immediately followed the establishment of political equality by Licinius. An impeachment of England for having imposed slavery on America was carefully expunged from the Declaration of Independence; and the French Assembly, having proclaimed the Rights of Man, declared that they did not extend to the colonies. The abolition controversy has made everybody familiar with Burke's saying, that men learn the price of freedom by being masters of slaves.

From the best days of Athens, the days of Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Socrates, a strange affinity has subsisted between democracy and religious persecution. The bloodiest deed committed between the wars of religion and the revolution was due to the fanaticism of men living under the primitive republic in the Rætian Alps; and of six democratic cantons only one tolerated Protestants, and that after a struggle which lasted the better part of two centuries. In 1578 the fifteen Catholic provinces would have joined the revolted Netherlands but for the furious bigotry of Ghent; and the democracy of Friesland was the most intolerant of the States. The aristocratic colonies in America defended toleration against their democratic neighbours, and its triumph in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania was the work not of policy but of religion. The French Republic came to ruin because it found the lesson of religious liberty too hard to learn. Down to the eighteenth century, indeed, it was understood in monarchies more often than in free commonwealths. Richelieu acknowledged the principle whilst he was constructing the despotism of the Bourbons; so did the electors of Brandenburg,

burg, at the time when they made themselves absolute; and after the fall of Clarendon, the notion of Indulgence was inseparable from the design of Charles II. to subvert the constitution.

A government strong enough to act in defiance of public feeling may disregard the plausible heresy that prevention is better than punishment, for it is able to punish. But a government entirely dependent on opinion looks for some security what that opinion shall be, strives for the control of the forces that shape it, and is fearful of suffering the people to be educated in sentiments hostile to its institutions. When General Grant attempted to grapple with polygamy in Utah, it was found necessary to pack the juries with Gentiles; and the Supreme Court decided that the proceedings were illegal, and that the prisoners must be set free. Even the murderer Lee was absolved, in 1875, by a jury of Mormons.

Modern democracy presents many problems too various and obscure to be solved without a larger range of materials than Tocqueville obtained from his American authorities or his own observation. To understand why the hopes and the fears that it excites have been always inseparable, to determine under what conditions it advances or retards the progress of the people and the welfare of free states, there is no better course than to follow Sir Erskine May upon the road which he has been the first to open.

In the midst of an invincible despotism, among paternal, military, and sacerdotal monarchies, the dawn rises with the deliverance of Israel out of bondage, and with the covenant which began their political life. The tribes broke up into smaller communities, administering their own affairs under the law they had sworn to observe, but which there was no civil power to enforce. They governed themselves without a central authority, a legislature, or a dominant priesthood; and this polity, which, under the forms of primitive society, realised some aspirations of developed democracy, resisted for above three hundred years the constant peril of anarchy and subjugation. The monarchy itself was limited by the same absence of a legislative power, by the submission of the King to the law that bound his subjects, by the perpetual appeal of prophets to the conscience of the people as its appointed guardian, and by the ready resource of deposition. Later still, in the decay of the religious and national constitution, the same ideas appeared with intense energy, in an extraordinary association of men who lived in austerity and self-denial, rejected slavery, maintained equality, and held their property in common, and who consti-



tuted in miniature an almost perfect Republic. But the Essenes perished with the city and the Temple, and for many ages the example of the Hebrews was more serviceable to authority than to freedom. After the Reformation, the sects that broke resolutely with the traditions of Church and State as they came down from Catholic times, and sought for their new institutions a higher authority than custom, reverted to the memory of a commonwealth founded on a voluntary contract, on self-government, federalism, equality, in which election was preferred to inheritance, and monarchy was an emblem of the heathen; and they conceived that there was no better model for themselves than a nation constituted by religion, owning no law-giver but Moses, and obeying no king but God. Political thought had until then been guided by pagan experience.

Among the Greeks, Athens, the boldest pioneer of republican discovery, was the only democracy that prospered. It underwent the changes that were the common lot of Greek society, but it met them in a way that displayed a singular genius for politics. The struggle of competing classes for supremacy, almost everywhere a cause of oppression and bloodshed, became with them a genuine struggle for freedom; and the Athenian constitution grew, with little pressure from below, under the intelligent action of statesmen who were swayed by political reasoning more than by public opinion. They avoided violent and convulsive change, because the rate of their reforms kept ahead of the popular demand. Solon, whose laws began the reign of mind over force, instituted democracy by making the people, not indeed the administrators, but the source of power. He committed the Government not to rank or birth, but to land; and he regulated the political influence of the landowners by their share in the burdens of the public service. To the lower class, who neither bore arms nor paid taxes, and were excluded from the Government, he granted the privilege of choosing and of calling to account the men by whom they were governed, of confirming or rejecting the acts of the legislature and the judgments of the courts. Although he charged the Areopagus with the preservation of his laws, he provided that they might be revised according to need; and the ideal before his mind was government by all free citizens. His concessions to the popular element were narrow, and were carefully guarded. He yielded no more than was necessary to guarantee the attachment of the whole people to the State. But he admitted principles that went further than the claims which he conceded. He took only one step towards democracy, but it was the first of a series.

When the Persian wars, which converted aristocratic Athens into

into a maritime state, had developed new sources of wealth and a new description of interests, the class which had supplied many of the ships and most of the men that had saved the national independence and founded an empire, could not be excluded from power. Solon's principle, that political influence should be commensurate with political service, broke through the forms in which he had confined it, and the spirit of his constitution was too strong for the letter. The fourth estate was admitted to office, and in order that its candidates might obtain their share, and no more than their share, and that neither interest nor numbers might prevail, many public functionaries were appointed by lot. The Athenian idea of a Republic was to substitute the impersonal supremacy of law for the government of men. Mediocrity was a safeguard against the pretensions of superior capacity, for the established order was in danger, not from the average citizens, but from men, like Miltiades, of exceptional renown. The people of Athens venerated their constitution as a gift of the gods, the source and title of their power, a thing too sacred for wanton change. They had demanded a code, that the unwritten law might no longer be interpreted at will by Archons and Areopagites; and a well-defined and authoritative legislation was a triumph of the democracy.

So well was this conservative spirit understood, that the revolution which abolished the privileges of the aristocracy was promoted by Aristides and completed by Pericles, men free from the reproach of flattering the multitude. They associated all the free Athenians with the interest of the State, and called them, without distinction of class, to administer the powers that belonged to them. Solon had threatened with the loss of citizenship all who showed themselves indifferent in party conflicts, and Pericles declared that every man who neglected his share of public duty was a useless member of the community. That wealth might confer no unfair advantage, that the poor might not take bribes from the rich, he took them into the pay of the State during their attendance as jurors. That their numbers might give them no unjust superiority, he restricted the right of citizenship to those who came from Athenian parents on both sides; and thus he expelled more than 4000 men of mixed descent from the Assembly. This bold measure, which was made acceptable by a distribution of grain from Egypt among those who proved their full Athenian parentage, reduced the fourth class to an equality with the owners of real property. For Pericles, or Ephialtes—for it would appear that all their reforms had been carried in the year 460, when Ephialtes died—is the first democratic statesman who grasped the  
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the notion of political equality. The measures which made all citizens equal might have created a new inequality between classes, and the artificial privilege of land might have been succeeded by the more crushing preponderance of numbers. But Pericles held it to be intolerable that one portion of the people should be required to obey laws which others have the exclusive right of making; and he was able, during thirty years, to preserve the equipoise, governing by the general consent of the community, formed by free debate. He made the undivided people sovereign; but he subjected the popular initiative to a court of revision, and assigned a penalty to the proposer of any measure which should be found to be unconstitutional. Athens, under Pericles, was the most successful Republic that existed before the system of representation; but its splendour ended with his life.

The danger to liberty from the predominance either of privilege or majorities was so manifest, that an idea arose that equality of fortune would be the only way to prevent the conflict of class interests. The philosophers, Phaleas, Plato, Aristotle, suggested various expedients to level the difference between rich and poor. Solon had endeavoured to check the increase of estates; and Pericles had not only strengthened the public resources by bringing the rich under the control of an assembly in which they were not supreme, but he had employed those resources in improving the condition and the capacity of the masses. The grievance of those who were taxed for the benefit of others was easily borne so long as the tribute of the confederates filled the treasury. But the Peloponnesian war increased the strain on the revenue and deprived Athens of its dependencies. The balance was upset; and the policy of making one class give, that another might receive, was recommended not only by the interest of the poor, but by a growing theory, that wealth and poverty make bad citizens, that the middle class is the one most easily led by reason, and that the way to make it predominate is to depress whatever rises above the common level, and to raise whatever falls below it. This theory, which became inseparable from democracy, and contained a force which alone seems able to destroy it, was fatal to Athens, for it drove the minority to treason. The glory of the Athenian democrats is, not that they escaped the worst consequences of their principle, but that, having twice cast out the usurping oligarchy, they set bounds to their own power. They forgave their vanquished enemies; they abolished pay for attendance in the assembly; they established the supremacy of law by making the code superior to the people; they distinguished

tinguished things that were constitutional from things that were legal, and resolved that no legislative act should pass until it had been pronounced consistent with the constitution.

The causes which ruined the Republic of Athens illustrate the connection of ethics with politics rather than the vices inherent to democracy. A State which has only 30,000 full citizens in a population of 500,000, and is governed, practically, by about 3000 people at a public meeting, is scarcely democratic. The short triumph of Athenian liberty, and its quick decline, belong to an age which possessed no fixed standard of right and wrong. An unparalleled activity of intellect was shaking the credit of the gods, and the gods were the givers of the law. It was a very short step from the suspicion of Protagoras, that there were no gods, to the assertion of Critias that there is no sanction for laws. If nothing was certain in theology, there was no certainty in ethics and no moral obligation. The will of man, not the will of God, was the rule of life, and every man and body of men had the right to do what they had the means of doing. Tyranny was no wrong, and it was hypocrisy to deny oneself the enjoyment it affords. The doctrine of the Sophists gave no limits to power and no security to freedom; it inspired that cry of the Athenians, that they must not be hindered from doing what they pleased, and the speeches of men like Athenagoras and Euphemus, that the democracy may punish men who have done no wrong, and that nothing that is profitable is amiss. And Socrates perished by the reaction which they provoked.

The disciples of Socrates obtained the ear of posterity. Their testimony against the government that put the best of citizens to death is enshrined in writings that compete with Christianity itself for influence on the opinions of men. Greece has governed the world by her philosophy, and the loudest note in Greek philosophy is the protest against Athenian democracy. But although Socrates derided the practice of leaving the choice of magistrates to chance, and Plato admired the bloodstained tyrant Critias, and Aristotle deemed Theramenes a greater statesman than Pericles, yet these are the men who laid the first stones of a purer system, and became the lawgivers of future commonwealths.

The main point in the method of Socrates was essentially democratic. He urged men to bring all things to the test of incessant inquiry, and not to content themselves with the verdict of authorities, majorities, or custom; to judge of right and wrong, not by the will or sentiment of others, but by the light which God has set in each man's reason and conscience. He proclaimed that authority is often wrong, and has no warrant to silence or to  
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impose conviction. But he gave no warrant to resistance. He emancipated men for thought, but not for action. The sublime history of his death shows that the superstition of the State was undisturbed by his contempt for its rulers.

Plato had not his master's patriotism, nor his reverence for the civil power. He believed that no State can command obedience if it does not deserve respect; and he encouraged citizens to despise their government if they were not governed by wise men. To the aristocracy of philosophers he assigned a boundless prerogative; but as no government satisfied that test, his plea for despotism was hypothetical. When the lapse of years roused him from the fantastic dream of his Republic, his belief in divine government moderated his intolerance of human freedom. Plato would not suffer a democratic polity; but he challenged all existing authorities to justify themselves before a superior tribunal; he desired that all constitutions should be thoroughly remodelled, and he supplied the greatest need of Greek democracy, the conviction that the will of the people is subject to the will of God, and that all civil authority, except that of an imaginary state, is limited and conditional. The prodigious vitality of his writings has kept the glaring perils of popular government constantly before mankind; but it has also preserved the belief in ideal politics and the notion of judging the powers of this world by a standard from heaven. There has been no fiercer enemy of democracy; but there has been no stronger advocate of revolution.

In the 'Ethics' Aristotle condemns democracy, even with a property qualification, as the worst of governments. But near the end of his life, when he composed his 'Politics,' he was brought, grudgingly, to make a memorable concession. To preserve the sovereignty of law, which is the reason and the custom of generations, and to restrict the realm of choice and change, he conceived it best that no class of society should preponderate, that one man should not be subject to another, that all should command and all obey. He advised that power should be distributed to high and low; to the first according to their property, to the others according to numbers; and that it should centre in the middle class. If aristocracy and democracy were fairly combined and balanced against each other, he thought that none would be interested to disturb the serene majesty of impersonal government. To reconcile the two principles, he would admit even the poorer citizens to office and pay them for the discharge of public duties; but he would compel the rich to take their share, and would appoint magistrates by election

election and not by lot. In his indignation at the extravagance of Plato, and his sense of the significance of facts, he became, against his will, the prophetic exponent of a limited and regenerated democracy. But the *Politics*, which, to the world of living men, is the most valuable of his works, acquired no influence on antiquity, and is never quoted before the time of Cicero. Again it disappeared for many centuries; it was unknown to the Arabian commentators, and in Western Europe it was first brought to light by St. Thomas Aquinas, at the very time when an infusion of popular elements was modifying feudalism, and it helped to emancipate political philosophy from despotic theories and to confirm it in the ways of freedom.

The three generations of the Socratic school did more for the future reign of the people than all the institutions of the States of Greece. They vindicated conscience against authority, and subjected both to a higher law; and they proclaimed that doctrine of a mixed constitution, which has prevailed at last over absolute monarchy, and still has to contend against extreme Republicans and Socialists, and against the masters of a hundred legions. But their views of liberty were based on expediency, not on justice. They legislated for the favoured citizens of Greece, and were conscious of no principle that extended the same rights to the stranger and the slave. That discovery, without which all political science was merely conventional, belongs to the followers of Zeno.

The dimness and poverty of their theological speculation caused the Stoics to attribute the government of the universe less to the uncertain design of gods than to a definite law of nature. By that law, which is superior to religious traditions and national authorities, and which every man can learn from a guardian angel who neither sleeps nor errs, all are governed alike, all are equal, all are bound in charity to each other, as members of one community and children of the same God. The unity of mankind implied the existence of rights and duties common to all men, which legislation neither gives nor takes away. The Stoics held in no esteem the institutions that vary with time and place, and their ideal society resembled a universal Church more than an actual State. In every collision between authority and conscience they preferred the inner to the outer guide; and, in the words of Epictetus, regarded the laws of the gods, not the wretched laws of the dead. Their doctrine of equality, of fraternity, of humanity; their defence of individualism against public authority; their repudiation of slavery, redeemed democracy from the narrowness, the want of principle and of sympathy, which are its reproach among the Greeks. In  
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practical life they preferred a mixed constitution to a purely popular government. Chrysippus thought it impossible to please both gods and men ; and Seneca declared that the people is corrupt and incapable, and that nothing was wanting, under Nero, to the fulness of liberty, except the possibility of destroying it. But their lofty conception of freedom, as no exceptional privilege but the birthright of mankind, survived in the law of nations and purified the equity of Rome.

Whilst Dorian oligarchs and Macedonian kings crushed the liberties of Greece, the Roman Republic was ruined, not by its enemies, for there was no enemy it did not conquer, but by its own vices. It was free from many causes of instability and dissolution that were active in Greece—the eager quickness, the philosophic thought, the independent belief, the pursuit of unsubstantial grace and beauty. It was protected by many subtle contrivances against the sovereignty of numbers and against legislation by surprise. Constitutional battles had to be fought over and over again ; and progress was so slow, that reforms were often voted many years before they could be carried into effect. The authority allowed to fathers, to masters, to creditors, was as incompatible with the spirit of freedom as the practice of the servile East. The Roman citizen revelled in the luxury of power ; and his jealous dread of every change that might impair its enjoyment portended a gloomy oligarchy. The cause which transformed the domination of rigid and exclusive patricians into the model Republic, and which out of the decomposed Republic built up the archetype of all despotism, was the fact that the Roman Commonwealth consisted of two States in one. The constitution was made up of compromises between independent bodies, and the obligation of observing contracts was the standing security for freedom. The plebs obtained self-government and an equal sovereignty, by the aid of the tribunes of the people, the peculiar, salient, and decisive invention of Roman statecraft. The powers conferred on the tribunes, that they might be the guardians of the weak, were ill defined, but practically were irresistible. They could not govern, but they could arrest all government. The first and the last step of plebeian progress was gained neither by violence nor persuasion, but by seceding ; and, in like manner, the tribunes overcame all the authorities of the State by the weapon of obstruction. It was by stopping public business for five years that Licinius established democratic equality. The safeguard against abuse was the right of each tribune to veto the acts of his colleagues. As they were independent of their electors, and as there could hardly fail to be one wise and honest man among the ten, this

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was the most effective instrument for the defence of minorities ever devised by man. After the Hortensian law, which in the year 287 gave to the plebeian assembly co-ordinate legislative authority, the tribunes ceased to represent the cause of a minority, and their work was done.

A scheme less plausible or less hopeful than one which created two sovereign legislatures side by side in the same community would be hard to find. Yet it effectually closed the conflict of centuries, and gave to Rome an epoch of constant prosperity and greatness. No real division subsisted in the people, corresponding to the artificial division in the State. Fifty years passed away before the popular assembly made use of its prerogative, and passed a law in opposition to the senate. Polybius could not detect a flaw in the structure as it stood. The harmony seemed to be complete, and he judged that a more perfect example of composite government could not exist. But during those happy years the cause which wrought the ruin of Roman freedom was in full activity; for it was the condition of perpetual war that brought about the three great changes which were the beginning of the end—the reforms of the Gracchi, the arming of the paupers, and the gift of the Roman suffrage to the people of Italy.

Before the Romans began their career of foreign conquest they possessed an army of 770,000 men; and from that time the consumption of citizens in war was incessant. Regions once crowded with the small freeholds of four or five acres, which were the ideal unit of Roman society and the sinew of the army and the State, were covered with herds of cattle and herds of slaves, and the substance of the governing democracy was drained. The policy of the agrarian reform was to reconstitute this peasant class out of the public domains, that is, out of lands which the ruling families had possessed for generations, which they had bought and sold, inherited, divided, cultivated and improved. The conflict of interests that had so long slumbered revived with a fury unknown in the controversy between the patricians and the plebs. For it was now a question not of equal rights but of subjugation. The social restoration of democratic elements could not be accomplished without demolishing the senate; and this crisis at last exposed the defect of the machinery and the peril of divided powers that were not to be controlled or reconciled. The popular assembly, led by Gracchus, had the power of making laws; and the only constitutional check was, that one of the tribunes should be induced to bar the proceedings. Accordingly, the tribune Octavius interposed his veto. The tribunician power, the most  
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sacred of powers, which could not be questioned because it was founded on a covenant between the two parts of the community and formed the keystone of their union, was employed, in opposition to the will of the people, to prevent a reform on which the preservation of the democracy depended. Gracchus caused Octavius to be deposed. Though not illegal, this was a thing unheard of, and it seemed to the Romans a sacrilegious act that shook the pillars of the State, for it was the first significant revelation of democratic sovereignty. A tribune might burn the arsenal and betray the city, yet he could not be called to account until his year of office had expired. But when he employed against the people the authority with which they had invested him, the spell was dissolved. The tribunes had been instituted as the champions of the oppressed, when the plebs feared oppression. It was resolved that they should not interfere on the weaker side when the democracy were the strongest. They were chosen by the people as their defence against the aristocracy. It was not to be borne that they should become the agents of the aristocracy to make them once more supreme. Against a popular tribune, whom no colleague was suffered to oppose, the wealthy classes were defenceless. It is true that he held office, and was inviolable, only for a year. But the younger Gracchus was re-elected. The nobles accused him of aiming at the crown. A tribune who should be practically irremovable, as well as legally irresistible, was little less than an emperor. The senate carried on the conflict as men do who fight, not for public interests but for their own existence. They rescinded the agrarian laws. They murdered the popular leaders. They abandoned the constitution to save themselves, and invested Sylla with a power beyond all monarchs, to exterminate their foes. The ghastly conception of a magistrate legally proclaimed superior to all the laws was familiar to the stern spirit of the Romans. The decemvirs had enjoyed that arbitrary authority; but practically they were restrained by the two provisions which alone were deemed efficacious in Rome, the short duration of office, and its distribution among several colleagues. But the appointment of Sylla was neither limited nor divided. It was to last as long as he chose. Whatever he might do was right; and he was empowered to put whomsoever he pleased to death, without trial or accusation. All the victims who were butchered by his satellites suffered with the full sanction of the law.

When at last the democracy conquered, the Augustan monarchy, by which they perpetuated their triumph, was moderate in comparison with the licensed tyranny of the aristocratic chief. The Emperor was the constitutional head of the Republic, armed with

with all the powers requisite to master the senate. The instrument which had served to cast down the patricians was efficient against the new aristocracy of wealth and office. The tribunician power, conferred in perpetuity, made it unnecessary to create a king or a dictator. Thrice the senate proposed to Augustus the supreme power of making laws. He declared that the power of the tribunes already supplied him with all that he required. It enabled him to preserve the forms of a simulated republic. The most popular of all the magistracies of Rome furnished the marrow of Imperialism. For the Empire was created, not by usurpation, but by the legal act of a jubilant people, eager to close the era of bloodshed and to secure the largess of grain and coin, which amounted, at last, to 900,000 pounds a year. The people transferred to the Emperor the plenitude of their own sovereignty. To limit his delegated power was to challenge their omnipotence, to renew the issue between the many and the few which had been decided at Pharsalus and Philippi. The Romans upheld the absolutism of the Empire because it was their own. The elementary antagonism between liberty and democracy, between the welfare of minorities and the supremacy of masses, became manifest. The friend of the one was a traitor to the other. The dogma, that absolute power may, by the hypothesis of a popular origin, be as legitimate as constitutional freedom, began, by the combined support of the people and the throne, to darken the air.

Legitimate, in the technical sense of modern politics, the Empire was not meant to be. It had no right or claim to subsist apart from the will of the people. To limit the Emperor's authority was to renounce their own; but to take it away was to assert their own. They gave the Empire as they chose. They took it away as they chose. The Revolution was as lawful and as irresponsible as the Empire. Democratic institutions continued to develop. The provinces were no longer subject to an assembly meeting in a distant capital. They obtained the privileges of Roman citizens. Long after Tiberius had stripped the inhabitants of Rome of their electoral function, the provincials continued in undisturbed enjoyment of the right of choosing their own magistrates. They governed themselves like a vast confederation of municipal republics; and, even after Diocletian had brought in the forms as well as the reality of despotism, provincial assemblies, the obscure germ of representative institutions, exercised some control over the Imperial officers.

But the Empire owed the intensity of its force to the popular fiction. The principle, that the Emperor is not subject to laws from

from which he can dispense others, *princeps legibus solutus*, was interpreted to imply that he was above all legal restraint. There was no appeal from his sentence. He was the living law. The Roman jurists, whilst they adorned their writings with the exalted philosophy of the Stoics, consecrated every excess of Imperial prerogative with those famous maxims which have been balm to so many consciences and have sanctioned so much wrong ; and the code of Justinian became the greatest obstacle, next to feudalism, with which liberty had to contend.

Ancient democracy, as it was in Athens in the best days of Pericles, or in Rome when Polybius described it, or even as it is idealised by Aristotle in the Sixth Book of his Politics, and by Cicero in the beginning of the Republic, was never more than a partial and insincere solution of the problem of popular government. The ancient politicians aimed no higher than to diffuse power among a numerous class. Their liberty was bound up with slavery. They never attempted to found a free State on the thrift and energy of free labour. They never divined the harder but more grateful task that constitutes the political life of Christian nations.

By humbling the supremacy of rank and wealth ; by forbidding the State to encroach on the domain which belongs to God ; by teaching man to love his neighbour as himself ; by promoting the sense of equality ; by condemning the pride of race, which was a stimulus of conquest, and the doctrine of separate descent, which formed the philosopher's defence of slavery ; and by addressing not the rulers but the masses of mankind, and making opinion superior to authority, the Church that preached the Gospel to the poor had visible points of contact with democracy. And yet Christianity did not directly influence political progress. The ancient watchword of the Republic was translated by Papinian into the language of the Church : ' *Summa est ratio quæ pro religione fiat* : ' and for eleven hundred years, from the first to the last of the Constantines, the Christian Empire was as despotic as the pagan.

Meanwhile Western Europe was overrun by men who in their early home had been Republicans. The primitive constitution of the German communities was based on association rather than on subordination. They were accustomed to govern their affairs by common deliberation, and to obey authorities that were temporary and defined. It is one of the desperate enterprises of historical science to trace the free institutions of Europe and America, and Australia, to the life that was led in the forests of Germany. But the new States were founded on conquest, and in war the Germans were commanded by kings. The doctrine  
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of self-government, applied to Gaul and Spain, would have made Frank and Goth disappear in the mass of the conquered people. It needed all the resources of a vigorous monarchy, of a military aristocracy, and of a territorial clergy, to construct States that were able to last. The result was the feudal system, the most absolute contradiction of democracy that has coexisted with civilisation.

The revival of democracy was due neither to the Christian Church nor to the Teutonic State, but to the quarrel between them. The effect followed the cause instantaneously. As soon as Gregory VII. made the Papacy independent of the Empire, the great conflict began; and the same pontificate gave birth to the theory of the sovereignty of the people. The Gregorian party argued that the Emperor derived his crown from the nation, and that the nation could take away what it had bestowed. The Imperialists replied that nobody could take away what the nation had given. It is idle to look for the spark either in flint or steel. The object of both parties was unqualified supremacy. Fitznigel has no more idea of ecclesiastical liberty than John of Salisbury of political. Innocent IV. is as perfect an absolutist as Peter de Vineis. But each party encouraged democracy in turn, by seeking the aid of the towns; each party in turn appealed to the people, and gave strength to the constitutional theory. In the fourteenth century English Parliaments judged and deposed their kings, as a matter of right; the Estates governed France without king or noble; and the wealth and liberties of the towns, which had worked out their independence from the centre of Italy to the North Sea, promised for a moment to transform European society. Even in the capitals of great princes, in Rome, in Paris, and, for two terrible days, in London, the commons obtained sway. But the curse of instability was on the municipal republics. Strasbourg, according to Erasmus and Bodinus, the best governed of all, suffered from perpetual commotions. An ingenious historian has reckoned seven thousand revolutions in the Italian cities. The democracies succeeded no better than feudalism in regulating the balance between rich and poor. The atrocities of the Jacquerie, and of Wat Tyler's rebellion, hardened the hearts of men against the common people. Church and State combined to put them down. And the last memorable struggles of mediæval liberty—the insurrection of the Comuneros in Castile, the Peasants' War in Germany, the Republic of Florence, and the Revolt of Ghent—were suppressed by Charles V. in the early years of the Reformation.

The middle ages had forged a complete arsenal of constitutional

tutional maxims: trial by jury, taxation by representation, local self-government, ecclesiastical independence, responsible authority. But they were not secured by institutions, and the Reformation began by making the dry bones more dry. Luther claimed to be the first divine who did justice to the civil power. He made the Lutheran Church the bulwark of political stability, and bequeathed to his disciples the doctrine of divine right and passive obedience. Zwingli, who was a staunch republican, desired that all magistrates should be elected, and should be liable to be dismissed by their electors; but he died too soon for his influence, and the permanent action of the Reformation on democracy was exercised through the Presbyterian constitution of Calvin.

It was long before the democratic element in Presbyterianism began to tell. The Netherlands resisted Philip II. for fifteen years before they took courage to depose him, and the scheme of the ultra-Calvinist Deventer, to subvert the ascendancy of the leading States by the sovereign action of the whole people, was foiled by Leicester's incapacity, and by the consummate policy of Barnevelt. The Huguenots, having lost their leaders in 1572, reconstituted themselves on a democratic footing, and learned to think that a king who murders his subjects forfeits his divine right to be obeyed. But Junius Brutus and Buchanan damaged their credit by advocating regicide; and Hotoman, whose 'Franco-Gallia' is the most serious work of the group, deserted his liberal opinions when the chief of his own party became king. The most violent explosion of democracy in that age proceeded from the opposite quarter. When Henry of Navarre became the next heir to the throne of France, the theory of the deposing power, which had proved ineffectual for more than a century, awoke with a new and more vigorous life. One half of the nation accepted the view, that they were not bound to submit to a king they would not have chosen. A Committee of Sixteen made itself master of Paris, and, with the aid of Spain, succeeded for years in excluding Henry from his capital. The impulse thus given endured in literature for a whole generation, and produced a library of treatises on the right of Catholics to choose, to control, and to cashier their magistrates. They were on the losing side. Most of them were bloodthirsty, and were soon forgotten. But the greater part of the political ideas of Milton, Locke, and Rousseau, may be found in the ponderous Latin of Jesuits who were subjects of the Spanish Crown, of Lessius, Molina, Mariana, and Suarez.

The ideas were there, and were taken up when it suited them by extreme adherents of Rome and of Geneva; but they produced

duced no lasting fruit until, a century after the Reformation, they became incorporated in new religious systems. Five years of civil war could not exhaust the royalism of the Presbyterians, and it required the expulsion of the majority to make the Long Parliament abandon monarchy. It had defended the constitution against the crown with legal arts, defending precedent against innovation, and setting up an ideal in the past which, with all the learning of Selden and of Prynne, was less certain than the Puritan statesmen supposed. The Independents brought in a new principle. Tradition had no authority for them, and the past no virtue. Liberty of conscience, a thing not to be found in the constitution, was more prized by many of them than all the statutes of the Plantagenets. Their idea that each congregation should govern itself abolished the force which is needed to preserve unity, and deprived monarchy of the weapon which made it injurious to freedom. An immense revolutionary energy resided in their doctrine, and it took root in America, and deeply coloured political thought in later times. But in England the sectarian democracy was strong only to destroy. Cromwell refused to be bound by it; and John Lilburne, the boldest thinker among English democrats, declared that it would be better for liberty to bring back Charles Stuart than to live under the sword of the Protector.

Lilburne was among the first to understand the real conditions of democracy, and the obstacle to its success in England. Equality of power could not be preserved, except by violence, together with an extreme inequality of possessions. There would always be danger, if power was not made to wait on property, that property would go to those who had the power. This idea of the necessary balance of property, developed by Harrington, and adopted by Milton in his later pamphlets, appeared to Toland, and even to John Adams, as important as the invention of printing, or the discovery of the circulation of the blood. At least it indicates the true explanation of the strange completeness with which the Republican party had vanished, a dozen years after the solemn trial and execution of the King. No extremity of misgovernment was able to revive it. When the treason of Charles II. against the constitution was divulged, and the Whigs plotted to expel the incorrigible dynasty, their aspirations went no farther than a Venetian oligarchy, with Monmouth for Doge. The Revolution of 1688 confined power to the aristocracy of freeholders. The Conservatism of the age was unconquerable. Republicanism was distorted even in Switzerland, and became in the eighteenth century as oppressive and as intolerant as its neighbours.

In 1769, when Paoli fled from Corsica, it seemed that, in Europe at least, democracy was dead. It had, indeed, lately been defended in books by a man of bad reputation, whom the leaders of public opinion treated with contumely, and whose declamations excited so little alarm that George III. offered him a pension. What gave to Rousseau a power far exceeding that which any political writer had ever attained was the progress of events in America. The Stuarts had been willing that the colonies should serve as a refuge from their system of Church and State, and of all their colonies the one most favoured was the territory granted to William Penn. By the principles of the Society to which he belonged, it was necessary that the new State should be founded on liberty and equality. But Penn was further noted among Quakers as a follower of the new doctrine of Toleration. Thus it came to pass that Pennsylvania enjoyed the most democratic constitution in the world, and held up to the admiration of the eighteenth century an almost solitary example of freedom. It was principally through Franklin and the Quaker State that America influenced political opinion in Europe, and that the fanaticism of one revolutionary epoch was converted into the rationalism of another. American independence was the beginning of a new era, not merely as a revival of Revolution, but because no other Revolution ever proceeded from so slight a cause, or was ever conducted with so much moderation. The European monarchies supported it. The greatest statesmen in England averred that it was just. It established a pure democracy; but it was democracy in its highest perfection, armed and vigilant, less against aristocracy and monarchy than against its own weakness and excess. Whilst England was admired for the safeguards with which, in the course of many centuries, it had fortified liberty against the power of the crown, America appeared still more worthy of admiration for the safeguards which, in the deliberations of a single memorable year, it had set up against the power of its own sovereign people. It resembled no other known democracy, for it respected freedom, authority, and law. It resembled no other constitution, for it was contained in half-a-dozen intelligible articles. Ancient Europe opened its mind to two new ideas—that Revolution with very little provocation may be just; and that democracy in very large dimensions may be safe.

Whilst America was making itself independent, the spirit of reform had been abroad in Europe. Intelligent ministers, like Campomanes and Struensee, and well-meaning monarchs, of whom the most liberal was Leopold of Tuscany, were trying what could be done to make men happy by command. Centuries

turies of absolute and intolerant rule had bequeathed abuses which nothing but the most vigorous use of power could remove. The age preferred the reign of intellect to the reign of liberty. Turgot, the ablest and most far-seeing reformer then living, attempted to do for France what less gifted men were doing with success in Lombardy, and Tuscany, and Parma. He attempted to employ the royal power for the good of the people, at the expense of the higher classes. The higher classes proved too strong for the crown alone ; and Louis XVI. abandoned internal reforms in despair, and turned for compensation to a war with England for the deliverance of her American Colonies. When the increasing debt obliged him to seek heroic remedies, and he was again repulsed by the privileged orders, he appealed at last to the nation. When the States-General met, the power had already passed to the middle class, for it was by them alone that the country could be saved. They were strong enough to triumph by waiting. Neither the Court, nor the nobles, nor the army, could do anything against them. During the six months from January, 1789, to the fall of the Bastille in July, France travelled as far as England in the six hundred years between the Earl of Leicester and Lord Beaconsfield. Ten years after the American alliance, the Rights of Man, which had been proclaimed at Philadelphia, were repeated at Versailles. The alliance had borne fruit on both sides of the Atlantic, and for France, the fruit was the triumph of American ideas over English. They were more popular, more simple, more effective against privilege, and, strange to say, more acceptable to the King. The new French constitution allowed no privileged orders, no parliamentary ministry, no power of dissolution, and only a suspensive veto. But the characteristic safeguards of the American Government were rejected: Federalism, separation of Church and State, the Second Chamber, the political arbitration of the supreme judicial body. That which weakened the Executive was taken: that which restrained the Legislature was left. Checks on the crown abounded ; but the crown should be vacant, the powers that remained would be without a check. The precautions were all in one direction. Nobody would contemplate the contingency that there might be no king. The constitution was inspired by a profound disbelief in Louis XVI. and a pertinacious belief in monarchy. The Assembly voted without debate, by acclamation, a Civil List three times as large as that of Queen Victoria. When Louis fled, and the throne was actually vacant, they brought him back to it, preferring the phantom of a king who was a prisoner to the reality of no king at all.



Next to this misapplication of American examples, which was the fault of nearly all the leading statesmen, excepting Mounier, Mirabeau, and Sieyès, the cause of the Revolution was injured by its religious policy. The most novel and impressive lesson taught by the fathers of the American Republic was that the people, and not the administration, should govern. Men in office were salaried agents, by whom the nation wrought its will. Authority submitted to public opinion, and left to it not only the control, but the initiative of government. Patience in waiting for a wind, alacrity in catching it, the dread of exerting unnecessary influence, characterise the early presidents. Some of the French politicians shared this view, though with less exaggeration than Washington. They wished to decentralise the government, and to obtain, for good or evil, the genuine expression of popular sentiment. Necker himself, and Buzot, the most thoughtful of the Girondins, dreamed of federalising France. In the United States there was no current of opinion, and no combination of forces, to be seriously feared. The government needed no security against being propelled in a wrong direction. But the French Revolution was accomplished at the expense of powerful classes. Besides the nobles, the Assembly, which had been made supreme by the accession of the clergy, and had been led at first by popular ecclesiastics, by Sieyès, Talleyrand, Ciccé, La Luzerne, made an enemy of the clergy. The prerogative could not be destroyed without touching the Church. Ecclesiastical patronage had helped to make the crown absolute. To leave it in the hands of Louis and his ministers was to renounce the entire policy of the constitution. To disestablish, was to make it over to the Pope. It was consistent with the democratic principle to introduce election into the Church. It involved a breach with Rome; but so, indeed, did the laws of Joseph II., Charles III., and Leopold. The Pope was not likely to cast away the friendship of France, if he could help it; and the French clergy were not likely to give trouble by their attachment to Rome. Therefore, amid the indifference of many, and against the urgent, and probably sincere, remonstrances of Robespierre and Marat, the Jansenists, who had a century of persecution to avenge, carried the Civil Constitution. The coercive measures which enforced it led to the breach with the King, and the fall of the monarchy; to the revolt of the provinces, and the fall of liberty. The Jacobins determined that public opinion should not reign, that the State should not remain at the mercy of powerful combinations. They held the representatives of the people under control, by the people itself. They attributed higher authority to the direct  
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than to the indirect voice of the democratic oracle. They armed themselves with power to crush every adverse, every independent force, and especially to put down the Church, in whose cause the provinces had risen against the capital. They met the centrifugal federalism of the friends of the Gironde by the most resolute centralisation. France was governed by Paris; and Paris by its municipality and its mob. Obeying Rousseau's maxim, that the people cannot delegate its power, they raised the elementary constituency above its representatives. As the greatest constituent body, the most numerous accumulation of primary electors, the largest portion of sovereignty, was in the people of Paris, they designed that the people of Paris should rule over France, as the people of Rome, the mob as well as the senate, had ruled, not ingloriously, over Italy, and over half the nations that surround the Mediterranean. Although the Jacobins were scarcely more irreligious than the Abbé Sieyès or Madame Roland, although Robespierre wanted to force men to believe in God, although Danton went to confession and Barère was a professing Christian, they imparted to modern democracy that implacable hatred of religion, which contrasts so strangely with the example of its Puritan prototype.

The deepest cause which made the French Revolution so disastrous to liberty was its theory of equality. Liberty was the watchword of the middle class, equality of the lower. It was the lower class that won the battles of the third estate; that took the Bastille, and made France a constitutional monarchy; that took the Tuileries, and made France a Republic. They claimed their reward. The middle class, having cast down the upper orders with the aid of the lower, instituted a new inequality and a privilege for itself. By means of a taxpaying qualification it deprived its confederates of their vote. To those, therefore, who had accomplished the Revolution, its promise was not fulfilled. Equality did nothing for them. The opinion, at that time, was almost universal, that society is founded on an agreement which is voluntary and conditional, and that the links which bind men to it are terminable, for sufficient reason, like those which subject them to authority. From these popular premises the logic of Marat drew his sanguinary conclusions. He told the famished people that the conditions on which they had consented to bear their evil lot, and had refrained from violence, had not been kept to them. It was suicide, it was murder, to submit to starve, and to see one's children starving, by the fault of the rich. The bonds of society were dissolved by the wrong it inflicted. The state of nature had come back, in which every man had a right to what he could take. The time

time had come for the rich to make way for the poor. With this theory of equality, liberty was quenched in blood, and Frenchmen became ready to sacrifice all other things to save life and fortune.

Twenty years after the splendid opportunity that opened in 1789, the reaction had triumphed everywhere in Europe; ancient constitutions had perished as well as new; and even England afforded them neither protection nor sympathy. The liberal, at least the democratic revival, came from Spain. The Spaniards fought against the French for a king, who was a prisoner in France. They gave themselves a constitution, and placed his name at the head of it. They had a monarchy, without a king. It required to be so contrived that it would work in the absence, possibly the permanent absence, of the monarch. It became, therefore, a monarchy only in name, composed, in fact, of democratic forces. The constitution of 1812 was the attempt of inexperienced men to accomplish the most difficult task in politics. It was smitten with sterility. For many years it was the standard of abortive revolutions among the so-called Latin nations. It promulgated the notion of a king who should flourish only in name, and should not even discharge the humble function which Hegel assigns to royalty, of dotting I's for the people.

The overthrow of the Cadiz constitution, in 1823, was the supreme triumph of the restored monarchy of France. Five years later, under a wise and liberal minister, the Restoration was advancing fairly on the constitutional paths, when the incurable distrust of the Liberal party defeated Martignac, and brought in the ministry of extreme royalists that ruined the monarchy. In labouring to transfer power from the class which the Revolution had enfranchised to those which it had overthrown, Polignac and La Bourdonnaie would gladly have made terms with the working men. To break the influence of intellect and capital by means of universal suffrage, was an idea long and zealously advocated by some of their supporters. They had not foresight or ability to divide their adversaries, and they were vanquished in 1830 by the united democracy.

The promise of the Revolution of July was to reconcile royalists and democrats. The King assured Lafayette that he was a republican at heart; and Lafayette assured France that Louis Philippe was the best of republics. The shock of the great event was felt in Poland, and Belgium, and even in England. It gave a direct impulse to democratic movements in Switzerland.

Swiss democracy had been in abeyance since 1815. The national will had no organ. The cantons were supreme; and governed

governed as inefficiently as other governments under the protecting shade of the Holy Alliance. There was no dispute that Switzerland called for extensive reforms, and no doubt of the direction they would take. The number of the cantons was the great obstacle to all improvement. It was useless to have twenty-five governments in a country equal to one American State, and inferior in population to one great city. It was impossible that they should be good governments. A central power was the manifest need of the country. In the absence of an efficient federal power, seven cantons formed a separate league for the protection of their own interests. Whilst democratic ideas were making way in Switzerland, the Papacy was travelling in the opposite direction, and showing an inflexible hostility for ideas which are the breath of democratic life. The growing democracy and the growing Ultramontaniam came into collision. The Sonderbund could aver with truth that there was no safety for its rights under the Federal Constitution. The others could reply, with equal truth, that there was no safety for the constitution with the Sonderbund. In 1847, it came to a war between national sovereignty and cantonal sovereignty. The Sonderbund was dissolved, and a new Federal Constitution was adopted, avowedly and ostensibly charged with the duty of carrying out democracy, and repressing the adverse influence of Rome. It was a delusive imitation of the American system. The President was powerless. The Senate was powerless. The Supreme Court was powerless. The sovereignty of the cantons was undermined, and their power centered in the House of Representatives. The Constitution of 1848 was a first step towards the destruction of Federalism. Another and almost a final step in the direction of centralisation was taken in 1874. The railways, and the vast interests they created, made the position of the cantonal governments untenable. The conflict with the Ultramontanes increased the demand for vigorous action; and the destruction of State Rights in the American war strengthened the hands of the Centralists. The Constitution of 1874 is one of the most significant works of modern democracy. It is the triumph of democratic force over democratic freedom. It overrules not only the Federal principle, but the representative principle. It carries important measures away from the Federal Legislature to submit them to the votes of the entire people, separating decision from deliberation. The operation is so cumbrous as to be generally ineffective. But it constitutes a power such as exists, we believe, under the laws of no other country. A Swiss jurist has frankly expressed the spirit

spirit of the reigning system by saying, that the State is the appointed conscience of the nation.

The moving force in Switzerland has been democracy relieved of all constraint, the principle of putting in action the greatest force of the greatest number. The prosperity of the country has prevented complications such as arose in France. The ministers of Louis Philippe, able and enlightened men, believed that they would make the people prosper if they could have their own way, and could shut out public opinion. They acted as if the intelligent middle class was destined by heaven to govern. The upper class had proved its unfitness before 1789; the lower class, since 1789. Government by professional men, by manufacturers and scholars, was sure to be safe, and almost sure to be reasonable and practical. Money became the object of a political superstition, such as had formerly attached to land, and afterwards attached to labour. The masses of the people, who had fought against Marmont, became aware that they had not fought for their own benefit. They were still governed by their employers.

When the King parted with Lafayette, and it was found that he would not only reign but govern, the indignation of the republicans found a vent in street fighting. In 1836, when the horrors of the infernal machine had armed the crown with ampler powers, and had silenced the republican party, the term Socialism made its appearance in literature. Tocqueville, who was writing the philosophic chapters that conclude his work, failed to discover the power which the new system was destined to exercise on democracy. Until then, democrats and communists had stood apart. Although the socialist doctrines were defended by the best intellects of France, by Thierry, Comte, Chevalier, and Georges Sand, they excited more attention as a literary curiosity than as the cause of future revolutions. Towards 1840, in the recesses of secret societies, republicans and socialists coalesced. Whilst the Liberal leaders, Lamartine and Barrot, discoursed on the surface concerning reform, Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc were quietly digging a grave for the monarchy, the Liberal party, and the reign of wealth. They worked so well, and the vanquished republicans recovered so thoroughly, by this coalition, the influence they had lost by a long series of crimes and follies, that, in 1848, they were able to conquer without fighting. The fruit of their victory was universal suffrage.

From that time the promises of socialism have supplied the best energy of democracy. Their coalition has been the ruling fact

fact in French politics. It created the saviour of society, and the Commune; and it still entangles the footsteps of the Republic. It is the only shape in which democracy has found an entrance into Germany. Liberty has lost its spell; and democracy maintains itself by the promise of substantial gifts to the masses of the people.

Since the Revolution of July and the Presidency of Jackson gave the impulse which has made democracy preponderate, the ablest political writers, Tocqueville, Calhoun, Mill, and Laboulaye, have drawn, in the name of freedom, a formidable indictment against it. They have shown democracy without respect for the past or care for the future, regardless of public faith and of national honour, extravagant and inconstant, jealous of talent and of knowledge, indifferent to justice but servile towards opinion, incapable of organisation, impatient of authority, averse from obedience, hostile to religion and to established law. Evidence indeed abounds, even if the true cause be not proved. But it is not to these symptoms that we must impute the permanent danger and the irrepressible conflict. As much might be made good against monarchy, and an unsympathising reasoner might in the same way argue that religion is intolerant, that conscience makes cowards, that piety rejoices in fraud. Recent experience has added little to the observations of those who witnessed the decline after Pericles, of Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, and of the writer whose brilliant tract against the Athenian Republic is printed among the works of Xenophon. The manifest, the avowed difficulty is that democracy, no less than monarchy or aristocracy, sacrifices everything to maintain itself, and strives, with an energy and a plausibility that kings and nobles cannot attain, to override representation, to annul all the forces of resistance and deviation, and to secure, by Plebiscite, Referendum, or Caucus, free play for the will of the majority. The true democratic principle, that none shall have power over the people, is taken to mean that none shall be able to restrain or to elude its power. The true democratic principle, that the people shall not be made to do what it does not like, is taken to mean that it shall never be required to tolerate what it does not like. The true democratic principle, that every man's free will shall be as unfettered as possible, is taken to mean that the free will of the collective people shall be fettered in nothing. Religious toleration, judicial independence, dread of centralisation, jealousy of State interference, become obstacles to freedom instead of safeguards, when the centralised force of the State is wielded by the hands of the people. Democracy claims to be not only supreme, without authority above, but absolute, without

without independence below ; to be its own master, not a trustee. The old sovereigns of the world are exchanged for a new one, who may be flattered and deceived, but whom it is impossible to corrupt or to resist, and to whom must be rendered the things that are Caesar's and also the things that are God's. The enemy to be overcome is no longer the absolutism of the State, but the liberty of the subject. Nothing is more significant than the relish with which Ferrari, the most powerful democratic writer since Rousseau, enumerates the merits of tyrants, and prefers devils to saints in the interest of the community.

For the old notions of civil liberty and of social order did not benefit the masses of the people. Wealth increased, without relieving their wants. The progress of knowledge left them in abject ignorance. Religion flourished, but failed to reach them. Society, whose laws were made by the upper class alone, announced that the best thing for the poor is not to be born, and the next best, to die in childhood, and suffered them to live in misery and crime and pain. As surely as the long reign of the rich has been employed in promoting the accumulation of wealth, the advent of the poor to power will be followed by schemes for diffusing it. Seeing how little was done by the wisdom of former times for education and public health, for insurance, association, and savings, for the protection of labour against the law of self-interest, and how much has been accomplished in this generation, there is reason in the fixed belief that a great change was needed, and that democracy has not striven in vain. Liberty, for the mass, is not happiness ; and institutions are not an end but a means. The thing they seek is a force sufficient to sweep away scruples and the obstacle of rival interests, and, in some degree, to better their condition. They mean that the strong hand that heretofore has formed great States, protected religions, and defended the independence of nations, shall help them by preserving life, and endowing it for them with some, at least, of the things men live for. That is the notorious danger of modern democracy. That is also its purpose and its strength. And against this threatening power the weapons that struck down other despots do not avail. The greatest happiness principle positively confirms it. The principle of equality, besides being as easily applied to property as to power, opposes the existence of persons or groups of persons exempt from the common law, and independent of the common will ; and the principle, that authority is a matter of contract, may hold good against kings, but not against the sovereign people, because a contract implies two parties.

If

If we have not done more than the ancients to develop and to examine the disease, we have far surpassed them in studying the remedy. Besides the French Constitution of the year III., and that of the American Confederates,—the most remarkable attempts that have been made since the archonship of Euclides to meet democratic evils with the antidotes which democracy itself supplies,—our age has been prolific in this branch of experimental politics.

Many expedients have been tried, that have been evaded or defeated. A divided executive, which was an important phase in the transformation of ancient monarchies into republics, and which, through the advocacy of Condorcet, took root in France, has proved to be weakness itself.

The constitution of 1795, the work of a learned priest, confined the franchise to those who should know how to read and write; and in 1849 this provision was rejected by men who intended that the ignorant voter should help them to overturn the Republic. In our time no democracy could long subsist without educating the masses; and the scheme of Daunou is simply an indirect encouragement to elementary instruction.

In 1799 Sieyès suggested to Bonaparte the idea of a great Council, whose function it should be to keep the acts of the Legislature in harmony with the constitution—a function which the *Nomophylakes* discharged at Athens, and the Supreme Court in the United States, and which produced the Sénat Conservateur, one of the favourite implements of Imperialism. Sieyès meant that his Council should also serve the purpose of a gilded ostracism, having power to absorb any obnoxious politician, and to silence him with a thousand a year.

Napoleon the Third's plan of depriving unmarried men of their votes would have disfranchised the two greatest Conservative classes in France, the priest and the soldier.

In the American constitution it was intended that the chief of the executive should be chosen by a body of carefully selected electors. But since, in 1825, the popular candidate succumbed to one who had only a minority of votes, it has become the practice to elect the President by the pledged delegates of universal suffrage.

The exclusion of ministers from Congress has been one of the severest strains on the American system; and the law which required a majority of three to one enabled Louis Napoleon to make himself Emperor. Large constituencies make independent deputies; but experience proves that small assemblies, the consequence of large constituencies, can be managed by Government.

The



The composite vote and the cumulative vote have been almost universally rejected as schemes for baffling the majority. But the principle of dividing the representatives equally between population and property has never had fair play. It was introduced by Thouret into the constitution of 1791. The Revolution made it inoperative; and it was so manipulated from 1817 to 1848 by the fatal dexterity of Guizot as to make opinion ripe for universal suffrage.

Constitutions which forbid the payment of deputies and the system of imperative instructions, which deny the power of dissolution, and make the Legislature last for a fixed term, or renew it by partial re-elections, and which require an interval between the several debates on the same measure, evidently strengthen the independence of the representative assembly. The Swiss veto has the same effect, as it suspends legislation only when opposed by a majority of the whole electoral body, not by a majority of those who actually vote upon it.

Indirect elections are scarcely anywhere in use out of Germany, but they have been a favourite corrective of democracy with many thoughtful politicians. Where the extent of the electoral district obliges constituents to vote for candidates who are unknown to them, the election is not free. It is managed by wirepullers, and by party machinery, beyond the control of the electors. Indirect election puts the choice of the managers into their hands. The objection is that the intermediate electors are generally too few to span the interval between voters and candidates, and that they choose representatives not of better quality, but of different politics. If the intermediate body consisted of one in ten of the whole constituency, the contact would be preserved, the people would be really represented, and the ticket system would be broken down.

The one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority, or rather of that party, not always the majority, that succeeds, by force or fraud, in carrying elections. To break off that point is to avert the danger. The common system of representation perpetuates the danger. Unequal electorates afford no security to majorities. Equal electorates give none to minorities. Thirty-five years ago it was pointed out that the remedy is proportional representation. It is profoundly democratic, for it increases the influence of thousands who would otherwise have no voice in the government; and it brings men more near an equality by so contriving that no vote shall be wasted, and that every voter shall contribute to bring into Parliament a member of his own opinions. The origin of the idea is variously claimed for Lord Grey and for Considérant.

The

The successful example of Denmark and the earnest advocacy of Mill gave it prominence in the world of politics. It has gained popularity with the growth of democracy, and we are informed by M. Naville that in Switzerland Conservatives and Radicals combined to promote it.

Of all checks on democracy, federalism has been the most efficacious and the most congenial; but, becoming associated with the Red Republic, with feudalism, with the Jesuits, and with slavery, it has fallen into disrepute, and is giving way to centralism. The federal system limits and restrains the sovereign power by dividing it, and by assigning to Government only certain defined rights. It is the only method of curbing not only the majority but the power of the whole people, and it affords the strongest basis for a second chamber, which has been found the essential security for freedom in every genuine democracy.

The fall of Guizot discredited the famous maxim of the Doctrinaires, that Reason is sovereign, and not king or people; and it was further exposed to the scoffers by the promise of Comte that Positivist philosophers shall manufacture political ideas, which no man shall be permitted to dispute. But putting aside international and criminal law, in which there is some approach to uniformity, the domain of political economy seems destined to admit the rigorous certainty of science. Whenever that shall be attained, when the battle between Economists and Socialists is ended, the evil force which Socialism imparts to democracy will be spent. The battle is raging more violently than ever, but it has entered into a new phase, by the rise of a middle party. Whether that remarkable movement, which is promoted by some of the first economists in Europe, is destined to shake the authority of their science, or to conquer socialism, by robbing it of that which is the secret of its strength, it must be recorded here as the latest and the most serious effort that has been made to disprove the weighty sentence of Rousseau, that democracy is a government for gods, but unfit for man.

We have been able to touch on only a few of the topics that crowd Sir Erskine May's volumes. Although he has perceived more clearly than Tocqueville the contact of democracy with socialism, his judgment is untinged with Tocqueville's despondency, and he contemplates the direction of progress with a confidence that approaches optimism. The notion of an inflexible logic in history does not depress him, for he concerns himself with facts and with men more than with doctrines, and his book is a history of several democracies, not of democracy. There are links in the argument, there are phases

phases of development which he leaves unnoticed, because his object has not been to trace out the properties and the connection of ideas, but to explain the results of experience. We should consult his pages, probably, without effect, if we wished to follow the origin and sequence of the democratic dogmas, that all men are equal; that speech and thought are free; that each generation is a law to itself only; that there shall be no endowments, no entails, no primogeniture; that the people are sovereign; that the people can do no wrong. The great mass of those who, of necessity, are interested in practical politics have no such antiquarian curiosity. They want to know what can be learned from the countries where the democratic experiments have been tried; but they do not care to be told how M. Waddington has emended the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, what connection there was between Mariana and Milton, or between Penn and Rousseau, or who invented the proverb *Vox Populi Vox Dei*. Sir Erskine May's reluctance to deal with matters speculative and doctrinal, and to devote his space to the mere literary history of politics, has made his touch somewhat uncertain in treating of the political action of Christianity, perhaps the most complex and comprehensive question that can embarrass a historian. He disparages the influence of the mediæval Church on nations just emerging from a barbarous paganism, and he exalts it when it had become associated with despotism and persecution. He insists on the liberating action of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, when it gave a stimulus to absolutism; and he is slow to recognise, in the enthusiasm and violence of the sects in the seventeenth, the most potent agency ever brought to bear on democratic history. The omission of America creates a void between 1660 and 1789, and leaves much unexplained in the revolutionary movement of the last hundred years, which is the central problem of the book. But if some things are missed from the design, if the execution is not equal in every part, the praise remains to Sir Erskine May, that he is the only writer who has ever brought together the materials for a comparative study of democracy, that he has avoided the temper of party, that has shown a hearty sympathy for the progress and improvement of mankind, and a steadfast faith in the wisdom and the power that guide it.

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ART. VI.—*Goethe in Études Critiques de Littérature.* Par Edmond Scherer. Paris, 1876.

IT takes a long time to ascertain the true rank of a famous writer. A young friend of Joseph de Maistre, a M. de Syon, writing in praise of the literature of the nineteenth century as compared with that of the eighteenth, said of Chateaubriand, that ‘the Eternal created Chateaubriand to be a guide to the universe.’ Upon which judgment Joseph de Maistre comments thus: ‘Clear it is, my best of young men, that you are only eighteen; let me hear what you have to say at forty’—‘On voit bien, excellent jeune homme, que vous avez dix-huit ans; je vous attends à quarante.’

The same Joseph de Maistre has given an amusing history of the rise of our own Milton’s reputation:—

‘No one had any suspicion of Milton’s merits, when one day Addison took the speaking-trumpet of Great Britain (the loudest sounding instrument in the universe), and called from the top of the Tower of London: “*Roman and Greek authors, give place!*”

‘He did well to take this tone. If he had spoken modestly, if he had simply said that there were great beauties in “*Paradise Lost*,” he would not have produced the slightest impression. But this trenchant sentence, dethroning Homer and Virgil, struck the English exceedingly. They said one to the other: “What, we possessed the finest epic poem in the world, and no one suspected it! What a thing is inattention! But now, at any rate, we have had our eyes opened.” In fact, the reputation of Milton has become a national property, a portion of the Establishment, a Fortieth Article; and the English would as soon think of giving up Jamaica as of giving up the pre-eminence of their great poet.’

And Joseph de Maistre goes on to quote a passage from a then recent English commentator on Milton—Bishop Newton. Bishop Newton, it seems, declared that ‘every man of taste and genius must admit “*Paradise Lost*” to be the most excellent of modern productions, as the Bible is the most perfect of the productions of antiquity.’ In a note M. de Maistre adds: ‘This judgment of the good bishop appears unspeakably ridiculous.’

Ridiculous, indeed! but a page or two later we shall find the clear-sighted critic himself almost as far astray as his ‘good bishop’ or as his ‘best of young men’:—

‘The strange thing is that the English, who are thorough Greek scholars, are willing enough to admit the superiority of the Greek tragedians over Shakspeare; but when they come to Racine, *who is in reality simply a Greek speaking French*, their standard of beauty  
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all of a sudden changes, and Racine, who is at least the equal of the Greeks, has to take rank far below Shakspeare, who is inferior to them. This theorem in *trigonometry* presents no difficulties to the people of soundest understanding in Europe.'

So dense is the cloud of error here that the lover of truth and daylight will hardly even essay to dissipate it; he does not know where to begin. It is as when M. Victor Hugo gives his list of the sovereigns on the world's roll of creators and poets: 'Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Dante, Shakspeare, Rabelais, Molière, Corneille, Voltaire.' His French audience rise and cry enthusiastically, 'and Victor Hugo!' And really that is perhaps the best criticism on what he has been saying to them.

Goethe, the great poet of Germany, has been placed by his own countrymen now low, now high; and his right poetical rank they have certainly not yet succeeded in finding. Tieck, in his introduction to the collected writings of Lenz, noticing Goethe's remark on Byron's 'Manfred,'—that Byron had 'assimilated "Faust," and sucked out of it the strangest nutriment to his hypochondria,'—says tartly that Byron, when he himself talked about his obligations to Goethe, was merely using the language of compliment, and would have been highly offended if any one else had professed to discover them. And Tieck proceeds:—

'Everything which in the Englishman's poems might remind one of "Faust," is in my opinion far above "Faust;" and the Englishman's feeling, and his incomparably more beautiful diction, are so entirely his own, that I cannot possibly believe him to have had "Faust" for his model.'

But now there comes a scion of the excellent stock of the Grimms, a Professor Hermann Grimm, and lectures on Goethe at Berlin, now that the Germans have conquered the French, and are the first military power in the world, and have become a great nation, and require a national poet to match; and Professor Grimm says of 'Faust,' of which Tieck had spoken so coldly: 'The career of this, the greatest work of the greatest poet of all times and all peoples, has but just begun, and we have taken only the first steps towards drawing forth its contents.'

If this is but the first letting out of the waters, the coming times may, indeed, expect a deluge.

Many and diverse must be the judgments passed upon every great poet, upon every considerable writer. There is the judgment of enthusiasm and admiration, which proceeds from ardent youth, easily fired, eager to find a hero and to worship him. There is the judgment of gratitude and sympathy, which proceeds from those

those who find in an author what helps them, what they want, and who rate him at a very high value accordingly. There is the judgment of ignorance, the judgment of incompatibility, the judgment of envy and jealousy. Finally, there is the systematic judgment, and this judgment is the most worthless of all. The sharp scrutiny of envy and jealousy may bring real faults to light. The judgment of incompatibility and ignorance are instructive, whether they reveal necessary clefs of separation between the experiences of different people, or reveal simply the narrowness and bounded view of those who judge. But the systematic judgment is altogether unprofitable. Its author has not really his eye upon the professed object of his criticism at all, but upon something else which he wants to prove by means of that object. He neither really tells us, therefore, anything about the object, nor anything about his own ignorance of the object. He never fairly looks at it, he is looking at something else. Perhaps if he looked at it straight and full, looked at it simply, he might be able to pass a good judgment on it. As it is, all he tells us is that he is no genuine critic, but a man with a system, an advocate. Here is the fault of Professor Hermann Grimm, and of his Berlin lectures on Goethe. The professor is a man with a system; the lectures are a piece of advocacy. Professor Grimm is not looking straight at 'the greatest poet of all times and all peoples;' he is looking at the necessities, as to literary glory, of the new German empire.

But the definitive judgment on this great Goethe, the judgment of mature reason, the judgment which shall come 'at forty years of age,' who may give it to us? Yet how desirable to have it! It is a mistake to think that the judgment of mature reason on our favourite author, even if it abates considerably our high-raised estimate of him, is not a gain to us. Admiration is positive, say some people, disparagement is negative; from what is negative we can get nothing. But is it no advantage, then, to the youthful enthusiast for Chateaubriand, to come to know that 'the Eternal did' *not* 'create Chateaubriand to be a guide to the universe?' It is a very great advantage, because these over-charged admirations are always exclusive, and prevent us from giving heed to other things which deserve admiration. Admiration is salutary and formative, true; but things admirable are sown wide, and are to be gathered here and gathered there, not all in one place; and until we have gathered them wherever they are to be found, we have not known the true salutariness and formativeness of admiration. The quest is large; and occupation with the unsound or half-sound, delight in the not good or less good, is a sore let and hindrance to us. Release from

such occupation and delight sets us free for ranging farther, and for perfecting our sense of beauty. He is the happy man, who, encumbering himself with the love of nothing which is not beautiful, is able to embrace the greatest number of things beautiful in his love.

We spoke a year ago\* of the judgment of a French critic, M. Scherer, upon Milton. We propose now to draw our readers' attention to the judgment of the same critic upon Goethe. To set to work to discuss Goethe thoroughly, so as to arrive at the true definitive judgment respecting him, seems to us a most formidable enterprise. Certainly we should not think of attempting it within the limits of a review-article. M. Scherer has devoted to Goethe not one article, but a series of articles. We do not say that the adequate, definitive judgment on Goethe is to be found in these articles of M. Scherer. But we think they afford a valuable contribution towards it. M. Scherer is well-informed, clear-sighted, impartial. He is not warped by injustice and ill-will towards Germany, although the war has undoubtedly left him with a feeling of soreness. He is candid and cool, perhaps a little cold. Probably he will not tell us that 'the Eternal created Goethe to be a guide to the universe.' He is free from all heat of youthful enthusiasm, from the absorption of a discoverer in his new discovery, from the subjugation of a disciple by the master who has helped and guided him. He is not a man with a system. And his point of view is in many respects that of an Englishman. We mean that he has the same instinctive sense rebelling against what is verbose, ponderous, roundabout, inane—in one word, *niais* or silly—in German literature, as a plain Englishman has. This ground of sympathy between Englishmen and Frenchmen has not been enough remarked, but it is a very real one. They owe it to their having alike had a long-continued national life, a long-continued literary activity, such as no other modern nation has had. This course of practical experience does of itself beget a turn for directness and clearness of speech, a dislike for futility and fumbling, such as without it we shall rarely find general. Dr. Wiese, in his recent useful work on English schools, expresses surprise that the French language and literature should find more favour in Teutonic England than the German. But community of practice is more telling than community of origin. While English and French are printed alike, and while an English and French sentence each of them says what it has to say in the same plain

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\* See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. 142, p. 186, *seqq.*

fashion, a German newspaper is still printed in black letter, and a German sentence is framed in the style of this which we quote from Dr. Wiese himself: 'Die Engländer einer grossen, in allen Erdtheilen eine Achtung gebietende Stellung einnehmenden Nation angehören!' The Italians are a Latin race, with a clear-cut language; but much of their modern prose has all the circuitousness and slowness of the German, and from the same cause—the want of the pressure of a great national life, with its practical discipline, its ever-active traditions, its literature, for centuries past, powerful and incessant. England has these in common with France.

M. Scherer's point of view, then, in judging the productions of German literature, will naturally, we repeat, coincide in several important respects with that of an Englishman. His mind will make many of the same instinctive demands as ours, will feel many of the same instinctive repugnances. We shall gladly follow him, therefore, through his criticism of Goethe's works, letting him as far as possible speak for himself, as we did when we were dealing with his criticism on Milton. As we did then, too, we shall occasionally compare M. Scherer's criticism on his author with the criticism of others. We shall by no means attempt a substantive criticism of our own, although we may from time to time allow ourselves to comment, in passing, upon the judgments of M. Scherer.

We need not follow M. Scherer in his sketch of Goethe's life. It is enough to remind our reader that the main dates in Goethe's life are, his birth in 1749; his going to Weimar with the Grand Duke, Carl-August, in 1775; his stay in Italy from September 1786 to June 1788; his return in 1788 to Weimar; a severe and nearly fatal illness in 1801; the loss of Schiller in 1805, of Carl-August in 1828; his own death in 1832. With these dates fixed in our minds, we may come at once to the consideration of Goethe's works.

The long list begins, as we all know, with 'Götz von Berlichingen' and 'Werther.' We all remember how Mr. Carlyle, 'the old man eloquent,' who in his younger days, fifty years ago, betook himself to Goethe for light and help, and found what he sought, and declared his gratitude so powerfully and well, and did so much to make Goethe's name a name of might for other Englishmen also, a strong tower into which the doubter and the despairer might run and be safe—we all remember how Mr. Carlyle has taught us to see in 'Götz' and in 'Werther' the double source from which have flowed those two mighty streams—the literature of feudalism and romance, represented for us by Scott, and the literature of emotion and passion, represented for us by Byron.



M. Scherer's tone throughout is, we have said, not that of the ardent and grateful admirer, but of the cool, somewhat cold critic. Already this tone appears in M. Scherer's way of dealing with Goethe's earliest productions. M. Scherer seems to us to rate the force and the interest of 'Götz' too low. But his remarks on the derivedness of this supposed *source* are just. The Germans, he says, were bent, in their 'Sturm und Drang' period, on throwing off literary conventions, imitation of all sorts, and on being original. What they really did, was to fall from one sort of imitation, the imitation of the so-called classical French literature of the seventeenth century, into another:—

"Götz von Berlichingen" is a study composed after the dramatised chronicles of Shakspeare, and Werther is a product yet more direct of the sensibility and declamation brought into fashion by Jean Jacques Rousseau. All in these works is infantine, both the aim at being original, and the way of proceeding to be so. It is exactly as it was with us, about 1830. One imagines one is conducting an insurrection, making oneself independent; what one really does is to cook up out of season an old thing. Shakspeare had put the history of his nation upon the stage; Goethe goes for a subject to German history. Shakspeare, who was not fettered by the scenic conditions of the modern theatre, changed the place at every scene; "Götz" is cut up in the same fashion. I say nothing of the substance of the piece, of the absence of characters, of the nullity of the hero, of the commonplace of Weislingen "the inevitable traitor," of the melodramatic machinery of the secret tribunal. The style is no better. The astonishment is not that Goethe at twenty-five should have been equal to writing this piece; the astonishment is that after so poor a start he should have ever gone so far.'

M. Scherer seems to us quite unjust, we repeat, to this first dramatic work of Goethe. Mr. Hutton pronounces it 'far the most noble as well as the most powerful of Goethe's dramas.' And the merit which Mr. Hutton finds in 'Götz' is a real one; it is the work where Goethe, young and ardent, has most forgotten *himself* in his characters. 'There was something,' says Mr. Hutton (and here he and M. Scherer are entirely in accord) 'which prevented Goethe, we think, from ever becoming a great dramatist. He could never lose himself sufficiently in his creations.' It is in 'Götz' that he loses himself in them the most. 'Götz' is full of faults, but there is a life and a power in it, and it is not dull. This is what distinguishes it from Schiller's 'Robbers.' The 'Robbers' is at once violent and tiresome. 'Götz' is violent, but it is not tiresome.

'Werther,' which appeared a year later than 'Götz,' finds more favour at M. Scherer's hands. 'Werther' is superior to 'Götz,' he says, 'inasmuch as it is more modern, and is consequently alive, or, at any rate, has been alive lately. It has sincerity,

sincerity, passion, eloquence. One can still read it, and with emotion.' But then come the objections:—

'Nevertheless, and just by reason of its truth at one particular moment, "Werther" is gone by. It is with the book as with the blue coat and yellow breeches of the hero; the reader finds it hard to admit the pathetic in such accoutrement. There is too much enthusiasm for Ossian, too much absorption in nature, too many exclamations and apostrophes to beings animate and inanimate, too many torrents of tears. Who can forbear smiling as he reads the scene of the storm, where Charlotte first casts her eyes on the fields, then on the sky, and finally, laying her hand on her lover's, utters this one word: *Klopstock!* And then the cabbage-passage! . . . "Werther" is the poem of the German middle-class sentimentality of that day. It must be said that our sentimentality, even at the height of the "Héloïse" season, never reached the extravagance of that of our neighbours . . . Mdlle. Flachslund, who married Herder, writes to her betrothed that one night in the depth of the woods she fell on her knees as she looked at the moon, and that having found some glowworms she put them into her hair, being careful to arrange them in couples that she might not disturb their loves.'

One can imagine the pleasure of a victim of Kruppism and corporalism in relating that story of Mdlle. Flachslund. There is an even better story of the return of a Dr. Zimmermann to his home in Hanover, after being treated for hernia at Berlin; but for this story we must send the reader to M. Scherer's own pages.

After the publication of 'Werther' began Goethe's life at Weimar. For ten years he brought out nothing except occasional pieces for the Court theatre, and occasional poems. True, he carried the project of his 'Faust' in his mind, he planned 'Wilhelm Meister,' he made the first draft of 'Egmont,' he wrote 'Iphigeneia' and 'Tasso' in prose. But he felt the need, for his work, of some influence which Weimar could not give. He became dissatisfied with the place, with himself, with the people about him. In the autumn of 1786 he disappeared from Weimar, almost by a secret flight, and crossed the Alps into Italy. M. Scherer says truly that this was the great event of his life.

Italy, Rome above all, satisfied Goethe, filled him with a sense of strength and joy. 'At Rome,' he writes from that city, 'he who has eyes to see, and who uses them seriously, becomes solid. The spirit receives a stamp of vigour; it attains to a gravity in which there is nothing dry or harsh—to calm, to joy. For my own part, at any rate, I feel that I have never before had the power to judge things so justly, and I congratulate myself on the

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the happy result for my whole future life.' So he wrote while he was in Rome. And he told the Chancellor von Müller, twenty-five years later, that from the hour when he crossed the Ponte Molle on his return to Germany, he had never known a day's happiness. 'While he spoke thus,' adds the Chancellor, 'his features betrayed his deep emotion.'

The Italy, from which Goethe thus drew satisfaction and strength, was Græco-Roman Italy, pagan Italy. For mediæval and Christian Italy he had no heed, no sympathy. He would not even look at the famous church of St. Francis at Assisi. 'I passed it by,' he says, 'with disgust.' And he told a young Italian who asked him his opinion of Dante's great poem, that he thought the 'Inferno' abominable, the 'Purgatorio' dubious, and the 'Paradiso' tiresome.

We have not space to quote what M. Scherer says of the influence on Goethe's genius of his stay in Rome. We are more especially concerned with the judgments of M. Scherer on the principal works of Goethe as these works succeed one another. At Rome, or under the influence of Rome, 'Iphigeneia' and 'Tasso' were re-cast in verse, 'Egmont' was resumed and finished, the chief portion of the first part of 'Faust' was written. Of the larger works of Goethe in poetry, these are the chief. Let us see what M. Scherer has to say of them.

'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia,' says M. Scherer very truly, mark a new phase in the literary career of Goethe:—

'They are works of finished style and profound composition. There is no need to enquire whether the "Iphigeneia" keeps to the traditional data of the subject; Goethe desired to make it Greek only by its sententious elevation and grave beauty. What he imitates are the conditions of art as the ancients understood them, but he does not scruple to introduce new thoughts into these mythological *motives*. He has given up the aim of rendering by poetry what is characteristic or individual; his concern is henceforth with the ideal, that is to say, with the transformation of things through beauty. If I were to employ the terms in use amongst ourselves, I should say that from romantic Goethe had changed to being classic; but, let me say again, he is classic only by the adoption of the elevated style, he imitates the ancients merely by borrowing their peculiar sentiment as to art, and within these bounds he moves with freedom and power. The two elements, that of immediate or passionate feeling, and that of well-considered combination of means, balance one another, and give birth to finished works. "Tasso" and "Iphigeneia" mark the apogee of Goethe's talent.'

It is interesting to turn from this praise of 'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia' to that by Mr. Lewes, whose 'Life of Goethe,'  
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a work in many respects of brilliant cleverness, will be in the memory of many amongst our readers. 'A marvellous dramatic poem' Mr. Lewes calls 'Iphigeneia.' 'Beautiful as the separate passages are, admirers seldom think of passages, they think of the wondrous whole.' Of 'Tasso,' Mr. Lewes says: 'There is a calm, broad effulgence of light in it, very different from the concentrated *lights* of effect which we are accustomed to find in modern works. It has the clearness, unity, and matchless grace of a Raphael, not the lustrous warmth of a Titian, or the crowded gorgeousness of a Paul Veronese.'

Every one will remark the difference of tone between this criticism and M. Scherer's. Yet M. Scherer's criticism conveyed praise, and, for him, warm praise. But 'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia' mark, in his eyes, the period, the too short period, during which the forces of inspiration and of reflection, the poet in Goethe and the critic in him, the thinker and the artist, in whose conflict M. Scherer sees the history of our author's literary development, were in equilibrium. 'Faust,' also, the first part of 'Faust,' the only one which counts, belongs by its composition to this period. By common consent it is the best of Goethe's works. For while it has the benefit of his matured powers of thought, of his command over his materials, of his mastery in planning and expressing, it possesses by the nature of its subject an intrinsic richness, colour, and warmth. Moreover, from Goethe's long and early occupation with the subject, 'Faust' has preserved many a stroke and flash out of the days of its author's fervid youth. To M. Scherer, therefore, as to the world in general, the first part of 'Faust' seems Goethe's masterpiece. M. Scherer does not call 'Faust' the greatest work of the greatest poet of all times and all peoples, but thus he speaks of it:—

'Goethe had the good fortune early to come across a subject, which, while it did not lend itself to his faults, could not but call forth all the powers of his genius. I speak of "Faust." Goethe had begun to occupy himself with it as early as 1774, the year in which "Werther" was published. Considerable portions of the First Part appeared in 1790; it was completed in 1808. We may congratulate ourselves that the work was already, at the time of his travels in Italy, so far advanced as it was; else there might have been danger of the author's turning away from it as from a Gothic, perhaps unhealthy, production. What is certain is, that he could not put into "Faust" his preoccupation with the antique, or, at any rate, he was obliged to keep this for the Second Part. The first "Faust" remained, whether Goethe would or no, an old story made young again, to serve as the poem of thought, the poem of modern life. This kind of adaptation had evidently great difficulties. It was impossible to give the

the story a satisfactory end; the compact between the Doctor and the Devil could not be made good, consequently the original condition of the story was gone, and the drama was left without an issue. We must, therefore, take "Faust" as a work which is not finished, and which could not be finished. But, in compensation, the choice of this subject had all sorts of advantages for Goethe. In place of the somewhat cold symbolism for which his mind had a turn, the subject of "Faust" compelled him to deal with popular beliefs. Instead of obliging him to produce a drama with beginning, middle and end, it allowed him to proceed by episodes and detached scenes. Finally, in a subject fantastic and diabolic there could hardly be found room for the imitation of models. Let me add, that in bringing face to face human aspiration represented by Faust and pitiless irony represented by Mephistopheles, Goethe found the natural scope for his keen observations on all things. It is unquestionable that "Faust" stands as one of the great works of poetry; and, perhaps, the most wonderful work of poetry in our century. The story, the subject, do not exist as a whole, but each episode by itself is perfect, and the execution is nowhere defective. "Faust" is a treasure of poetry, of pathos, of the highest wisdom, of a spirit inexhaustible and keen as steel. There is not, from the first verse to the last, a false tone or a weak line.'

This praise is discriminating, and yet earnest, almost cordial. "Faust" stands as one of the great works of poetry, and, perhaps, the most wonderful work of poetry in our century.' The *perhaps* might be away. But the praise is otherwise not coldly stinted, not limited ungraciously and unduly.

Goethe returned to 'the formless Germany,' to the Germanic north with its 'cold wet summers,' of which he so mournfully complained; to Weimar with its petty Court and petty town, its society which Carl-August himself, writing to Knebel, calls 'the most tiresome on the face of the earth,' and of which the ennui drove Goethe sometimes to 'a sort of internal despair.' He had his animating friendship with Schiller. He had also his connection with Christiana Vulpius, whom he afterwards married.

That connection both the moralist and the man of the world may unite in condemning. M. Scherer calls it 'a degrading connection with a girl of no education, whom Goethe established in his house to the great embarrassment of all his friends, whom he either could not or would not marry until eighteen years later, and who punished him as he deserved by taking a turn for drink—a turn which their unfortunate son inherited.' In these circumstances was passed the second half of Goethe's life, after his return from Italy. The man of reflection, always present in him, but balanced for a while by the man of inspiration, became now,

M. Scherer

M. Scherer thinks, predominant. There was a *refroidissement graduel*, a gradual cooling down, of the poet and artist.

The most famous works of Goethe which remain yet to be mentioned are 'Egmont,' 'Hermann and Dorothea,' 'Wilhelm Meister,' the 'Second Part of Faust,' and the 'Gedichte,' or short poems. Of 'Egmont' M. Scherer says:—

'This piece also belongs, by the date of its publication, to the period which followed Goethe's stay in Rome. But in vain did Goethe try to transform it, he could not succeed. The subject stood in his way. We need not be surprised, therefore, if "Egmont" remains a mediocre performance, Goethe having always been deficient in dramatic faculty, and not in this case redeeming his defect by qualities of execution, as in "Iphigeneia." He is too much of a generaliser to create a character, too meditative to create an action. "Egmont" must be ranked by the side of "Götz;" it is a product of the same order. The hero is not a living being; one does not know what he wants; the object of the conspiracy is not brought out; the unfortunate Count does certainly exclaim, as he goes to the scaffold, that he is dying for liberty, but nobody had suspected it until that moment. It is the same with the popular movement; it is insufficiently rendered, without breadth, without power. I say nothing of Machiavel, who preaches toleration to the Princess Regent and tries to make her understand the uselessness of persecution; nor of Claire, a girl sprung from the people, who talks like an epigram of the Anthology: "Neither soldiers nor lovers should have their arms tied." "Egmont" is one of the weakest among Goethe's weak pieces for the stage.'

But now, on the other hand, let us hear Mr. Lewes: 'When all is said, the reader thinks of Egmont and Clärchen, and flings criticism to the winds. These are the figures which remain in the memory; bright, genial, glorious creations, comparable to any to be found in the long galleries of art!'

Aristotle says, with admirable common-sense, that the determination of what a thing is, is *ὡς ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσσειν*, 'as the judicious would determine.' And would the judicious, after reading 'Egmont,' determine with Mr. Lewes, or determine with M. Scherer? Let us for the present leave the judicious to try, and let us pass to M. Scherer's criticism of 'Hermann and Dorothea.' 'Goethe's epic poem,' writes Schiller, 'you have read; you will admit that it is the pinnacle of his and all our modern art.' In Professor Grimm's eyes, perhaps, this is but scant praise, but how much too strong is it for M. Scherer!

'Criticism is considerably embarrassed in presence of a poem in many respects so highly finished as the antico-modern and heroic-middle-class idyl of Goethe. The ability which the author has spent upon it is beyond conception; and, the kind of poem being once allowed, the

the indispensable concessions having been once made, it is certain that the pleasure is doubled by seeing, at each step, difficulty so marvelously overcome. But all this cannot make the effort to be effort well spent, nor the kind of poem a true, sound and worthy kind. "Hermann and Dorothea" remains a piece of elegant cleverness, a wager laid and won, but for all that, a feat of ingenuity and nothing more. It is not quite certain that our modern societies will continue to have a poetry at all; but most undoubtedly, if they do have one, it will be on condition that this poetry belongs to its time by its language, as well as by its subject. Has any critic remarked how Goethe's manner of proceeding is at bottom that of parody, and how the turn of straw would set the reader laughing at these farm-horses transformed into coursers, these village innkeepers and apothecaries who speak with the magniloquence of a Ulysses or a Nestor? Criticism should have the courage to declare that all this is not sincere poetry at all, but solely the product of an exquisite dilettantism, and—to speak the definitive judgment upon it—a factitious work.

Once again we turn to Mr. Lewes for contrast:—

'Do not let us discuss whether "Hermann and Dorothea" is or is not an epic. It is a poem. Let us accept it for what it is—a poem full of life, character and beauty; of all idyls it is the most truly idyllic, of all poems describing country life and country people it is the most truthful. Shakspeare himself is not more dramatic in the presentation of character.'

It is an excellent and wholesome discipline for a student of Goethe to be brought face to face with such opposite judgments concerning his chief productions. It compels us to rouse ourselves out of the passiveness with which we in general read a celebrated work, to open our eyes wide, to ask ourselves frankly how, according to our genuine feeling, the truth stands. We all recollect Mr. Carlyle on 'Wilhelm Meister,' 'the mature product of the first genius of our times':—

'Anarchy has now become peace; the once gloomy and perturbed spirit is now serene, cheerfully vigorous, and rich in good fruits. The ideal has been built on the actual; no longer floats vaguely in darkness and regions of dreams, but rests in light, on the firm ground of human interest and business, as in its true scene, and on its true basis.'

Schiller, too, said of 'Wilhelm Meister,' that he 'accounted it the most fortunate incident in his existence to have lived to see the completion of this work.' And again: 'I cannot describe to you how deeply the truth, the beautiful vitality, the simplicity of this work has affected me. The excitement in which it has thrown my mind will subside when I shall have thoroughly

thoroughly mastered it, and that will be an important crisis in my being.'

Now for the cold-water douche of our Genevese critic:—

'Goethe is extremely great, but he is extremely unequal. He is a genius of the first order, but with thicknesses, with spots, so to speak, which remain opaque and where the light does not pass. Goethe, to go farther, has not only genius, he has what we in France call *esprit*, he has it to any extent, and yet there are in him sides of common-place and silliness. One cannot read his works without continually falling in with trivial admirations, solemn pieces of simplicity, reflections which bear upon nothing. There are moments when Goethe turns upon society and upon art a ken of astonishing penetration; and there are other moments when he gravely forces an open door, or a door which leads nowhere. In addition, he has all manner of hidden intentions, he loves byways of effect, seeks to insinuate lessons, and so becomes heavy and fatiguing. There are works of his which one cannot read without effort. I shall never forget the repeated acts of self-sacrifice which it cost me to finish "Wilhelm Meister" and the "Elective Affinities." As Paul de Saint-Victor has put it, "when Goethe goes in for being tiresome he succeeds with an astonishing perfection, he is the *Jupiter Pluvius* of ennui. The very height from which he pours it down, does but make its weight greater." What an insipid invention is the pedagogic city! What a trivial world is that in which the Wilhelms and the Philinas, the Eduards and the Otilias, have their being! Mignon has been elevated into a poetic creation; but Mignon has neither charm, nor mystery, nor veritable existence, nor any other poetry belonging to her—let us say it right out—except the half-dozen immortal stanzas put into her mouth.'

And, as we brought Schiller to corroborate the praise of 'Wilhelm Meister,' let us bring Niebuhr to corroborate the blame. Niebuhr calls 'Wilhelm Meister' 'a menagerie of tame animals.'

After this the reader can perhaps imagine, without our quoting it, the sort of tone in which M. Scherer passes judgment upon 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' and upon Goethe's prose in general. Even Mr. Lewes declares of Goethe's prose: 'He has written with a perfection no German ever achieved before, and he has also written with a feebleness which it would be gratifying to think no German would ever emulate again.'

Let us return, then, to Goethe's poetry. There is the continuation of 'Faust' still to be mentioned. First we will hear Mr. Carlyle. In 'Helena' 'the design is,' says Mr. Carlyle, 'that the story of "Faust" may fade away at its termination into a phantasmagoric region, where symbol and thing signified are no longer clearly distinguished,' and that thus 'the final result may be curiously and significantly indicated rather than directly exhibited.'



exhibited.' 'Helena' is 'not a type of one thing, but a vague, fluctuating fitful adumbration of many.' It is, properly speaking, 'what the Germans call a *Mährchen*, a species of fiction they have particularly excelled in.' As to its composition, 'we cannot but perceive it to be deeply studied, appropriate and successful.'

The 'adumbrative' style here praised, in which 'the final result is curiously and significantly indicated rather than directly exhibited,' is what M. Scherer calls Goethe's 'last manner.'

'It was to be feared that, as Goethe grew older and colder, the balance between those two elements of art, science and temperament, would not be preserved. This is just what happened, and hence arose Goethe's last manner. He had passed from representing characters to representing the ideal, he is now to pass from the ideal to the symbol. And this is quite intelligible; reflection, as it develops, leads to abstraction, and from the moment when the artist begins to prefer ideas to sensation he falls inevitably into allegory, since allegory is his only means for directly expressing ideas. Goethe's third epoch is characterised by three things: an ever-increasing devotion to the antique as to the supreme revelation of the beautiful, a disposition to take delight in æsthetic theories, and, finally, an irresistible desire for giving didactic intentions to art. This last tendency is evident in the continuation of "*Wilhelm Meister*," and in the second "*Faust*." We may say that these two works are dead of a hypertrophy of reflection. They are a mere mass of symbols, hieroglyphics, sometimes even mystifications. There is something extraordinarily painful in seeing a genius so vigorous and a science so consummate thus mistaking the elementary conditions of poetry. The fault, we may add, is the fault of German art in general. The Germans have more ideas than their plasticity of temperament, evidently below par, knows how to deal with. They are wanting in the vigorous sensuousness, the concrete and immediate impression of things, which makes the artist, and which distinguishes him from the thinker.'

So much for Goethe's 'last manner' in general, and to serve as introduction to what M. Scherer has to say of the second '*Faust*' more particularly:—

'The two parts of "*Faust*" are disparate. They do not proceed from one and the same conception. Goethe was like Defoe, like Milton, like so many others, who after producing a masterpiece have been bent on giving it a successor. Unhappily, while the first "*Faust*" is of Goethe's fairest time, of his most vigorous manhood, the second is the last fruit of his old age. Science, in the one, has not chilled poetic genius; in the other, reflection bears sway and produces all kind of symbols and abstractions. The beauty of the first

first comes in some sort from its very imperfection; I mean, from the incessant tendency of the sentiment of reality, the creative power, the poetry of passion and nature, to prevail over the philosophic intention and to make us forget it. Where is the student of poetry who, as he reads the monologues of Faust or the sarcasms of Mephistopheles, as he witnesses the fall and the remorse of Margaret, the most poignant history ever traced by pen, any longer thinks of the "Prologue in Heaven" or of the terms of the compact struck between Faust and the Tempter? In the second part it is just the contrary. The idea is everything. Allegory reigns there. The poetry is devoid of that simple and natural realism without which art cannot exist. One feels oneself in a sheer region of didactics. And this is true even of the finest parts,—of the third act, for example,—as well as of the weakest. What can be more burlesque than this Euphorion, son of Faust and Helen, who is found at the critical moment under a cabbage-leaf!—no, I am wrong, who descends from the sky "for all the world like a Phœbus," with a little cloak and a little harp, and ends by breaking his neck as he falls at the feet of his parents? And all this to represent Lord Byron, and, in his person, modern poetry, which is the offspring of romantic art! What decadence, good heavens! and what a melancholy thing is old age, since it can make the most plastic of modern poets sink down to these fantasticalities worthy of Alexandria!

In spite of the praise which he has accorded to 'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia,' M. Scherer concludes, then, his review of Goethe's Productions thus:

'Goethe is truly original and thoroughly superior only in his lyrical poems (the "Gedichte"), and in the first part of "Faust." They are immortal works, and why? Because they issue from a personal feeling, and the spirit of system has not petrified them. And yet even his lyrical poems Goethe has tried to spoil. He went on correcting them incessantly; and, in bringing them to that degree of perfection in which we now find them, he has taken out of them their warmth.'

The worshipper of Goethe will ask with wrath and bitterness of soul whether M. Scherer has yet done. Not quite. We have still to hear some acute remarks on the pomposity of diction in our poet's stage pieces. The English reader will best understand, perhaps, the kind of fault meant, if we quote from the 'Natural Daughter' a couple of lines not quoted, as it happens, by M. Scherer. The heroine has a fall from her horse, and the Court physician comes to attend her. The Court physician is addressed thus:—

'Erfahrner Mann, dem unseres König's Leben,  
Das unschätzbare Gut, vertraut ist . . .'

'Experienced man, to whom the life of our sovereign, that  
inestimable

inestimable treasure, is given in charge.' Shakspeare would have said *Doctor*. The German drama is full of this sort of round-about, pompous language. 'Every one has laughed,' says M. Scherer, 'at the pomposity and periphrasis of French tragedy.' The heroic King of Pontus, in French tragedy, gives up the ghost with these words:—

'Dans cet embrassement dont la douceur me flatte,  
Venez, et recevez l'âme de Mithridate.'

'What has not been said,' continues M. Scherer, 'and justly said, against the artificial character of French tragedy?' Nevertheless, 'people do not enough remember that, convention being universally admitted in the seventeenth century, sincerity and even a relative simplicity remained possible' with an artificial diction; whereas Goethe did not find his artificial diction imposed upon him by conditions from without—he made it himself, and of set purpose.

'It is a curious thing; this style of Goethe's has its cause just in that very same study which has been made such a matter of reproach against our tragedy-writers—the study to maintain a pitch of general nobleness in all the language uttered. Everything with Goethe must be grave, solemn, sculptural. We see the influence of Winckelmann, and of his views on Greek art.'

English readers will be familiar enough with complaints of Goethe's 'artistic egotism,' of his tendency to set up his own intellectual culture as the rule of his life. The freshness of M. Scherer's repetition of these old complaints consists in his connecting them, as we have seen, with the criticism of Goethe's literary development. But M. Scherer has some direct blame of defects in his author's character which is worth quoting:—

- 'It must fairly be confessed, the respect of Goethe for the mighty of this earth was carried to excesses which make one uncomfortable for him. One is confounded by these earnestnesses of servility. The King of Bavaria pays him a visit; the dear poet feels his head go round. The story should be read in the journal of the Chancellor von Müller. "Goethe after dinner became more and more animated and cordial. 'It was no light matter,' he said, 'to work out the powerful impression produced by the King's presence, to assimilate it internally. It is difficult, in such circumstances, to keep one's balance and not to lose one's head. And yet the important matter is to extract from this apparition its real significance, to obtain a clear and distinct image of it.'" Another time he got a letter from the same sovereign; he talks of it to Eckermann with the same devout emotion—he "thanks Heaven for it as for a quite special favour." And when one thinks that the king in question was no other than that poor Louis of Bavaria, the ridiculous dilettante of whom Heine has made such

such fun! Evidently Goethe had a strong dose of what the English call "snobbishness." The blemish is the more startling in him, because Goethe is, in other respects, a simple and manly character. Neither in his person nor in his manner of writing was he at all affected; he has no self-conceit; he does not pose. There is in this particular all the difference in the world between him and the majority of our own French authors, who seem always busy arranging their draperies, and asking themselves how they appear to the world and what the gallery thinks of them.'

Goethe himself had in like manner called the French 'the women of Europe.' But let us remark that it was not 'snobbishness' in Goethe, which made him take so seriously the potentate who loved Lola Montes; it was simply his German 'corporalism.' A disciplinable and much-disciplined people, with little humour, and without the experience of a great national life, regards its official authorities in this devout and awe-struck way. To a German it seems profane and licentious to smile at his Dogberry. He takes Dogberry seriously and solemnly, takes him at his own valuation.

We are all familiar with the general style of the critic who, as the phrase is, 'cuts up' his author. Such a critic finds very few merits and a great many faults, and he ends either with a phrase of condemnation, or with a phrase of compassion, or with a sneer. We saw, however, in the case of Milton, that one must not reckon on M. Scherer's ending in this fashion. After a course of severe criticism he wound up with earnest, almost reverential praise. The same thing happens again in his treatment of Goethe. No admirer of Goethe will be satisfied with the treatment which hitherto we have seen Goethe receive at M. Scherer's hands. And the summing-up begins in a strain which will not please the admirer much better:—

'To sum up, Goethe is a poet full of ideas and of observation, full of sense and taste, full even of feeling no less than of acumen, and all this united with an incomparable gift of versification. But Goethe has no artlessness, no fire, no invention; he is wanting in the dramatic fibre and cannot create; reflection, in Goethe, has been too much for emotion, the savant in him for poetry, the philosophy of art for the artist.'

And yet the final conclusion is this:—

'Nevertheless, Goethe remains one of the exceeding great among the sons of men. "After all," said he to one of his friends, "there are honest people up and down the world who have got light from my books, and whoever reads them, and gives himself the trouble to understand me, will acknowledge that he has acquired thence a certain inward freedom." I should like to inscribe these words upon  
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the pedestal of Goethe's statue; no juster praise could be found for him, and in very truth there cannot possibly be for any man a praise higher or more enviable.'

And in an article on Shakspeare, after a prophecy that the hour will come for Goethe, as in Germany it has of late come for Shakspeare, when criticism will take the place of adoration, M. Scherer, after insisting on those defects in Goethe of which we have been hearing so fully, protests that there are yet few writers for whom he feels a greater admiration than for Goethe, few to whom he is indebted for enjoyments more deep and more durable, and declares that Goethe, although he has not Shakspeare's power, is a genius more vast, more universal, than Shakspeare. He adds, to be sure, that Shakspeare had an advantage over Goethe in not outliving himself.

After all, then, M. Scherer is not far from being willing to allow, if any youthful devotee wishes to urge it, that 'the Eternal created Goethe to be a guide to the universe.' Yet he deals with the literary production of Goethe as we have seen. He is very far indeed from thinking it the performance 'of the greatest poet of all times and of all peoples.' And this is why we have thought M. Scherer's criticisms worthy of so much attention;—because a double judgment, somewhat of this kind, is the judgment about Goethe to which mature experience, the experience got 'by the time one is forty years old,' does really, we think, bring us. We do not agree with all M. Scherer's criticisms on Goethe's literary work. We do not ourselves feel, in reading the 'Gedichte,' the truth of what M. Scherer says, that Goethe has corrected and retouched them till he has taken the warmth out of them. We do not ourselves feel the irritation in reading Goethe's 'Memoirs,' and his prose generally, which they provoke in M. Scherer. True, the prose has none of those positive qualities of style which give pleasure, it is not the prose of Voltaire or Swift; it is loose, ill-knit, diffuse; it bears the marks of having been, as it mostly was, dictated—and dictating is a detestable habit. But it is absolutely free from affectation; it lets the real Goethe reach us. In other respects we agree in the main with the judgments passed by M. Scherer upon Goethe's works. Nay, some of them, such as 'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia,' we hesitate to extol so highly as he does. In that peculiar world of thought and feeling, wherein 'Tasso' and 'Iphigeneia' have their existence, and into which the reader too must enter in order to understand them, there is something factitious; something devised and determined by the thinker, not given by the necessity of nature herself; something too artificial, therefore, too deliberately studied,—as the French say,

say, *trop voulu*. They cannot have the power of works where we are in a world of thought and feeling not invented but natural—of works like the 'Agamemnon' or 'Lear.' 'Faust,' too, suffers by comparison with works like the 'Agamemnon' or 'Lear.' M. Scherer says, with perfect truth, that the first part of 'Faust' has not a single false tone or weak line. But it is a work, as he himself observes, 'of episodes and detached scenes,' not a work where the whole material together has been fused in the author's mind by strong and deep feeling, and then poured out in a single jet. It can never produce the single, powerful total-impression of works which have thus arisen.

The first part of 'Faust' is, however, undoubtedly Goethe's best work. And it is so for the plain reason that, except his 'Gedichte,' it is his most straightforward work in poetry. Mr. Hayward's is the best of the translations of 'Faust' for the same reason—because it is the most straightforward. To be simple and straightforward is, as Milton saw and said, of the essence of first-rate poetry. All that M. Scherer says of the ruinousness, to a poet, of 'symbols, hieroglyphics, mystifications,' is just. When Mr. Carlyle praises 'Helena' for being 'not a type of one thing, but a vague, fluctuating, fitful adumbration of many,' he praises it for what is in truth its fatal defect. The 'Mährchen,' again, on which he heaps such praise, calling it one of the noblest performances produced for the last thousand years, 'a performance 'in such a style of grandeur and celestial brilliancy and life as the Western imagination has not elsewhere reached;' the 'Mährchen,' woven throughout of 'symbol, hieroglyphic, mystification,' is by that very reason a piece of solemn inanition, on which a man of Goethe's powers could never have wasted his time, but for his lot having been cast in a nation which has never lived.

Mr. Carlyle has a sentence on Goethe which we may turn to excellent account for the criticism of such works as the 'Mährchen' and 'Helena':—

'We should ask,' he says, 'what the poet's aim really and truly was, and how far this aim accorded, not with us and our individual crotchets and the crotchets of our little senate where we give or take the law, but with human nature and the nature of things at large; with the universal principles of poetic beauty, not as they stand written in our text-books, but in the hearts and imaginations of all men.'

To us it seems lost labour to inquire what a poet's aim may have been; but for aim let us read *work*, and we have here a sound and admirable rule of criticism. Let us ask how a poet's work accords, not with any one's fancies and crotchets, but

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‘with human nature and the nature of things at large, with the universal principles of poetic beauty as they stand written in the hearts and imaginations of all men,’ and we shall have the surest rejection of symbol, hieroglyphic, and mystification in poetry. We shall have the surest condemnation of works like the ‘Mährchen’ and the second part of ‘Faust.’

It is by no means as the greatest of poets that Goethe deserves the pride and praise of his German countrymen. It is as the clearest, the largest, the most helpful thinker of modern times. It is not principally in his published works, it is in the immense *Goethe-literature* of letter, journal, and conversation, in the volumes of Riemer, Falk, Eckermann, the Chancellor von Müller, in the letters to Merck and Madame von Stein and many others, in the correspondence with Schiller, the correspondence with Zelter, that the elements for an impression of the truly great, the truly significant Goethe are to be found. Goethe is the greatest poet of modern times, not because he is one of the half-dozen human beings who in the history of our race have shown the most signal gift for poetry, but because, having a very considerable gift for poetry, he was at the same time, in the width, depth, and richness of his criticism of life, by far our greatest man. He may be precious and important to us on this account above men of other and more alien times, who as poets rank higher. Nay, his preciousness and importance as a clear and profound spirit; as a master-critic of life, must communicate a worth of their own to his poetry, and may well make it seem to have a positive value and perfectness as poetry, more than it has. It is most pardonable for a student of him, and may even for a time be serviceable, to make this error. Nevertheless, poetical defects, where they are present, subsist, and are what they are. And the same with defects of character. Time and attention bring them to light; and when they are brought to light, it is not good for us, it is obstructing and retarding, to refuse to see them. Goethe himself would have warned us against doing so. We can imagine, indeed, that great and supreme critic reading Professor Grimm’s laudation of his poetical work with lifted eyebrows, and M. Scherer’s criticisms with acquiescence.

Shall we say, however, that M. Scherer’s tone in no way jars upon us, or that his presentation of Goethe, just and acute as is the view of faults both in Goethe’s poetry and in Goethe’s character, satisfies us entirely? By no means. We could not say so of M. Scherer’s presentation of Milton; of the presentation of Goethe we can say so still less. The faults are shown, and they exist. Praise is given, and the right praise. But there is yet some defect in the portraiture as a whole; tone and perspective are somehow  
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a little wrong ; the distribution of colour, the proportions of light and shade, are not managed quite as they should be. One would like the picture to be painted over again by the same artist with the same talent, but a little differently. And meanwhile we instinctively, after M. Scherer's presentation, feel a desire for some last words of Goethe's own, something which may give a happier and more cordial turn to our thoughts, after they have been held so long to a frigid and censorious strain. And there rises to our minds this sentence: '*Die Gestalt dieser Welt vergeht; und ich möchte mich nur mit dem beschäftigen, was bleibende Verhältnisse sind.*' '*The fashion of this world passeth away; and I would fain occupy myself only with the abiding.*' There is the true Goethe, and with that Goethe we would end!

But let us be thankful for what M. Scherer brings, and let us acknowledge with gratitude his presentation of Goethe to be, not indeed the definitive picture of Goethe, but a contribution, and a very able contribution, to that definitive picture. We are told that since the war of 1870 Frenchmen are abandoning literature for science. Why do they not rather learn of this accomplished Genevese, to whom they have given the right of citizenship, to extend their old narrow literary range a little, and to know foreign literatures as M. Scherer knows them?

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- ART. VII.—1. *Royal Commission on Railway Accidents. Report of the Commissioners. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1877.*
  2. *Royal Commission on Railway Accidents. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1877.*
  3. *Royal Commission on Railway Accidents. Analysis and Abstract of the Evidence taken before the Commissioners. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1877.*

OUR railways may be said to mark the furthest point which the advance of European civilisation has reached. They have done more than anything achieved by former generations to modify the influence of time and space. Common and familiar instruments of our business and pleasure as they have become to us, they may be described, with literal truth, as the most striking manifestations of the power of man over the material order of the universe. The mightiest monuments of classical or pre-classical times are but feeble triumphs of human skill beside



the work of the railway engineer, who has covered the face of the earth with iron roads, spanning valleys and piercing mountains, and traversed by fiery steeds fleetier than ever sped through poetic dream, or necromantic legend.

Hardly less remarkable than the intrinsic greatness of this invention is its wonderful extension throughout the world, and especially in these islands. This is a subject upon which statistics speak with an eloquence beyond that of any mere words of rhetoric, and bare numeration becomes poetical. According to the most recent returns available—those for the year 1875—we possess in the United Kingdom 16,658 miles of permanent way, worked by 12,439 locomotives, 393,791 vehicles of various kinds, and a staff of close upon 300,000 employé's; the number of passengers is set down at 506,955,234 exclusive of the holders of season tickets; the gross receipts of the companies amount to 61,237,000*l.*, and their paid-up capita reaches the enormous total of 630,223,496*l.*\* It would be interesting to investigate the attempts to facilitate locomotion by mechanical expedients, in which we may trace the germs and rudiments of this great system from the 'way leaves remarked by Lord Guildford two hundred years ago, in the Newcastle collieries, to the first rude efforts, about the beginning of this century, to utilise the expansive power of steam for the purposes of locomotion. Still more interesting would it be to follow the history of its development, within the memory of men now living, after the patient self-relying skill and dumb indomitable resolution of the Father of Railways had once fairly established it, and the world, so long incredulous, had gazed with admiration upon trains passing securely across the quagmire of Chat-moss, and through the sandstone rock upon which Liverpool is built. It is a history in which consummate commercial sagacity and far-seeing policy are found side by side with reckless waste and popular madness in which the genius, the resources, the virtues of human nature in an almost heroic degree, are in closest juxtaposition with the lowest depths of folly, futility, and fraud. No chapter in the annals of our country is more wonderful and fascinating; but we must not linger upon it. Our immediate subject, if less romantic, is strange enough, and of hardly inferior interest although its interest is of a more tragic sort. We propose to address ourselves to the question of railway accidents—one of the most important of the many questions arising out of the

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\* Railway Returns for England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, for the year 1875, pursuant to the Act 34 & 35 Vict. cap. 78, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

new method of conveyance which has so changed the conditions of modern life. 'Perhaps our greatest domestic question,'\* Lord Beaconsfield has called it; and certainly it would be difficult to instance another which comes home so nearly to 'men's business and bosoms.' It is a question, we may add, which it is not easy to discuss without an amount of passion and prejudice fatal to a right estimate of it, because of the keenness of the feelings and the strength of the interests which it touches. Fortunately, the Parliamentary papers of which we have prefixed the titles to this article—the embodiment of the labours of the Royal Commission appointed three years ago—are not less admirable for the extent and variety of the evidence recorded in them—'evidence,' if we may again quote Lord Beaconsfield, 'collected by men of great acuteness and ability, from persons of very great experience,'†—than for the calm, impartial, and judicial tone in which the conclusions arrived at are presented. Availing ourselves to a large extent of the materials thus provided, it is our object in the present paper to inquire, to what extent the safety of railway passengers is protected by the law, how far such protection has in practice proved sufficient, and whether any, and if so what, further legislation is desirable for the prevention of railway accidents.

At the outset, it will be well to point out precisely the position which the companies occupy with regard to the general public. It is an interesting and significant fact that the construction of the existing 17,000 miles of railway—the great high-roads of the country as they have become—was in no sense undertaken by the State, but was left wholly to private speculators. As the Royal Commission on Railways have stated in their Report (1867), our railway system 'had its origin in the enterprise of individuals, interested in the several localities. Their efforts were not fostered by the Legislature; as objects of national concern, but were treated as projects undertaken for the private profit of their promoters, which might be sanctioned by Parliament for the public advantage.' It should further be observed that originally the companies were not intended to have a monopoly, nor even any preferential use of their lines. On the contrary, in most of the early railway Acts, 'which follow very closely in their general scope the provisions which have been applied to canal companies,'‡ clauses are found enabling all persons to use the road on payment of certain tolls. These

\* Speech in the House of Lords on the 27th of April, 1877.

‡ Shelford on the Law of Railways, 4th ed. Introd., p. xxix.

† Ibid.

provisions have never been formally repealed, and, in point of law, the railway companies are still compellable to admit the carriages and engines of other persons on their lines.\* But when locomotives were introduced, it was discovered that single management was necessary.† The companies, from the necessity of the case, were compelled to embark in the business of common carriers, and thus their existing monopoly of the traffic grew up.

As carriers of passengers, the railway companies of course came under the provisions of the common law regulating the duties and liabilities attaching to that employment, and incurred an obligation 'to use due and proper care and skill in and about the carrying and conveying'‡ of those whom they carried and conveyed—an obligation not arising out of the contract to carry, but from the duty to carry safely imposed by the law upon those who engage in the business of carriers. It need hardly be observed that there is no warranty of safety. 'A carrier of passengers undertakes only that, as far as human foresight can go he will provide for their safe conveyance.'§ Such is briefly and in substance the duty thrown by the common law of England upon those who undertake the carriage of passengers. Breach of this duty renders the wrong-doer liable in damages to the passenger aggrieved, and, under the provisions of the statute 9 & 10 Vict. cap. 93, the liability survives, although the wrongful act results in the death of the person injured. This Statute commonly known as Lord Campbell's Act, setting aside, *pro tanto* the ancient principle, *actio personalis moritur cum persona* provides that,

'Whosoever the death of a person shall be caused by wrongful act, neglect, or default . . . such as would (if death had not ensued) have entitled the party injured to maintain an action, and recover damages in respect thereof, then . . . the person, who would have been liable if death had not ensued, shall be liable to an action for damages . . . for the benefit of the wife, husband, parent, and child of the person whose death shall have been so caused.'

It may be well to point out, in correction of a popular error that the application of Lord Campbell's Act is not confined to cases in which death ensues from injuries wrongfully sustained in travelling, whether by railway or any other mode of conveyance. Its scope is more general. It is, as its title describes it

\* Lely's 'Railway and Canal Acts,' p. 1.

† Ibid. The use of steam locomotives was first authorised by an Act passed in 1823 (4 Geo. 4, cap. 33), 'An Act to enable the Stockton and Darlington Railway to alter and vary the line,' &c.

‡ Powell's 'Law of Inland Carriers,' p. 25, 2nd ed.

§ Ibid. p. 27.

'An Act for compensating the families of persons killed by accidents.'

The railway companies, then, as carriers of passengers, incur the same duties and liabilities as other carriers of passengers, and travellers using the railways have the same remedies against the companies as against other persons carrying on the like employment. Thus the case stood when the new method of conveyance came into use, and thus, in effect, it stands still. Judging with the wisdom so easy of attainment after the event, it might perhaps have been reasonably expected that, as almost all the passenger traffic of the country passed into the hands of a few private persons, some special provision would have been made by the Legislature to regulate, in the public interest, the conditions under which it should be conducted. The Statute Book, however, reveals very few traces of such legislation. No attempt towards it seems to have been made until the year 1840, when a Select Committee recommended that the Executive Government should be intrusted with the duty of inspecting new lines, and should exercise a general supervision over the manner in which the railway companies used their power. It was in consequence of this recommendation that the Act of the 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 97 was passed, by which the Board of Trade was constituted the 'guardian of the public interests.\*' By this enactment (we quote the summary of it given by Mr. Powell):—

'A general supervision of all railways is given to the Board of Trade, who may call for returns of the aggregate traffic in passengers, traffic and goods, as well as of all accidents, attended with personal injury, on the railway, and also for tables of all tolls, rates and charges levied from time to time on such traffic. The Board may appoint persons to inspect the railway, and all works and engines connected with it, at all reasonable times. All bye-laws, before they can operate, must have been laid for two months previously before the Board, who may disallow any such bye-law at any time before or after it shall have come into operation. And prosecutions may be directed by the certificate of the Board against the company for any offence against any of the railway Acts within one year after such offence shall have been committed.' †

In the next session of Parliament a further Act was passed, giving the Board the power of inspecting railways before they can be opened for public conveyance; requiring the companies to transmit to the Board notice of accidents attended with personal injury, within forty-eight hours after their occurrence; prescribing certain regulations regarding crossings; and autho-

\* Shelford's 'Law of Railways,' Introd. p. xxxiii., 4th ed.

† Powell's 'Law of Inland Carriers,' p. 240, 2nd ed.

rising the Board to decide all questions between companies with a common terminus, so far as such questions affect the safety of the public. In 1844 Mr. Gladstone's much-discussed measure for the eventual purchase of the railways by the State became law. It empowers the Board to proceed against any railway companies contravening the provisions of any Act relating to railways, and requires the daily despatch of one Parliamentary train. From 1844 to the present time, the only legislation which we find for promoting the safety of railway travellers is contained in the Railway Regulation Acts of 1868 and 1871. The former of these Statutes (31 & 32 Vict. cap. 119) provides that every passenger train which travels more than twenty miles without stopping must be provided with an efficient means of communication between the passengers and the servants of the company. The latter (34 & 35 Vict. cap. 78) empowers the Board of Trade to direct investigations to be held by the inspectors to ascertain the causes and circumstances of any accident which has happened, and requires the companies, under the not very formidable penalty of 20*l.*, to submit to the Board returns of accidents. The Regulation of Railways Act of 1873 (36 & 37 Vict. cap. 48), it should here be observed in correction of a common misconception, does not confer upon the Commissioners appointed under it any general powers of control over the railways, or any jurisdiction with regard to accidents. Its principal object was to compel the companies to afford 'all reasonable facilities for the receiving, forwarding, and delivering of traffic, and to make no unfair distinctions between the customers.'

Such is the substance of the existing special legislation with regard to the safety of railway passengers. We have been at the pains of giving this summary of it, because there undoubtedly exists in certain quarters a very exaggerated notion of its value and importance. In fact, it amounts to exceedingly little. The only real safeguard which it provides for the public consists in the power of inspection possessed by the Board of Trade before a line is opened. But when the certificate of the Board has been obtained, and a railway has begun to be used for traffic, the public are, as Mr. Bentinck observed, 'at the mercy of the companies.'† The Board is unable to interfere with the arrangements made for working the lines, or to compel the companies to adopt any precautions which the reports of its inspectors may show to be necessary for the public safety. Its functions are

\* Third Annual Report of the Railway Commissioners, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1877, p. 3.

† 3 Hansard, ccxiv. p. 1050.

confined to the exercise of that form of 'moral suasion' which consists in offering impotent recommendations and unimperative advice. Nor are powers for the prevention of accidents vested in any other public authority. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the whole scope of the existing railway legislation is to protect the companies against the public, rather than the public against the companies. Their Bye-laws afford the companies summary means of redress for almost every infraction of their rights by their customers. The public, if aggrieved by the companies, must fall back upon the ordinary legal remedies.

It appears, then, in the words of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1853, that 'Parliament has relied for the safe working of railways upon the efficiency of the common law and of Lord Campbell's Act, which gives persons injured and the near relatives of persons killed a right to compensation.'<sup>\*</sup> We come now to the second head of our inquiry—how far has this safeguard in practice proved efficient? or, in other words, has pecuniary self-interest been found an adequate motive to induce the companies to fulfil the duty cast upon them of 'providing, as far as human foresight can go,' for the safe conveyance of their passengers.

In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to look carefully into the causes of railway accidents. From time to time, as some signal disaster occurs on the lines, popular indignation is strongly aroused against the companies, and their management is absolutely condemned, as 'the very worst of any system, either of public or private organisation.'<sup>†</sup> On the other hand, their apologists, of whom Lord Houghton may serve as a type, assure us that their conduct of their affairs, if not absolutely perfect, approaches perfection as nearly as human fallibility admits of; and that 'every possible precaution has been taken against accidents.'<sup>‡</sup> Little is to be learnt from such statements of the case, either for or against the companies.§ Let us turn to the Report and Minutes of Evidence of Her Majesty's Commissioners, and examine by the light of those docu-

<sup>\*</sup> Quoted at page 8 of the Report of the Railway Accident Commissioners.

<sup>†</sup> 'Saturday Review,' January 16, 1869.

<sup>‡</sup> See Lord Houghton's speech in the House of Lords on the 27th of April, 1877, as reported in the 'Times' of the next day.

<sup>§</sup> One of the most singular arguments we have met with is put forward by Dr. James Ogden Fletcher in his book 'On the Medical Aspect of Railways' (p. 53). He maintains that 'it is useless to say that companies must insist upon their regulations being strictly carried out, and that proper care and foresight on their part would prevent accidents, for, however stringently adhered to, there would yet remain many elements in their causation, some of which are beyond their control;' that is to say, because *all* accidents cannot be prevented, it is in vain to try to prevent any.

ments why it is that railway accidents take place, and how far they are preventible.

And here we ought to note, that the statistics which the Commissioners have adopted as the basis of their inquiry are obtained from the returns furnished by the companies to the Board of Trade, the accuracy of which, especially so far as railway employés are concerned, has been very seriously questioned.\* But, as the Commissioners remark, 'the numbers given of deaths are probably more accurate and reliable than those under the head of injured.' † We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to the case of accidents which have proved fatal to the sufferers.

It appears, then, from these returns, that during the four years from 1872 to 1875 as many as 5231 persons lost their lives, under various circumstances, in connection with the working of the railways of the United Kingdom. These are the figures with which we are confronted upon the showing of the companies themselves; and, not forgetting the vastness of our railway system, it must be owned that they are startling. It is true, the Report of the Commissioners goes on to state, that if the cases of railway servants be eliminated, the number of the slain will be only 2271, and that of these 2271 deaths, only 632 were of persons using the railway as passengers; and of this number, only 155 are attributed to 'causes entirely beyond the control of the sufferers.' ‡ But here again comes in the element of uncertainty attaching to these statistics. As one of the Commissioners, Mr. Galt, has pointed out in his valuable observations appended to the Report, there are many cases in which, though there may be slight contributory negligence on the part of travellers, there is also gross and palpable neglect of proper precautions and safeguards upon the part of the companies—a fact which is ignored in the preparation of their returns, where such cases are classed among those of 'passengers killed from their own misconduct or want of caution.' § Taking, however, the figures as we find them, we have to consider whether this loss of life, with the vast amount of physical injury short of death accompanying it, is a necessary ingredient in the working of the railway system. It is in vain to quote averages, and to tell us that the proportion of railway passengers killed and mutilated 'from causes beyond their own control' is one in eleven millions. The grisly terror of a rail-

\* A statement was forwarded by Mr. E. T. Bass to the 'Times,' just three years ago, and has never been satisfactorily refuted, in which it is alleged that in 1873 1800 railway servants (instead of 773, as given in the official returns) were killed on the lines of the whole kingdom.

† Report, p. 9.

‡ Ibid. p. 10. But the number is estimated by the Board of Trade at 167.

§ Ibid. p. 56.

way accident dulls the force of any argument of that kind. The public mind turns from the computations of the arithmetician to the ghastly multitude of victims, some sent to instantaneous destruction, others yet living, beside or underneath the dead, moaning inarticulately, or vainly shrieking,—

‘Spotted with nameless scars and lurid blains,  
Childhood and youth and age writhing in savage pains;’

while the shattered carriages and hissing locomotives swell the hideous pyramid, and fill up the horror of the scene.

‘The lore  
Of nicely calculated less or more’

is out of place there. As Mr. Galt justly observes, ‘It would be hopeless to refer the friends of those who have been killed, or the survivors who have been maimed for life, to . . . statistics . . . with a view to convince them that they had no cause of complaint, inasmuch as millions of passengers, under favourable circumstances, had escaped without injury.’\* The sole question is, Are the causes of these terrible disasters susceptible of remedy?

In our judgment, it is impossible for any impartial person to rise from the perusal of the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission, without arriving at the conclusion that, to a very large extent, that question must receive an affirmative answer. In spite of the loud assertions to the contrary, which are so frequently made, railway accidents are seldom or never attributable to mere speed, or we might well despair of their prevention, for speed, at any risk, the public will have—

‘—audax omnia perpeti  
Gens humana ruit—’

Nor, again, is it often that they can be referred to undiscoverable and irremediable defects in mechanism, or to necessary human frailty. We proceed to survey in detail the causes to which they are really due; and in doing this, we shall follow the classification of the Commissioners, who have arranged the accidents returned to the Board of Trade by the railway companies under these four principal heads:—

I. Accidents to trains, causing injury or danger to passengers and railway servants in making journeys by railway.

II. Accidents to travellers, or intending travellers, from collateral causes, as distinguished from train accidents.

\* Report, p. 45.



III. Accidents to the public, using or being upon railway stations or premises, otherwise than as travellers.

IV. Accidents to railway servants in the discharge of duties other than those included under the first head.\*

We are not sure, we may observe, whether this classification is the best that could be adopted, but for our present purpose it will, we think, be most convenient to adhere to it.

'Train accidents' may be grouped under two principal divisions—accidents due to defects in the rolling-stock or permanent way, and collisions. To the former of these heads must generally be referred the casualties so often charged upon excessive speed. If the rolling-stock and permanent way are in perfect order, the fastest train may travel as safely as the slowest.† On the other hand, negligence in this respect is fraught with the most serious consequences. It will be remembered that the terrible disaster at Shipton was primarily due to the breaking of the tire of a four-wheeled carriage, placed in the immediate rear of two powerful engines. A writer at the time well observed, 'anything more preventible than an accident arising because a carriage has four wheels instead of six, it is difficult to imagine.‡ And as to tire accidents generally, Captain (now Sir Henry) Tyler, speaking with the great authority which attaches to his scientific eminence, and to his long experience as a Board of Trade Inspector, remarks,§ that they 'are of all accidents the most inexcusable,' and might be avoided 'simply by the adoption of well-known methods of fastening tires to wheels, which would prevent their flying off the wheels in case of fracture.' During the four years over which the inquiries of the Commissioners extend, eighty-one accidents, some of them of the most appalling kind, are referred to defects in rolling stock, and one-fourth of them were tire-accidents.|| With regard to the permanent way, the Commissioners observe¶ that 'much attention is given to it by many companies;' but that 'exceptional cases have occurred in which companies have proved themselves signally remiss' in this respect. The most recent, as it is the most glaring, case of such remissness, they add, was on the Bristol and Exeter

\* Report, p. 9.

† A very experienced Inspector of the Board of Trade, Colonel Rich, says in his evidence before the Commissioners (Q. 2010): 'I see no danger in any speed up to sixty miles an hour, and I think with a speed of seventy miles an hour there is no danger when the rolling-stock and the road are in perfect order.' There is a strong consensus of testimony to the same effect from the various witnesses examined on this point by the Royal Commissioners.

‡ Mr. Richard Jeffries in 'Fraser's Magazine' for February, 1875.

§ In his Report to the Board for 1872, p. 7.

|| See Appendix B of the Report, Table IV.

¶ Report, p. 22.

Section of the Great Western Railway, the dangerous condition of which attracted no attention until the occurrence of the Long Ashton accident. Sir Henry Tyler, in his Report, says, 'The permanent way at the site of this accident was not in good condition. The off-rail rested loosely on the longitudinal sleeper, and the sleeper loosely on the ballast. The line was not in good level.\* A still worse condition of things is described in the 'Times' of the 2nd of November last—and the description has not been contradicted, we believe—at the site of a later accident between Blandford and Wimbourne. 'The sleepers were so rotten,' it is stated, 'that in very many cases they could be broken to pieces between the finger and thumb; and in a multitude of cases the chairs could be kicked from the rails owing to the decayed condition of the wood.' This is most clearly a cause of accidents which it is within the power of the companies to prevent. As the Commissioners remark, 'There can be no difficulty in ascertaining, almost day by day, the state of the rails, sleepers, points, and gauge of the permanent way. It is simply a matter of inspection and necessary repair, to neglect which is a direct breach of the company's contract with the public.† We may further observe, generally, that there exists in certain quarters a tendency greatly to underrate the amount of security which may be obtained, so far as the mechanical instruments of railway travelling are concerned, and to adopt the theory of a necessary percentage of accidents arising from their failure. Nothing can be more arbitrarily irrational than this species of fatalism. So far as the rolling-stock and permanent way are concerned, it is possible, by due care in construction, and reasonable diligence in inspection, to attain almost absolute safety.

We now come to the second group of train accidents—those resulting from collisions, which Mr. Oakley, the General Manager of the Great Northern Railway, pronounces to be the most fruitful source of disasters upon our lines.‡ Collisions are usually attributable to one of two causes; unpunctuality, and the default of railway servants, especially of signalmen and shunters. As regards unpunctuality,§ it is difficult to see how it can

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\* Report, p. 60. "

† Ibid. p. 22.

‡ Minutes of Evidence, Q. 32,900.

§ Some valuable evidence on this subject was given before the Commissioners by Colonel Rich. The following is an extract from it:—

'Q. 2011. (Mr. Galt.) How do you account for the constant unpunctuality of trains?—I attribute it to the great want of engine-power and discipline. I see the guards talking at the stations to the men, and the station-masters have not that authority to get the trains under way; there is great delay at the stations, but

can be seriously argued that the responsibility for it does not rest upon the companies. Their lines are under their own absolute control, and there is simply nothing to hinder them from despatching their trains when they please.\* They usually defend themselves by alleging the occasional sudden pressure of traffic, and the late arrival of passengers, as reasons for the irregularity of their trains; but it is clear that it is quite within their power to obtain, through their employées, such local information as would easily enable them to arrange, upon special occasions, for the prompt conveyance of a greater than the ordinary number of travellers, and they are under no obligation, moral or legal, to convey those who reach their stations too late. The truth is, that irregularity in the despatch and arrival of trains is mainly due to defective booking arrangements, to inadequacy of the permanent way, and to insufficient establishments; and to the last-mentioned defect the fatal blunders of signalmen and shunters may also be referred in most cases. 'Existing booking arrangements,' it has been well remarked, 'invite unpunctuality. Why should tickets be obtainable only within a few minutes of the time of starting? In the principal towns of the United States, railway tickets can be purchased at the stations at any hour of the day, and they are also to be had at the chief hotels and at booking-offices in different parts of each town.

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but the main delay is due to the engines not being able to draw the trains; there is no doubt that there is a great deficiency of drawing-power and brake-power in most of the trains, except in the case of the mails.

'2012. (Earl of Belmore.) Does that arise from attaching too many carriages to one engine?—Yes, as a rule.

'2014. (Sir J. L. Simmons.) If every train was driven according to the timetable, signals would become almost unnecessary?—Yes, and you would not have so many accidents.

'2015. (Chairman, Duke of Buckingham.) Would it be possible, in your opinion, to apply that system of rigid punctuality throughout?—Yes, I believe it would be easy.'

It is right to add that there is a great conflict of evidence upon this last point. Mr. Findlay, the chief Traffic Manager of the London and North-Western Railway, goes so far as to say that a general system of unpunctuality does not tend to insecurity (30,843); and Mr. Allport, the General Manager of the Midland Railway, goes even further: he finds such a system positively meritorious: under it 'a man will necessarily feel anxious,' he says, 'and he will therefore be on his guard' (31,747). It is impossible, however, as it seems to us, to question the soundness of Sir Henry Tyler's conclusion that 'habitual unpunctuality is inexcusable upon any railway,' and that 'there has been too much of it a great deal' (2611).

\* Sir Charles Adderley remarks, in his circular of the 18th of November, 1874, 'The Board of Trade wish to remind directors that it is one of the many duties of the responsible office they hold, to see that strict punctuality is maintained on all occasions.

'In the opinion of the Board of Trade nothing can justify directors in continuing to advertise trains at a rate of travelling which cannot be punctually observed.'

*It is difficult to see why this system should not be adopted.' Regarding the need of additional rails upon many of our lines, there are some very pertinent remarks in the paper which Lord De la Warr has appended to the Report of the Commissioners. He observes that 'accommodation, which in the earlier times of railways was sufficient, has now become inadequate, in consequence of the large increase of goods, as well as of passenger traffic,' and points out that 'a large proportion of accidents by collisions occur upon lines when the goods and mineral traffic is most heavy.'*\* It is needless to dwell further upon a point which is so clear. Nor, again, is it necessary to produce elaborate statistics to prove that the servants of the railways are insufficient in number. Not only are they unable to cope with the traffic at exceptional times, but on many lines they are too few for the satisfactory discharge of even the ordinary business. We are told of men working from week's end to week's end, without taking off their clothes; engine men going to sleep, from absolute fatigue, upon their engines; signalmen utterly wearied out by seventeen or eighteen hours of continuous labour, and unable to say what trains passed 'up' and 'down;' and 'shunters so tired that they fell down, and were sent into eternity.† The evidence taken by the Royal Commissioners proves only too conclusively that these statements are not unfounded.‡ The Commissioners remark, and justly, that railway servants, as a class, are still distinguished for their intelligence, respectability, and attention to duty. There is, however a strong body of testimony§ of station-masters and inspectors, that there is a marked falling off in these respects—a deterioration which is attributed to the smallness of the pay and the excessive hours of labour. 'Gratuities from passengers keep the men to their posts,' says one witness. 'You would not find men come to do the work at 17s. 6d. per week.' || Mr. Findlay, the General Manager of the London and North-Western Railway, says that the neglect

\* Page 79.

† See a report of a public meeting at Croydon, in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of January 9, 1874.

‡ See, for example, the evidence of James Bridgeman and Frederick Harcombe. 'In working 16, 18, or 20 hours,' Harcombe told the Commissioners, 'we have a difficulty in keeping awake. . . . Our general proposition is that we ought not to work more than 10 or 12 hours a-day. . . . I have worked from the time I went on duty to the time I left off, 23 hours and 40 minutes without any break. They should have more men, but they work the ones they have.' (QQ. 33,865; 33,872; 33,882; 33,883; 33,889.) Mr. Galt (p. 68) notes that Harcombe, who was a goods' guard on the Taff Vale Railway, 'was discharged, avowedly in consequence of the evidence he gave, which the officers of the company, however, did not venture to contradict in a single particular.'

§ See especially the evidence of Taylor, Hand, Roberts, Hewitt and Robinson.

|| Minutes of Evidence, Q. 14,499.

of servants is the most common cause of accidents.\* But, as Sir Henry Tyler has pointed out in his Report for 1872—

‘The want of care or mistakes of officers or servants may to a great extent be obviated by the application of improvements—1, of block telegraph working and suitable signal and point arrangements, with locking apparatus; 2, of proper siding and other accommodation for working the traffic; and 3, by strict discipline, which only can be properly maintained when those other means of safety are provided. Railway work,’ this very experienced officer goes on to add, ‘is a description of work *which must be got through*. When it cannot be performed without risk, the risk is incurred. The officers and servants of the companies are too frequently induced, if not compelled, in the absence of necessary means, appliances, or accommodation, to disobey printed rules, or to adopt hazardous methods of working, and in the course of their daily work to become habituated to operations, which they would themselves, in the first instance, see to be objectionable. They are often unduly blamed, when accidents actually occur, because their difficulties in these respects are not sufficiently known or considered.’ †

Far too much has been made of the argument from ‘human fallibility’ so constantly urged in extenuation of the responsibility for accidents. It is true, the Commissioners observe, that this element of danger ‘can never be eliminated;’ ‡ but it is also true, they point out, that it may be considerably modified by the adoption of the various improvements specified by Sir Henry Tyler, whose remarks on this subject they fully adopt.

This appears to be the proper place to notice the very important subject of brake-power. It is not easy to overestimate the importance of the continuous brake as a means of preventing collisions, and of modifying their consequences; and it is quite certain, as Lord Carlingford remarked in the House of Lords last April, § that in this matter the companies are in an extremely unsatisfactory position. It was observed by Sir Henry Tyler, in a very able paper read before the Society of Arts, ¶ that ‘it is from want of more brake-power, properly applied, that most accidents occur.’ In cases of collision, he goes on to say,

‘Where engine-drivers have several hundred yards, and perhaps half-a-mile or more, to bring their train to a stand, but are unable to do so from the want of brake-power, the advantages of continuous brakes are obvious, especially on steep gradients and slippery rails. But they are hardly less important for the prevention of loss of life and injury in all other cases, as, for instance, when trains leave the

\* Minutes of Evidence, Q. 80,817.

† Page 79.

‡ Report, p. 12.

§ See the report of his speech in the ‘Times’ of April 28, 1877.

¶ Reported in the ‘Times’ of May 8, 1877.

rails owing to the defects in the permanent way, or to their meeting with obstructions; when failures occur of couplings, springs, axles, tyres, or other parts of the rolling-stock; and when there are accidents at facing points or on inclines.'

Colonel Hutchinson stated in his evidence, that out of eighty-five accidents which he investigated in 1873, thirty-five would have been prevented or mitigated\* by continuous brakes in the hands of the drivers;† and the Commissioners report that their own inquiries confirmed the impression which the inspecting officers' investigations of accidents led them to form, that there was *generally* an insufficiency of controlling power in trains.‡ They express their 'decided opinion' that no train can be considered properly equipped which is not furnished with sufficient brake-power to bring it, at the highest speed at which it will be running upon any gradients within its journey, to an absolute stop within 500 yards; and they add that they have satisfied themselves that 'there are ample means of accomplishing this object with certainty and safety.' §

We have lingered upon this first class of accidents—accidents to trains—both because of their intrinsic importance, and because the term 'railway accident,' as popularly used, is generally understood to refer to casualties of this kind. Our survey of this part of our subject, although longer than we had proposed, is indeed far from complete. There are several other points upon which we should have been glad to touch, such, for example, as the important question of level crossings.¶ But what we have said will be sufficient, we think, for our present purpose, and we now pass on to consider briefly the causes of the other three classes of railway disasters enumerated by the Commissioners. In Class II., which comprises accidents to travellers, or intending travellers, from collateral causes, as distinguished from 'train accidents,' 477 deaths are entered as having occurred in the four years under consideration. These deaths are attributed by the companies to the 'imprudence of the sufferers.' But in many cases—we might indeed say, the great majority of cases—although that imprudence

\* One of the greatest railway catastrophes which ever took place in this country—that at Shipton two years ago, in which 34 passengers were killed and 65 passengers and 4 servants of the Company were injured—Sir Henry Tyler attributes in great measure to the want of sufficient brake-power. He says if the train had been fitted with continuous brakes throughout its whole length, there was no reason why it should not have been brought to rest without any casualty. (See Report for 1874, Class B.) See also Mr. Galt's observations, p. 58.

† Minutes of Evidence, Q. 1296.

‡ Report, p. 20.

§ Ibid. p. 21.

¶ The Government inspectors notice the fact that almost all the level crossings in existence have been the scenes of accidents.' (Report of Royal Commissioners, p. 23.)

may have existed in a greater or less degree, there has also been on the part of the companies gross absence of the due and proper care and foresight which the law requires of them in the conduct of their business. It appears from a Table given in Appendix B. to the Commissioners' Report, that of the 477 deaths 'from collateral causes,' 340 were occasioned by falling between carriages and platform, or by crossing the line at stations. Now it is perfectly clear that most of these catastrophes might have been prevented by the adoption of continuous footboards,\* of sufficient width, and by the provision and enforced use of subways and bridges. The accidents comprised in Class III., those occurring to persons other than passengers or railway servants, are distressingly numerous. From 1872 to 1875 no less than 1010 persons lost their lives while trespassing on railways. There can be no doubt that many of these lives would not have been lost 'if (in the words of the Commissioners) the companies were more strict in enforcing the statutory powers they already possess, and trespass upon the permanent way of railways were absolutely forbidden.† Again, the number of persons killed, during the same period, in using the authorised level crossings, amounts to 286.‡ It is tolerably clear that here there has been default on the part of the companies in too frequently leaving unguarded crossings 'where the traffic is great and trains run at high speed.'

The accidents to railway servants, which forms the fourth group of the Commissioners' classification, constitute, as they remark, a very difficult and important subject. 2960 railway employes are reported to have been killed on the lines in the four years over which the inquiries of the Commissioners extended; but of this number of deaths only 238 are attributed by the companies to causes 'beyond the control of the sufferers;' the rest are imputed to 'misconduct or want of caution.' Upon this view of the matter the 'Amalgamated Society of Railway Engineers' remark, that 'in the majority of cases the casualties classed by the companies under this latter head are occasioned (1) by excessive hours of labour; (2) by the non-enforcement of certain of the companies'

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\* Sir Henry Tyler observes, with regard to the present construction of footboards: 'Nothing can be worse than to see a lot of carriages running with small iron footsteps, which are admirably designed, as I have expressed it, to cut people to pieces between the train and the platform. It is very easy to slip off; there is no necessity to have them, and there is no reason why the companies should not alter them.' (Minutes of Evidence, Q. 2259.) See also the evidence of Mr. Oakley. A few companies, it should be added, have adopted continuous footboards; and some others have announced their intention to do so. Many of these foot-boards, however, form a new source of danger by being very narrow and overhung by the floor of the carriage.

† The companies have ample powers for such enforcement, and some—the London, Chatham, and Dover, for example—use them with wise rigour.

‡ Report, p. 24.

rules, ostensibly made for the protection of servants; (3) by non-adaptation of the most approved appliances conducive to safety in the working of railways; (4) by the want of proper accommodation in working the traffic; (5) by the employment of inefficient persons for the performance of responsible duties; (6) by the insufficient number of men employed.\* The Commissioners observe that they cannot undertake to verify the statistics of the companies or the statements of the men. And we certainly shall not rush in where they have feared to tread. But it is right to remark that experienced officers of the Board of Trade, like Colonel Rich and Sir Henry Tyler, are of opinion that the grievances alleged by railway employes are not the unreasonable ebullitions of self-interested discontent, which they are sometimes represented to be. Thus, for example, Colonel Rich is recorded to have said that a great many of the accidents to the men arise from fly-shunting, a very dangerous thing, which he sees at every station he goes to, although it is nominally forbidden, and it ought to be absolutely prohibited. Its prohibition, he adds, is all a question of expense.† Before quitting this branch of our subject, we should observe that it is not a mere matter between the companies and their employes,—it directly affects the public safety. The efficiency of railway servants, of which freedom from unnecessary risk is an essential condition, is obviously connected, in a very direct way, with the security of passengers.

We have now gone through the causes of railway accidents as disclosed in the official papers before us, and we do not see how it is possible fairly to refuse assent to the words of Lord Carlingford, that ‘a large proportion of these casualties are due to causes which are within the control of the railway companies.’‡ Nor, if the matter be narrowly looked into, is there matter for surprise in this result. Nothing can be more erroneous than the assertion

\* Report, p. 26.

† ‘Q. 1978. (Mr. Galt.) I see in the case of train shunting operations that 187 men were killed last year. Is there any suggestion you could make as to that, or do you think that these fatal accidents would be in any way lessened by making different regulations from those which are at present in force?—I think that a great many of those accidents arise from fly-shunting; that is no doubt a very dangerous thing, and there are rules against its being done, but I never go to a station that I do not see it going on.

‘Q. 1979. Should it, in your opinion, be absolutely prohibited?—I think so.

‘Q. 1980. In that case would it not be necessary to make other arrangements with regard to the number of men employed, and the time allowed for doing the work?—Yes, no doubt; but it is all a question of expense.’ See also Sir Henry Tyler’s Evidence, QQ. 2409—2483.

‡ In the Board of Trade Circular, dated 18th March, 1873, given in Appendix K to the Report of the Commissioners, p. 133.



so perseveringly made, that the companies are as much interested as the public in the safety of their lines, on account of the heavy loss occasioned by the damage to rolling-stock and permanent way, and the large sum payable as compensation to passenger injured and the families of passengers killed, when an accident occurs. The truth is, the pecuniary interest of directors in the safety of their lines is not very considerable. As Mr. Galt put it roundly—

‘Their gain by not adopting the most efficient means for maintaining their lines in good condition and managing their traffic in proper manner far exceeds the loss incurred by an occasional accident; \* they are therefore under the constant temptation to work their traffic badly, and so run the risk of accidents . . . They calculate on having to pay a certain sum in compensation each year, and the saving they effect is the premium they receive for the risk incurred.’

Pecuniary self-interest, then, is not a sufficient inducement to the companies to fulfil the duty which the law imposes upon them, of providing for the safety of their passengers, ‘as far as human foresight can go,’ and no other motive, likely to be potential, exists. A wide distinction must be taken between the man and the director. Railway directors are almost always men of high personal character. They are not unfrequently remarkable for kindness and benevolence in private life. But when merged in the Board, their personality, with its engaging attributes, almost wholly disappears, and they look at the business which comes before them simply as a question of finance ‘Rem . . . quocumque modo rem’—within, of course, the limit allowed by tradition—is their guiding principle, the ‘res’ being not the permanent improvement of their lines nor the ultimate advantage of their property, but immediate high returns. Corporations have no souls, and mere moral obligations are apt to sit lightly upon managing bodies whose tenure of office depends

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\* ‘In order to make this matter clear,’ Mr. Galt says, ‘it is necessary to look into the expenditure of the companies, as returned by them to the Board of Trade. It is given under twelve heads; but as it is unnecessary for our present purpose to go into such detail, I have reduced it to six, and an average on the seven classes of expenditure for a series of years may be stated thus:—

‘(1) Locomotive power .. .. .	30 per cent.
‘(2) Traffic expenses .. .. .	28 ”
‘(3) Maintenance of way and works, &c. .. .. .	18 ”
‘(4) Miscellaneous charges, several legal and Parliamentary; rates and taxes, &c. .. .. .	14 ”
‘(5) Repairs and renewals of carriages, waggons, &c. .. .. .	9 ”
‘(6) Compensation for personal injuries, &c. .. .. .	1 ”

‘From these statistics,’ Mr. Galt adds, ‘it will easily be gathered how far the companies have a direct pecuniary interest in keeping their lines safe’ (p. 55).

† Page 54.

upon good dividends and the content of shareholders. The vague criminal responsibility which attaches to the direction of a railway is, perhaps, hardly worthy of mention. It is perfectly true, in point of law, as the Commissioners of 1865 observe in their Report, that the directors of a railway are liable to prosecution and punishment in the event of culpable mismanagement being proved against them. It is equally true, in point of fact, that such proof is practically impossible. The criminal law can only reach the unfortunate employé to whom negligence can immediately be brought home. Directors look from their safe Board-room upon their wretched servant standing in the dock upon a charge of manslaughter,

‘As from the shore of peace, with unwet eye;’

their equanimity is not in the least disturbed by the punishment of their officials.

The conclusion, therefore, at which we are compelled to arrive upon the second head of our inquiry is, that Parliament miscalculated in relying for the safe working of the railways upon the efficiency of the common law and of Lord Campbell's Act; that the protection thus afforded to the public has not in practice been found sufficient. We come now to our third point:—Is further legislation for the prevention of railway accidents desirable, and if so, what form should it assume? Three courses appear to present themselves. The first is to continue the present system of *laissez faire* with regard to the companies,\* in the hope that, after the very full inquiry made by the Royal Commissioners, the suggestions of the Board of Trade will be ‘listened to with as much attention as though they were backed by legislation.’ The recognised advocates of the companies are profuse in assurances that this will be so. It would be pleasant to give them credence if it were possible; but we confess that they seem to us to ‘protest too much.’ Lord Houghton, for example, in his place in the House of Lords, made the solemn declaration, that the companies would do all they could to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners.† It is difficult not to be sceptical regarding the value of so wide a pledge given in the prospect of impending legislation. It reminds one of Erasmus's Zealander, in peril of shipwreck, promising to St. Chris-

\* Sir Henry Tyler, it should be observed, expresses himself in favour of this course (see his memorandum in Appendix M of the Report of the Commissioners), but the other three inspectors of the Board of Trade have recorded in their evidence a strong opinion against it.

† See the report of his speech in the ‘Times’ of the 28th of April, 1877.

topher, 'in a loud voice for fear he should not be heard,' a candle as big as himself; but assuring a friend, 'voce jam pressiore, *invidelicet exaudiret Christophorus,*' that if he once got safely to land he would not give the Saint even a farthing rushlight.' We are afraid that the performances of the companies, if their vows were heard, would bear much the same relation to their professions. We listen to the utterances of Lord Houghton with the sincere respect which it is impossible not to entertain for an amiable and distinguished person; but we cannot believe that the directors, whose words have been put into his mouth 'ex animi sententia loqui.' Past experience has rendered us incredulous. It is remarked by Sir Henry Tyler, in his Report on Railway Accidents for the year 1873—'It is mainly because sufficient attention has not been paid to the various means of safety so constantly recommended from the Board [of Trade] that the great railway companies of England appear so unfavourably at the head of the accident list.' † These words might be used with equal truth of the accidents of 1876. And, as Mr. Galt pertinently inquires, 'What reasonable hope can exist that the companies of their own free will, knowing the diminution of profit that would result, will alter their present course?'

We freely assent, then, to the opinion expressed by the 'Times,' § that a case has been made out on which the Legislature is bound to act. The question to be determined is, what action should be taken? The uncompromising opponents of all interference on the part of public authority are met by an equally uncompromising body of earnest reformers, who demand the abolition of boards of directors altogether, and the appropriation of the railways by the State. They assert that 'the roads of this country belong altogether to the people, just as much as the light of heaven, and that the State should be called upon to vindicate this right, and to resume functions it never should have relinquished to private enterprise.' ¶ It must be allowed that, in point of theory, the advocates of the acquisition of the railway by Government have a very strong case. As was observed in the 'Review' nine years ago,

'There can be no doubt that the idea on which Parliament originally set out, of allowing private individuals to project, construct

\* 'Erasmi Colloquia: Naufragium.

† Page 4.

‡ Observations attached to Report of Royal Commissioners, p. 55.

§ April 28, 1877.

¶ Williams 'On the Appropriation of the Railways by the State,' p. 4. While as we differ from some of the views expressed by Mr. Williams, especially on collateral matters quite beside his main subject, we gladly testify to the masterly manner in which he has stated the case on behalf of Government appropriation of the railways.

and retain as their absolute property the national highways, and the right of working them for their sole profit, was shortsighted and foolish, and that the theory then entertained of applying the principle of free-trade to railways was absurd in the highest degree.\*

And we do not doubt that it would be desirable, if it were only possible, for the State to 'become the owners and controllers'† of the lines. But is it possible? Mr. Williams, in his very able work, remarks that 'only two objections which are worthy of serious notice have been urged against this step; one, that the Government would be unequal to the task of management: the other, that such an appropriation would be financially impracticable.‡ We agree with Mr. Williams that these objections are serious: we agree with him, too, that they are not unanswerable. But there is another objection of a far more practical kind which Mr. Williams has overlooked, and that is the strength of the railway interest in Parliament. Fifty-two railway directors sit in the House of Lords, and one hundred and twenty-four in the House of Commons, and it is certain that, however divided on questions of general politics, they would unite as one man in opposition to any such project as that which Mr. Williams advocates. Of course a strong popular feeling might render easy a task which now seems impracticable. The force of public opinion in this country, when once fully aroused, is irresistible, and events are conceivable which might easily arouse it, such, for example, as the occurrence in quick succession of a series of bad railway accidents under circumstances of unusually gross negligence. But, as matters stand at present, there seems to be small immediate probability of the application of the somewhat drastic remedy of Government appropriation to the dangers experienced in railway travelling.

There remains, then, the third plan of extended and more effective Government control, and this is what is advised in the Report of the Royal Commissioners. The late Mr. John Stuart Mill has observed, with truth, 'It is the character of the British people . . . that to induce them to approve of any change, it is necessary that they should look upon it as a middle course; they think every proposal extreme and violent, unless they hear of some other proposal going still farther, upon which their antipathy to extreme views may discharge itself.§ The proposals of the Commissioners possess this great recommendation, and have an engaging air of practicability; they are in effect as follows:—

\* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxxv. p. 321.

† Ibid. p. 329.

‡ 'On the Appropriation of the Railways,' p. 5.

§ J. S. Mill's 'Autobiography,' p. 294, 4th ed.

That discretionary powers should be conferred upon the Board of Trade for the following purposes, to be exercised by the department subject to review by a competent appellate tribunal:—

(1.) To enforce the extension of stations and sidings, wherever the accommodation provided for the traffic is so inadequate as to endanger safety.

(2.) To enforce the adoption of the block and interlocking systems on all lines or portions of lines where the introduction of these improvements is necessary for the safety of the traffic.

(3.) To restrict the speed of trains upon any line or section of a line which is in a condition to render a high rate of speed unsafe.

(4.) To require companies to provide their passenger carriages with continuous footboards.

(5.) To impose conditions upon companies in certain cases in sanctioning the opening of new lines.

(6.) To require companies to provide foot-bridges or subways at stations where the absence of such accommodation is proved to be a source of danger.

(7.) To require a lodge to be maintained at public crossings for foot passengers wherever circumstances render it necessary for safety.

They further recommend that all railway companies shall be required by law, under adequate penalties, to supply all trains with sufficient brake-power to stop them within 500 yards, under all circumstances; that, in order to produce greater punctuality, additional facilities should be afforded to the public for obtaining compensation when trains are late; that the provision of the Act for providing intercommunication between passengers and guards be extended; and that the civil liability of railway companies for accidents to their servants, as well as the criminal liability of railway employes for negligence, be also extended.\*

It cannot be said, we think, that these recommendations press very heavily upon the companies, and they would secure, at all events, a certain measure of protection for the public, which might, perhaps, in practice, prove sufficient for the removal of some of the worst elements of danger. In one or two particulars, indeed, we might hesitate to accept them. Thus, as Lord Beaconsfield observed, the suggestion as to an Appellate

\* Report, p. 35. The Report is signed by six of the Commissioners, viz. the Earls of Aberdeen and Belmore, Sir W. R. Seymour Fitzgerald, Sir J. L. A. Simmons, and Messrs. Harrison and Galt; Mr. Harrison, for whom it goes too far, and Mr. Galt, for whom it does not go far enough, appending to it qualifying observations. Lord de la Warr submits a separate Report, from which it would appear that he agrees in the main with his brother Commissioners. Mr. Ayrton has not signed the general Report, nor has he submitted any Report of his own. The remaining Commissioner, the Duke of Buckingham, is absent at his government of Madras.

Court is not 'altogether satisfactory. It is not at all in harmony with the Parliamentary practice of this country that there should be a department of State, presided over by a Minister of the Crown, sitting in one of the Houses of Parliament, and responsible—clearly and evidently, and momentarily responsible—to Parliament, and that its decisions should be subject to an Appellate Court which is altogether irresponsible.\*' But upon this, and similar points of detail, we do not at present purpose to dwell. The main principle upon which the Commissioners insist, the necessity for more direct and effective Government control, appears to us to be sound. We pass on to consider the objection most commonly taken to this principle—that it would impair the responsibility of the railway companies. This objection, if carefully scrutinised, appears to wear two aspects, theoretical and practical. Let us regard it briefly from each of these points of view.

The theoretical aspect of the objection to Government regulation seems to come to this,—that such regulation is an unwarrantable intrusion of public authority into a matter of private contract. The answer is, that the relations between the railway companies and their customers are something more than a matter of private contract; they are a matter of public interest, with which it is not only the right but the duty of the State to concern itself. The companies have a practical monopoly of the locomotive traffic of the country. The functions they discharge in the conduct of that traffic are of a public nature; and any breach of the duty which the law casts upon them in respect of those functions is certainly such a public wrong as society, through the Government, may, on the soundest principles of politics, interfere to prevent. The case has been excellently stated by Mr. Mill:—

'Although,' he observes, 'most things which are likely to be even tolerably done by voluntary associations should, generally speaking, be left to them, it does not follow that the manner in which those associations perform their work should be entirely uncontrolled by the Government. The community needs some other security for the fit performance of the service than the interest of the managers; and it is the part of the Government to subject the business to reasonable conditions for the general advantage. . . . This applies to the case of a road, a canal, or a railway.' †

The argument of the railway managers examined by the Commissioners almost invariably was, 'If the Legislature interferes with the management' (that is the favourite phrase), 'if it extends

\* Speech in the House of Lords, reported in the 'Times' of April 28, 1877.

† 'Political Economy,' vol. ii. p. 551, 3rd ed.

the powers of the Board of Trade, so as to enforce the maintenance of the lines, rolling-stock, &c., in good order, the Government ought to go further, and purchase the lines.\* Mr. Galt has well pointed out—if indeed it were necessary to point it out—that this conclusion is quite arbitrary and untenable.

‘The Legislature,’ he observes, ‘interferes in the management of factories, workshops, mines, ships, and many other industrial undertakings, to the extent which it considers necessary for the public good as regards health or safety. It is not two years since a very stringent Act was passed, empowering Government to hold surveys on ships reported to be in an unsafe condition, and if [they were found to be] so, to compel the owners to put them in a thorough state of repair. . . . This is “interference with management” . . . but we have not heard as yet any cry from the shipowners that Government must purchase all the merchant-ships. . . . If legislative interference, as regards railways, be not extended further than in the case of merchant shipping, what cause of complaint can the railway companies have?’ †

So much may suffice for the theoretical aspect of the objection most commonly taken against the enforcement by the Legislature of precautions neglected by the railway companies. The practical aspect of that objection may be dismissed in very few words. It is said that the diminution of responsibility which would ensue from such an extension of Government control of the railways as the Commissioners recommend, would produce a cessation, or at all events a great slackening, of the efforts for improvement which the Companies now voluntarily make. ‘If you attempt to lay down instructions which are to govern all railway companies with regard to all these questions,’ Mr. Grierson maintains, ‘you will take away from the companies the necessity for experimenting and trying every possible means for improving their working.’ ‡ The opinion of the General Manager of the Great Western Railway upon a subject of this kind is doubtless worthy of serious consideration. But, after all, it is merely the opinion of a witness with a strong bias; and it is difficult to see upon what grounds it rests, or why the introduction of an efficient system of Government control should render the companies less anxious to adopt improvements in the conduct of their traffic. For the adoption of the recommendations of the Commissioners *en bloc* would leave the responsibility of the companies exactly where it is now. It would simply provide an additional safeguard, without in the least weakening the safeguards which already exist. It is hard to understand how the

\* See especially the evidence of Mr. Findlay, Q. 30,761.

† Page 66.

‡ Minutes of Evidence, Q. 32,207.

confused notions which exist on this subject can have originated. Perhaps one of the most signal instances of them is supplied by certain remarks of Sir Henry Tyler in a memorandum appended to the Report of the Commissioners. 'If,' he writes, 'in working their various systems, under different conditions and in different localities, the companies were subject to the direct instructions of a general tribunal, they would then be able to plead, in the event of an accident, that they had not been called upon to provide the means by which it might have been avoided.'\* It is hardly possible to conceive of any more erroneous statement of the case. If an accident were caused by something done in obedience to the Board of Trade, proof of that fact would probably exonerate the company from liability. But the allegation that an accident was caused through the want of a precaution which the Board of Trade had not expressly ordered, would be a defence as worthless as it is wild. It certainly would never be set up in any Court of Law, nor can we conceive that it would be ventured upon at the bar of public opinion.

The truth is that there is one, and only one, real objection to proposals so modest as those of the Royal Commissioners, and that objection is the rooted dislike of the companies to any curtailment of their power. Human nature being what it is, this feeling is intelligible enough. But it has been made very clear that the worst evils of our railway system spring from the possession of practically unchecked authority by practically irresponsible Boards. Nor will it be possible much longer for directors to continue successfully their attitude of uncompromising resistance. Their strength is great, and in its very greatness lies the sure cause of its ultimate overthrow, unless due regulations exist for the protection of the public interests in its exercise. Their best prospect, both for the retention of the substance of their power and for its beneficial extension, is in their reception of that moderate amount of Government supervision, the necessity for which is brought out so strongly by the evidence now collected.

' *Vis consilii expers mole sua ruit ;  
Vim temperatam Di quoque provehunt  
In majus.*'

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\* Appendix, M. No. 2, p. 163.

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ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of the Right Honourable William, Second Viscount Melbourne.* By W. M. Torrens, M.P. In 2 vols London, 1878.

WILLIAM, Lord Melbourne, occupied a peculiar as well as eminent position amongst the most distinguished of his contemporaries. The social aspect of his career is quite as striking as the political. Indeed, he interests less as a statesman than as a man; and in the narrative of his life, his personal qualities should stand out in broad relief. It has been truly said of him that he rose to be Prime Minister of England without commanding eloquence or lofty ambition—lazily and loungingly as it were—by the spontaneous display of fine natural abilities by frankness, manliness, and good sense. To realise, to appreciate him, we must have his look and manner before us: we must know not only what he said but how he said it. It is difficult to recall a speech of his, or a scene in which he figured without recalling his fine form and features, without involuntarily reverting to the well-known lines:

‘Seen him I have, but in his happier hour  
Of social pleasure, ill-exchanged for power:  
Seen him uncumbered with a venal tribe,  
Smile without art, and win without a bribe.’

Personal intimacy, therefore, was an almost indispensable qualification in a biographer, to which we do not understand Mr. Torrens to lay claim; nor has he had access to the correspondence in the possession of the family. But he has some marked qualifications for such a task, especially the invaluable one of a long practical acquaintance with the administration of affairs and the working of our system of government. He was appointed a Commissioner of the Poor Law Inquiry in Ireland in 1835. We find him private secretary to Mr. Labouchere (Lord Taunton) in 1846, and member for Dundalk from 1848 to 1852. He has represented Finsbury since 1865, and has carried or suggested more than one important measure of legislation. He is also the author of several works, historical and economical, giving ample evidence of acquirement and capacity. As might be expected, he has produced a book which will command and reward attention. It contains a great deal of valuable matter and a great deal of animated, eloquent writing. The chief objection to it is its length. One volume would have contained all that is individually applicable to Lord Melbourne, and it was worse than superfluous to take us over ground (Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill, for example) which we have trodden so often.

of late years that we could find our way across it blindfold. Although he is a declared, decided Whig, his views are broad and tolerant, and we seldom see reason to find fault with his tone; but it is the soundness of his information, the authenticity of his statements, that we shall not unfrequently be compelled to question as we proceed.

In the summary we are about to attempt of the leading events of Lord Melbourne's life, we assume that our readers know as much as they care to know of the general course of legislation, the ministerial changes and the party conflicts, of his time; and we shall keep constantly before us what ought to be the distinctive aim and purpose of biography.

A preliminary chapter of the 'Memoirs' is devoted to the manor of Melbourne, the family through which it passed to the Lambs, the gradual rise of the Lambs till they reached the peerage, and the acquisition by an ancestor of Brocket Hall. Melbourne came to them from the Cokes: Sir John Coke, the 'Sir Plume' of the 'Rape of the Lock,' devised it to his son, with remainder to an only daughter Charlotte, who, in 1740, married Matthew Lamb, the son of a Mr. Lamb who is described as a practitioner (*i. e.* an attorney) of long standing in Southwell. He had a brother named Peniston, who, we are told, was admitted to practise at the Bar about 1714, when, having long been qualified to earn a considerable income by what is called pleading under the Bar, 'he went on pleading and denouncing, weaving settlements and ravelling threads of adverse wills, till, looking upon parchment, he had ceased to view and half-forgotten that there was any shire in the realm but that in which he laid the venue of his life.' Still, 'as his balance rose at Child's, he dreamed pleasant dreams of estates thereafter to be settled strictly in tail male on his own or his brother's progeny;' and, dying unmarried, he left his accumulated wealth to be laid out in land to be settled on his nephew Robert, and, failing issue by Robert, on Matthew in tail male. 'This condition proved to be the golden hinge on which eventually the gate of splendour opened to the family.' This Peniston died in 1734. Matthew followed his uncle's calling, and became known as a careful energetic man, who had a taste for the improvement of land and an instinctive faculty for developing its resources:—

'For many years he is understood to have acted as confidential adviser to Lords Salisbury and Egmont in matters relating to their extensive estates; and being ever careful to turn opportunities to account, he profited largely by the knowledge thus gained of men and circumstances.'

Unless he is much belied, he feathered his nest pretty handsomely

somely at their expense. A visitor at Bocket was surprised at being told by the gamekeeper that a right of fishing through a portion of the property, quite up to the park, belonged to Lord Salisbury. When this was mentioned to Lord Melbourne, he replied with characteristic frankness: 'Well, I believe my grandfather did the Salisburys out of some land in that direction, and was generous enough to leave them the fishing.'

Brocket was purchased by Matthew of the representatives of Sir Thomas Winnington in 1746, and all the farms originally belonging to the estate were gradually got back and reannexed. Not long afterwards, the Melbourne estate devolved upon him by the death of his brother-in-law. He had sat for Stockbridge, a hired seat, since 1741. He was created a baronet in 1755, and subsequently represented Peterborough in three Parliaments. He died in 1768, leaving to his only son, Peniston, property estimated at nearly half a million.

'Without any of the talents which those who went before him had turned to account, the young baronet found himself at three-and-twenty a person of no small consideration. Women persuaded him that he was handsome; politicians only wanted to know what were his views; in the county it was hoped he would reside constantly, and complete the improvements at Bocket his father had begun. Society opened its arms to so eligible a recruit, and before six months he was the suitor, slave, and betrothed of one of the fairest women of her time.'

This was Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke, one of the most gifted and fascinating women of her time. Her charm, her social influence, were life-long. As her personal attractions faded, they were replaced by heart and mind. She was three times painted by Reynolds with more than artistic feeling; and Lord Byron spoke of her, on her death in 1818, as 'the best, and kindest, and ablest female I ever knew, old or young.' To have been the mother of Lord Melbourne and Lady Palmerston was as proud a boast as to have been the mother of the Gracchi or the mother of the three Dupins.\* The list is long of celebrated men who inherited their finest qualities from mothers, but Lord Melbourne is indebted for something more tangible to his. The rise of the family, the advantageous position in which he found himself when he entered the political and social arena, were almost entirely owing to her. The father is accurately described as a 'good-for-little, apathetic, kindly man, who never had a quarrel in his life, and who probably never lay awake an hour fretting about anything.' There is a notice of him in Messrs.

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\* A monument in Père la Chaise is inscribed 'A la Mère des Trois Dupins.'

Leslie and Tom Taylor's 'Life of Reynolds,' which does not convey a favourable impression. After naming him among the friends of Reynolds, they say:—

'Lord Melbourne was indeed at this moment (January, 1772) the protector of pretty Mrs. Baddeley. Those who are so inclined may read his illspelt, ungrammatical, and fulsome love-letters to her in the "Life" of her, published by her worthy companion, Mrs. Steele. In one of these he tells her that he has been to see her picture at Reynolds', and thinks it will be well done; in another he rejoices that as there is no "Rannela" (where she was then singing) that night, he can enjoy the felicity of a visit to her whom he loves every "minnit" of his life, "Setterday, Sunday, and every day."'

The year after his marriage he was created an Irish Baron, by the title of Lord Melbourne of Kilmore; an Irish Viscount in 1781; and an English Peer in 1815. On the formation of the Heir-Apparent's household he was named Gentleman of the Bed-chamber: the Prince, he it observed, being one of the warmest admirers of his wife. At the Westminster election, when a vote for Fox was purchased by a kiss, she played a part only second to that of Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, or Mrs. Crewe.

'To people these rooms (the Pantheon) we have to call up many of the most beautiful and best known of Sir Joshua's sitters. On this particular occasion (of the opening, Jan. 22, 1772) a great many of the ladies, we are told, chose to adopt male dominoes, and appeared as masculine as many of the delicate macaroni things we see everywhere. Among the most distinguished of these "pretty fellows" were the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Melbourne, and Mrs. Damer.'\*

We catch occasional glimpses of Lady Melbourne and her gay doings in Walpole's Letters:

'March 27, 1778.—The quadrilles were very pretty. Mrs. Damer, Lady Sefton, Lady Melbourne, and the Princess Czartoriski in blue satin, with blond and *collets montés*, à la reine Elizabeth: Lord Robert Spencer, Mr. Fitzpatrick, and Lord Carlisle, and I forget whom, in like dresses, with red sashes, black hats with diamond loops, and a few feathers before, began.'

Referring to a petition of Lord Foley and his brother to set aside their father's will, Walpole writes:—

'All the ladies, Melbournes, and all the bishops' wives that kill their servants by vigils, are going about the town lamenting these poor orphans, and soliciting the Peers to redress their grievances.'

\* Tuesday, May 12, 1778.—I supped after the Opera at Mrs.

\* 'Life of Reynolds,' vol. i. p. 433.

Moynel's with a set of the most fashionable company, which, take notice, I very seldom do now, as I certainly am not of an age to mix often with young people. Lady Melbourne was standing before the fire, and adjusting her feathers in the glass, says she, "Lord! they say the Stock will blow up: that will be very comical."

Much depends upon the tone in which this kind of thing is said. We can believe almost anything of her dissipated habits, but she certainly was not a fool. To gratify her and give full scope to her aspirations, her husband bought a splendid mansion in Piccadilly—the Albany now stands upon its site—and hurried on the improvements at Broomfield, which, ugly enough without, became, as it remains, all that comfort and luxury could combine within. At both houses she collected round her the most brilliant society of the most brilliant episode of the social life of England. One of her dearest friends was Mrs. Damer, and we find them constantly coupled in the fashionable correspondence of the time.

August 27, 1788.—(To Seymour Conway.) As I was visiting this morning I received an express from your daughter (Mrs. Damer), that she will bring Madame de Cambis and Lady Melbourne to dinner here to-morrow. I shall be vastly pleased with the party, but it puts Philip and Margaret to their wits and to get them a dinner: nothing is to be had here: we must send to Richmond and Kingston and Brentford.\*

They shone in private theatricals, and after mentioning the co-operation, "by pen, voice, or sympathetic presence," of Fox, Sheridan, and Fitzpatrick, Mr. Torrens adds:—

Another intimate of both ladies, who equally delighted in all that was best in art, and whose great possessions enabled him to become one of its most generous and judicious promoters, was young Lord Egremond. In his early life Lord Egremond professed to be no more than a man of pleasure, given to hospitality, fond of the turf, content to be a cause of war among strategic mothers. Neither shy and taciturn, nor, as he is said to have been, in the hall-room, none of the morning ride or garden walk. There was in his voice and manner, say his contemporaries, that fascination for women, and even for men, which neither knew how to resist. At Melbourne House he was a constant guest and through a long course of years his friendship and sympathy were never wanting.

There is a portrait of him at Broomfield so wonderfully like Lord Melbourne that it is impossible to not being struck by it. Let it be seen was taken by Sir James O'Connell and another visitor round the great saloon, when Landseer, coming opposite

\* Walpole's Letters, vol. v.

the portrait, gave a start, and involuntarily turned round to look at him. 'Aye,' said Lord Melbourne, 'You have heard that story, have you? But it's all a d—d lie, for all that.'

We may here say, once for all, that no story or anecdote of Lord Melbourne is complete without this now universally condemned expletive. It would be the portrait of Cromwell without the warts. Lord Houghton alludes to Sydney Smith as having 'checked the strong old-fashioned freedom of speech in Lord Melbourne, by suggesting that they should assume everything and everybody to be damned, and come to the subject.' We once before expressed a conviction that Sydney Smith never ventured on such a liberty with Lord Melbourne; who, however, certainly carried the old-fashioned freedom to an extent that might have justified a serious remonstrance on the part of a grave divine.

Peniston Lamb, the eldest son, was born May 3, 1773, and died, unmarried, January 24, 1805. William, born March 15, 1779, was therefore brought up with the prospects of a younger son till he was twenty-six. He went to Eton in 1790, where among the most remarkable of his schoolfellows were Sumner (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Stewart (afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay), Hallam, Brummel (the prince of dandies) and Assheton Smith (the prince of foxhunters). Nothing is recorded of him as an Etonian, except that he left the school not a bad classic. In July, 1796, he was entered a fellow commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, and went into residence in the October following. He had a strong dislike to mathematics, and followed his own taste in reading, instead of aiming at distinction by pursuing the prescribed studies of the University, except so far as the classic poets and historians were concerned. Being destined for the Bar, he was entered at Lincoln's Inn on the 21st of July, 1797, and proceeded to keep his law terms simultaneously with his College terms. It would appear that he had carefully cultivated the art of composition, for in Michaelmas Term, 1798, he won the declamation prize by an oration, delivered in the Chapel of Trinity, on 'The Progressive Improvement of Mankind.' This oration received the highest compliment ever paid to a juvenile composition of the sort; a compliment which might help to mitigate Macaulay's sarcasm at prize essays, as having this in common with prize cattle—that the one might furnish materials for making candles and the other for lighting them.

One of the very few speeches which Charles James Fox is said to have reduced to writing before delivery, was the speech  
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in moving a new writ for Tavistock on the death of the Duke of Bedford. It concluded thus :

‘I will conclude with applying to the present occasion a beautiful passage from the speech of a very young orator. It may be thought to savour too much of the sanguine views of youth to stand the test of a rigid philosophical inquiry, but it is at least cheering and consolatory ; and that, in this instance, it may be exemplified is, I am confident, the sincere wish of every man who hears me. “Crime,” says he, “is a curse only to the period in which it is successful ; but virtue, whether fortunate or otherwise, blesses not only its own age, but remotest posterity, and is as beneficial by its example as by its immediate effect.”’

In the course of conversation at Brocket, a visitor told the story of Moore asking Rogers what he did, when people who wanted his autograph requested him to sign a sentence. ‘Oh, I give them : “Ill-gotten wealth never prospers ;” or “Virtue is its own reward.”’ ‘Then the more shame for you,’ Luttrell broke in, ‘to circulate such delusions.’ Lord Melbourne laughed, and said : ‘I am afraid I was as bad as Rogers, when, contrasting virtue with crime, I said that crime was a curse only to the period in which it was successful ; and that virtue, whether fortunate or not, is beneficial by its example. Is the conqueror who arrests the march of civilisation, or the usurper who destroys the liberties of his country, or the traitor who betrays them, a curse only to his contemporaries ? Nor, I fear, is the example of unfortunate virtue so influential as that of prosperous vice.’

This was not the first composition of his that attracted attention. It seems to have escaped the biographer that Lord Melbourne was the author of the *Epistle to the Editor of the ‘Anti-Jacobin,’* published in the *‘Morning Chronicle’* of January 17, 1798. The beginning shows that the veil of secrecy had been lifted.

‘Whoe’er ye are, all hail ! whether the skill  
Of youthful Canning guides the rancorous quill  
With powers mechanic far above his age,  
Adapts the paragraph and fills the page—  
Or Hammond, leaving his official toil,  
O’er this great work consume the midnight oil.’

The lines which attracted most attention were these :

‘I swear by all the youths that Malmesbury chose,\*  
By Ellis’ sapient prominence of nose,  
By Morpeth’s gait, important proud and big,  
By *Leveson-Gower’s* crop-imitating wig.’

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\* For his abortive mission to Lille.

The answer by Canning is prefaced by the admission that the 'Epistle' is by far the best of all the attacks that the combined wits of the cause have been able to muster against the 'Anti-Jacobin.' It begins:

'Bard of the borrow'd lyre! to whom belong  
The shreds and remnants of each hackney'd song:  
Whose verse thy friends in vain for wit explore,  
And count but one good line in eighty-four!'

The one good line is the one italicised, but the Epistle contains many quite as good.

The modern Athens was then in the height of its celebrity, and it was a prevalent belief that a year or two spent at a Scotch University was a necessary supplement to the education of an Englishman destined for public life. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Russell were placed under professorial tuition at Edinburgh; and William Lamb, after leaving Cambridge, became a resident pupil of Professor Millar at Glasgow, where he spent the winter of 1799 and part of the following winter in sedulous attendance on Millar's lectures on constitutional lore and Mylne's on metaphysics. 'In the Collegiate Debating Club he took a constant and brilliant part, being distinguished for aptitude of historic illustration and for caustic humour in reply.'

It should be mentioned that, some time prior to his being fixed in London, the house in Piccadilly had been exchanged, to oblige the Duke of York, for his Royal Highness's mansion at Whitehall, since known as Melbourne (now Dover) House. It was here, May 11, 1800, that the Prince of Wales was dining when the news arrived of Hatfield's attempt to assassinate the King in the royal box at Drury Lane with a pistol fired from the pit. The Prince, then on bad terms with his father, said it was mere rumour and showed no inclination to move, till Lady Melbourne succeeded in convincing him that the commonest sense of propriety required him to repair immediately to the theatre, where his Majesty had resolved on remaining with the Queen as if nothing had occurred. The Prince went; and, after tendering his congratulations in due form, attended the preliminary inquiry which was conducted in the presence of the culprit.

'Before midnight the prince returned to Whitehall to thank his hostess for persuading him to earn for once the praise of filial duty. His young equerry on the occasion was wont to tell the story with humour all his own, making the best of it for his Royal Highness, and dwelling with affectionate emphasis on the promptitude and tact shown by his mother. He was thenceforth more frequently included



in the invitations to Carlton House, and became unluckily an early partaker in its revelries.'

Another early incident has been left unnoticed by the biographer. When Miss Berry's play, 'Fashionable Friends,' was represented for the first time in May, 1802, the Prologue was written by Robert Spencer, now best remembered through 'The Rejected Addresses,' and the Epilogue by William Lamb; the burden of which was the advantages of peace. It was not a successful effusion; and the play itself was withdrawn after three nights, although the full strength of fashion was put forth in its support.

Lamb was called to the Bar in Michaelmas Term, 1804, but his practice was limited to a single attendance at the Lancashire Sessions, where, through the recommendation of Scarlett (Lord Abinger), he received a guinea brief. He used to say that the first sight of his name on the back gave him the highest feeling of satisfaction he ever experienced, very far transcending his enjoyment on being appointed Prime Minister.\* He had made up his mind to follow the profession in right earnest, and was taking to it with a zest, when his elder brother died, and visions of briefs were dissipated by the higher aspirations of ambition and the brighter dreams of love. In the course of the following year he had become member for Leominster and the accepted lover of Lady Caroline Ponsonby (only daughter of the third Earl of Bessborough), to whom he was married June 3, 1805. To say that it was not a happy marriage is saying little. It blighted the best part of his life, warped his tone of mind, and haunted him with mortifying recollections to his dying day. Yet she possessed many qualities which justified his choice, and she never entirely lost her power of fascinating him. She was personally attractive without being pretty or handsome; rather below the middle-height, well-made though thin, with light hair which she was fond of wearing like a boy—

'Her voice was ever soft,

Gentle, and low: an excellent thing in woman.'

She had abundant fancy and feeling, which are amongst the choicest gifts of nature, although they are apt to lead astray and to degenerate into waywardness or wilfulness. Her very caprice gave piquancy and variety. She might tease, provoke, and

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\* 'Lord Melbourne,' Hayward's 'Essays,' First Series, 1858. We have drawn freely on this Essay, which is based on personal reminiscences and information supplied by near relatives of Lord Melbourne and others who knew him best. The fault found with it by Lady Palmerston was, that it did not give her brother sufficient credit for the earnestness which, she always maintained, was the essential element of his character.

irritate,

irritate, but she never failed to interest. She was the counter-part of Pope's Calypso:—

'Strange graces still, and stranger flights, she had :  
Was just not ugly, and was just not mad :  
Yet ne'er so sure our passion to create  
As when she touched the brink of all we hate.'

We believe it to be perfectly true that when, after one of their serious quarrels, everything was arranged for a separation, and he had gone down to Bocket till the formal documents could be prepared, she followed him, and lay down like a faithful dog at the door of his room, so that he could not come out without treading on her. The next morning when the men of business arrived, they found her sitting on his knee, feeding him with bread and butter.

They got on tolerably well for six or seven years. At all events, there was no outward or visible sign to the contrary. Her craving for excitement was lulled by the pleasures and cares of maternity. She gave birth to a son, August 11, 1807, to whom the Prince stood sponsor. Miss Berry sets down :

*May 3, 1608.*—'Dined at Lady Melbourne's. Went up to the top of the house with Lady Caroline Lamb to see her little boy asleep, who a very few years after was seized with fits and his life despaired of. He is too big of his age—only eight months.'

'Life,' adds the biographer, 'was preserved, but only to himself to prove a burden and to his father a grief incurable.'

Lady Caroline gave birth to a daughter, still-born, January 30, 1809, and mention is made of a third child, who died young.

Mr. Torrens is not particular about dates. He does not give that of Lamb's election for Leominster, but leaves us to infer that it was towards the end of 1805, or the beginning of 1806, when the ministry of All the Talents had just come into office. They were most of them his personal friends, and he agreed with them in all leading points, especially as regarded Catholic Emancipation and a more liberal policy for Ireland. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Fox, and on his death inscribed some tolerable lines upon his pedestal.

On the 19th of December, 1806, Lamb moved the address in reply to the speech from the Throne. This appears to have been his maiden effort. His next was when, on the formation of Perceval's Cabinet, which was pledged to resist all concession to the Catholics, Mr. Brand moved that it was contrary to the first duty of the confidential servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied,

implied, from offering to the Sovereign any advice which the course of circumstances might require. Lamb seconded the motion in a carefully prepared speech, which gives his biographer an occasion for some pointed remarks on what he thinks the inevitable fate of orations written down and got by heart. But all the greatest orators have been in the habit of composing their speeches; and we suspect that nothing first-rate was ever strictly and literally improvised. Perhaps the best course for a debater is to think out the subject, carefully arrange his matter in his mind, or even write down his principal arguments so as to be complete master of them, and trust to the inspiration of the moment for the words. Lamb was at no period of his life an orator. He was at his best in short, pithy, impulsive sentences, or replies on the spur of the occasion. Among the numerous, too numerous, selections from his speeches given by the biographer, there is not one that will pass muster as a specimen of eloquence. But this is no reflection on their effectiveness in debate, for what people are wont to call eloquence is that which gives pleasure or excites emotion independently of the subject or the purpose.

The seizure of the Danish fleet (September, 1807) afforded the Whigs an opportunity for what they intended to be a damaging onslaught on the Ministry; but the attack was so tamely led by their new leader, Ponsonby, and so dashingly repelled by Canning, that although Lamb voted with his party, his confidence in their power to achieve anything was daunted, and (adds the biographer) his belief in his own capacity for debate waxed so cold that he did not make any attempt to speak during the Session of 1808.

‘ His attendance, like that of Althorp, at this period was desultory, and broken by many intervals devoted to pleasure; but he was generally ready to be in his place when the elders whom he trusted thought it needful or important.

‘ In the daily round of refined and luxurious existence, time glided by. The lot had fallen to him in pleasant places. As yet there was no shadow on his path; and if, contrary to the belief of Holland House, the Tories should last for ever, he was ready to say with Mr. Fox, “that in the company of witty men and pretty women, with plenty of fresh air, old books, and nothing to do, life was very endurable.”’

The way of life at Melbourne House may be inferred from an entry in Miss Berry’s Journal :

*Thursday, April 7, 1808.*—‘ I went to Lady Caroline Lamb’s. An immense assembly. We came away at half-past twelve and walked beyond

beyond the Admiralty to the carriage. Many of the company were not away till near three, and the Prince of Wales and a very few persons supped below in Lady Melbourne's apartment and were not gone till past six; Sheridan of the number, who was completely drunk.'

Lamb's name does not once occur as a speaker in the 'Hansard' of 1809. In 1810 he supported Mr. Fuller's motion to abolish Sinecures, Romilly's Anti-hanging Bills, as they were called, and Brand's motion for an inquiry into the state of the representation.

'In October, Mr. Lamb, accompanied by Lady Caroline, met Lord Palmerston at the house of Mr. Conyers, where there was a shooting party, but the woods were so full of traps and spring guns that the owner "dared not set his foot in any of his plantations lest he should leave it behind him." He shot better than his friend (Lord P.), who tells, in his own characteristic way, how he brought down but one brace of pheasants, owing to the high wind which blew: but Lamb was luckier, and always found the wind lower when he fired, which was a knack he had through life, which stood him in good stead in politics as in sporting.'

Lord Palmerston's laying the blame on the wind may recall the foreigner who complained that the English rabbits were too short. It was told of a noble lord (Lord Ashbrook), who never touched a feather during an entire day's shooting at Holkham, that the keeper, by way of consolation, remarked that he had seen people shoot worse than his Lordship. 'How can that be, when I have missed bird after bird?' 'Aye, but your Lordship misses them so clean!' This story would nearly fit Lord Palmerston. During his later years, when he was as fond as ever of the sport, he has been known to fire off both barrels at birds a hundred yards off.

Lamb took an active part in the discussion of the Regency Bill in 1810, and was intrusted by his party with the duty of moving an amendment on the resolution for limiting the functions of the Prince. He was followed by Canning, who complimented his 'young friend, as he was glad in public and in private to call him,' on the moderation of tone and the fitness of topics he had relied on. The amendment was defeated, and the consequent position of the Crown was pointedly described by the couplet in which the Regent, alluding to his royal father's condition, is made to say:

'A strait waistcoat on him, and restrictions on me,  
A more limited monarchy scarcely could be.'

It may be taken for granted that Lamb shared the disappointment

ment of his friends, when, at the expiration of the restriction they were thrown over by the Regent, whose disclaimer 'predilections,' in a letter to the Duke of York, was so happily paraphrased by Moore :

' You know, my dear Fred, I have no predilections,  
My heart is a sieve, in which hopes and affections  
Are danced up and down for a moment or two,  
And the finer they are the more sure to slip through.'

The Regent was still anxious to retain some of the old ties, or disinclined to break with Lady Melbourne, for Lord Melbourne was requested to continue Lord-in-Waiting, and the request was considered a command. The natural opponents Perceval, the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, were weakened by the insurmountable dislike of Lord Grey and Whitbread to Canning; but on March 19th, 1812, Lord Boringdon (afterwards Lord Morley) moved an address to the Regent for the formation of an administration independently of parties and creeds. The result is told by Miss Berry :—

' Thursday, March 19.—Went to Lady Castlereagh's, where there was an assembly entirely of ladies. There were only three men in the room when we arrived. All the male world was in the House of Lords to hear the motion of Lord Boringdon. Near midnight we went to Melbourne House to Lady Caroline Lamb. They were at supper fifteen ladies waiting the arrival of the gentlemen from the House. An hour passed before they came. All Opposition *en masse*, and all the Canning party, himself excepted, with a fallen look, after their *cheval de bataille*, Lord Wellesley, had entirely failed them at the hour of need, not having chosen to open his mouth.'

At the ensuing dissolution Lamb lost his seat, a victim to the 'No Popery' cry, along with many of his friends, and on September 10th, 1812, Brougham writes to Lord Grey :

' Bomilly, Tierney, and Lamb being out of Parliament is a great imputation on some of their friends, who must not thereafter talk of the fickleness and wrong-headedness of the people. These professors of party attachments had no sort of scruple to dissolve the regular Whig interest, or leave it with one single leader in the House of Commons, rather than forego the gratification of giving some courtier or toad-eater a power of franking letters!'

Lamb remained out of Parliament four years, and, if we may trust his biographer, spent part of the time in melancholy reflections on the bad use he had made of his opportunities :

' He had learned by experience that he was no orator, and that his plausibility, good taste, coincidence of opinion with many who listened

sound logic, and an occasional dash of sarcasm—not too saucy from a young man on one of the back benches—will not command a hearing, secure a report in the morning papers, or evoke a careless “devilish good,” from the chattering critics at the clubs next day. In spite of many advantages of person, voice, address, leisure, acquaintance, connections, and not a few sincere well-wishers, he had as yet accomplished nothing which scores of young men of his class had not accomplished on their way to epicurean obscurity.’

We do not agree in this. We do not believe that he despaired of himself, or that his friends despaired of him. The qualities recapitulated—good taste, sound logic, and an occasional dash of sarcasm—if they would not invariably command a hearing, would rescue any man from epicurean obscurity at any time. And Lamb was an epicurean of the high intellectual order—not an *Epicuri de grege porcus*. The only Delilahs that could seduce him from practical politics, or the graver business of life, were books and the refined cultivated companionship of the fair sex. Unluckily these four years were not permitted to glide away smoothly, leaving no reminiscences but those of well or pleasantly spent hours. They were dashed with agitation and troubled by domestic trials, in which his sense of honour and his feelings of self-respect, as well as his best affections, were involved. Lady Caroline’s volatility was arrested and her fancy fixed for a period by the sudden appearance of a dazzling and lurid meteor amongst the stars of fashion. She met Byron when he had just flashed into fame, under circumstances which she thus described to Lady Morgan :

‘Lady Westmoreland knew him in Italy. She took on her to present him. The women suffocated him. I heard nothing of him, till one day Rogers (for he, Moore, and Spencer, were all my lovers, and wrote me up to the skies—I was in the clouds)—Rogers said, “you should know the new poet,” and he offered me the MS. of “Childe Harold” to read. I read it, and that was enough. Rogers said, “he has a club foot, and bites his nails.” I said, “If he was ugly as Æsop I must know him.” I was one night at Lady Westmoreland’s; the women were all throwing their heads at him. Lady Westmoreland led me up to him. I looked earnestly at him, and turned on my heel. My opinion, in my journal was, “mad—bad—and dangerous to know.” A day or two passed; I was sitting with Lord and Lady Holland, when he was announced. Lady Holland said, “I must present Lord Byron to you.” Lord Byron said, “That offer was made to you before; may I ask why you rejected it?” He begged permission to come and see me. He did so the next day. Rogers and Moore were standing by me: I was on the sofa. I had just come in from riding. I was filthy and heated. When Lord Byron was announced, I flew out of  
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the room to wash myself. When I returned, Rogers said, "Lord Byron, you are a happy man. Lady Caroline has been sitting here in all her dirt with us, but when you were announced, she flew to beautify herself." Lord Byron wished to come and see me at eight o'clock, when I was alone; that was my dinner-hour. I said he might. From that moment, for more than nine months, he almost lived at Melbourne House. It was then the centre of all gaiety, at least, in appearance.\*

Lady Caroline was a wild talker, and Lady Morgan was not the most reliable of diarists. Lord Byron's first manner was not of a nature to make a new acquaintance set him down as 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know,' or to justify Madame de Staël's warning when she told Lady Caroline that he was a demon; although to think a man dangerous, or be told that he was a demon, was the likeliest of all ways to make a woman of ill-regulated fancy and sensibility, craving for excitement, fall in love with him. Their passion, or rather fever-fit of gratified vanity, has become historical. It was short-lived, and was converted, at least on one side, into the exact opposite—into something bordering on hate, with exceptional rapidity. There is a maxim of Rochefoucauld, 'Ce qui fait que les amants et les maîtresses ne s'ennuient point d'être ensemble, c'est qu'ils parlent toujours d'eux-mêmes.' Some one else has defined love as 'égoïsme à deux.' But the gentleman must talk of the lady and the lady of the gentleman. They will soon feel tired if each only talks of himself or herself, as Byron and Lady Caroline did. They were too much alike to get on well together long: both morbidly self-conscious: both gifted or cursed with imagination and sensibility: both aiming at intellectual distinction. They were rivals as well as lovers: it was diamond cut diamond, instead of diamond outshining pearl and pearl content to be outshone. As Lord Holland was carrying an antique censer, taken from a cabinet, to show some one, he paused before Byron and Lady Caroline, and said to her, 'You see I bear you incense.' 'Offer it to Lord Byron,' was the reply, 'he is used to it.' This was ominous—

' And ruder words will soon rush in  
To spread the breach that words begin :  
And voices lose the tone that shed  
A tenderness round all they said.'

A very eminent man of letters, who died not long since, frankly avowed that his *beau idéal* of a mistress or a wife was

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\* Lady Morgan's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 202.

a pretty woman who would sit on a footstool at his feet, look up fondly in his face, listen to him with rapt attention, and only interrupt him to whisper that he was the handsomest and cleverest creature upon earth. Byron's theory of female perfection was substantially the same. But the part she was required to play did not suit Lady Caroline. Her favourite worship was self-worship; and instead of treating his poetry as the only poetry worthy of the name, she was constantly bringing him verses of her own, which threw him into a state resembling that of Hogarth's enraged musician. The conduct of both was so extravagant as to verge on the comic and recall the parody of the 'Stranger'—

'She, seeing him, scream'd and was carried off kicking,  
And he banged his head 'gainst the opposite door.'

Fashion is lenient to its votaries and its idols—

'—the few

Or many, for the number's sometimes such,  
Whom a good mien, especially if new,  
Or name or fame for wit, war, sense or nonsense,  
Permits what e'er they please, or did not long suit.'

The world, at least in its ordinary mood, instinctively distinguishes between offences against the conventionalities and what is positively or morally wrong. Lady Caroline's imprudence and contempt of form caused ample allowances to be made for her: nobody suspected her of worse than was openly displayed or lay upon the surface. She was like the air, a chartered libertine; her reputation was little if at all affected: and she retained her social position to the last. Besides, she had redeeming bursts of well-directed enthusiasm. At a dinner at Paris, after the occupation in 1815, she suddenly asked one of the party, in the hearing of the rest, who he supposed *she* thought the most distinguished man she ever knew in mind and person, refinement, cultivation, sensibility, and thought. The person addressed suggested Lord Byron. 'No,' was the reply, 'my own husband, William Lamb.'

In public she persevered in monopolising Byron whenever they met. She has been described to us by an eye-witness as hurrying up to him at Osterly Park the moment she entered the room, seating herself by his side, and showing by look and manners that she would 'endure no rival near the'—sofa. The story of her stabbing herself—with scissors or a metal dagger-shaped paper-knife—is confirmed by a document preserved amongst the Byron relics. It is an invitation card, with a memorandum in Byron's handwriting:—

'LORD



'LORD BYRON,  
4, Bennet Street,  
St. James.'

'LADY HEATHCOTE,  
At home,  
Monday, July 5th, 1813.  
A small Waltzing Party,  
10 o'clock.'

'This card I keep as a curiosity, since it was at this ball (to which it is an invitation) that L<sup>dy</sup> Caroline L. performed y<sup>r</sup> Dagger Scene—of indifferent memory.'

He first got bored, then irritated, then savage. She one day entered his lodgings when he was out, and finding Beckford's 'Vathek' on the table, wrote under his name, on the blank leaf at the beginning, 'Remember me.' Under this inscription he wrote:—

'Remember thee! remember thee!  
Till Lethe quench life's burning stream,  
Remorse and shame shall cling to thee  
And haunt thee like a feverish dream.  
  
'Remember thee! Ay, doubt it not,  
Thy husband too shall think of thee,  
By neither shalt thou be forgot,  
Thou *false* to him, thou *fiend* to me.\*'

The husband is commonly the last to hear of that in which he is most deeply interested, and Lamb was so used to his wife's eccentricities, to call them by no harsher name, than an *escapade* more or less did not count. According to Lady Morgan, she said:

'He cared nothing for my morals. I might flirt and go about with what men I pleased. He was privy to my affair with Lord Byron, and laughed at it. His indolence rendered him insensible to every-

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\* 'Works' (Murray's complete edition). The identical copy of 'Vathek,' with the lines in Lord Byron's handwriting, was seen by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who carefully committed them to memory, and says that the verse printed second stood first, and that the second ran thus:—

'Remember thee! yes, yes, till Fate  
In Lethe quench the guilty dream,  
Yet then, e'en then, remorse and hate  
Shall vainly quaff the vanquish'd stream.'

What (he says) helped him to retain a vivid recollection of the lines was a discussion with Lord Glenelg, to whom he repeated them, whether 'baffled' would not be better than 'vanquished.' The book which he saw had been borrowed for him by Mr. Murray from Lord Byron before he left England.

After repeating the verses and stating incidentally (Dec. 28, 1877) that he was in his ninety-second year, Lord Stratford gave a lucid exposition of the manner in which he thought the Eastern Question might be settled.

thing.

thing. When I ride, play, and amuse him, he loves me. In sickness and suffering he deserts me. His violence is as bad as my own.'

This is in flat contradiction to her letters, in which she uniformly speaks of him as the kindest and noblest of men. If we may believe her, the last feather that broke the camel's back, the drop that made the cup overflow, was not the affair with Lord Byron but an alleged act of wanton cruelty to her page.

'The boy was a little *espègle*, and would throw detonating balls into the fire. Lord Melbourne always scolded me for this, and I the boy. One day I was playing ball with him, he threw a squib into the fire. I threw the ball at his head, it hit him on the temple, and he bled. He cried out, "Oh! my lady, you have killed me." Out of my senses, I flew into the hall and screamed, "Oh God, I have murdered the page!" The servants and people in the street caught the sound, and it was soon spread about. William Lamb would live with me no longer.

'All his family united in insisting on our separation. Whilst this was going on, and instruments drawing out—that is, in *one month*—I wrote and sent "Glenarvon" to the press. I wrote it, unknown to all (save a governess, Miss Welsh), in the middle of the night. It was necessary to have it copied out. I had heard of a famous copier, an old Mr. Woodhead. I sent to beg he would come to see Lady Caroline Lamb at Melbourne House. I placed Miss Welsh, elegantly dressed, at my harp, and myself at a writing-table, dressed in the page's clothes, looking a boy of fourteen. He addressed Miss Welsh as Lady Caroline. She showed him the author. He would not believe that this schoolboy could write such a thing. He came to me again in a few days, and he found me in my own clothes. I told him William Ormond, the young author, was dead. When the work was printed, I sent it to William Lamb. He was delighted with it; and we became united just as the world thought we were parted for ever.'

This is simply incredible. 'Glenarvon' had no literary merit, and its sole claim to interest or popularity, instead of conciliating her husband, would have revived and embittered the recollection of his wrongs: the hero being meant for the noble poet, and the heroine, Calantha, for herself. Byron writes to Moore, November 17, 1816:—

'By the way, I suppose you have seen "Glenarvon." Madame de Staël lent it me to read from Capet last autumn. It seems to me that if the authoress had written the truth and nothing but the truth—the whole truth—the romance would not only have been more romantic but more entertaining. As for the likeness, the picture can't be good. *I did not sit long enough.*'

It is perfectly clear that the liaison did not long survive the dagger scene, July 1813. Lady Caroline told Lady Morgan that her mother took her to Ireland with the view of breaking off the connection, and that it was at Dublin she received the 'cruel'

'cruel' letter published in 'Glenarvon,' which Lord declared to be the only true thing in the book. The copy by her to Lady Morgan is without a date. Yet Mr. 1 states that in 'this year' (1816) Lord Byron married Milbanke with the advice and approval of Lady Melbourn 'in spite of many petulant warnings of evil to come' from Caroline.

'Ere long he (Lord Byron) heard of her complainings at his and alienation: and he had the effrontery to address to his and hypochondriacal friend the lines beginning—

"And sayest thou, Cara," etc.,

in which, to excuse the discontinuance of his visits, he tells her in fact he is thinking of nobody else, and apologises for her perfidy by the assurance that "falsehood to all else is truth to

Lord Byron was married January 2nd, 1815, and left England for ever in April, 1816. The verses to Cara (if written by Lord Byron, which we doubt) were certainly not addressed to Lady Caroline. Neither were the lines beginning: 'Faith if ever fondest prayer,' which Mr. Torrens states were addressed to her by Lord Byron 'on quitting England.' In Mr. Torrens's edition they are dated 1808. In Mr. Torrens's brief notice of the noble poet, almost everything is wrong. He disputes the quarrel with Lord Carlisle for not asking him to dinner was not Hobhouse's Cambridge 'classfellow:' and 'Harold' was published only two days after the maiden speech in the House of Lords.

A strong proof that the Byron affair was not the immediate cause of the projected separation was that Lord Byron's friendship with Lady Melbourne remained unbroken till her death in 1818. There is a French maxim: 'la mère a toujours un dresse pour l'amant de sa fille;' but we never heard that her tenderness extended to the admirer of the daughter-in-law.

November 24th, 1813, Lord Byron sets down in his Diary

'I have had a letter from Lady Melbourne, the best friend I had in my life, and the cleverest of women. I write with pleasure to her, and her answers are so sensible, so *tactique*. I met with half her talent. If she had been a few years younger a fool she would have made of me, had she thought it worth while, and I should have lost a valuable and most agreeable friend.' *Mem.* A mistress never is or can be a friend. While you are lovers; and when it is over, anything but friends.'

He has versified this *Mem.*, although it is far from universally true:—

'No friend like to a woman man discovers,  
So that they have not been nor may be lovers.'

Long after his mother's death, Lord Melbourne is reported to have said, 'Ah, my mother was a most remarkable woman; not merely clever and engaging, but the most sagacious woman I ever knew. She kept me right as long as she lived.'

Lamb (as we must still call him) resumed his parliamentary career in 1816. The biographer is rather obscure upon the point, but we collect that he re-entered the House as member for Portarlington, which he very soon exchanged for Peterborough. He broke ground by a speech in support of an amendment moved by the leader of Opposition, Ponsonby; his chief topic being that the military establishments had not been reduced to a peace footing. Canning, in reply, referred to him as one 'who never spoke without making a deep impression by his eloquence and ability.' These were no words of course. Long before he came decidedly to the front, there prevailed a wide-spread belief in his latent capacity and suppressed power. About this time (or shortly afterwards) he had just left a dinner at Carlton House, when the Regent, turning to one of the remaining guests, said with emphasis: 'Sligo, mark my words, that man will some time or other be Prime Minister.'\*

In the course of a debate on Lord John Russell's annual motion for Reform in 1827, Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) had made a powerful speech, followed by a pause, when a member rose at a considerable distance from the Speaker and made a telling reply of about twenty minutes' duration, almost every sentence of which was received with acclamation. A listener in the gallery (the present writer) turned round and asked a reporter (afterwards a distinguished member of the Irish Bar) who it was. 'That,' was the reply, 'is William Lamb; and Lord Castlereagh used to say that he might become Prime Minister, if he would only shake off his carelessness and set about it.'

It was at his instance that his brother George stood for Westminster in 1818, and throwing off his habitual nonchalance he took the lead in organising a systematic canvass of the constituency. Lady Georgiana Morpeth and Lady Caroline played the parts so efficiently filled by the Duchess of Devonshire in 1784. Desirous of gaining over Godwin, whose name was deemed important to the cause, Lady Caroline opened a correspondence with him, and although she failed in her immediate object, she made the acquaintance of a remarkable man, and the letters to which it led are highly valuable as throwing light on her character and the affectionate terms on which she lived with her husband. In 1821, Godwin wrote to ask her aid in

\* Our authority is the present Marquis of Sligo; who, without being able to fix the precise date of the incident, is certain that it occurred during the Regency. promoting

promoting a subscription for his benefit, a request with which she readily complies. In the ensuing letter she gives free expression to her feelings and thoughts, betraying in every other sentence her incurable self-consciousness :—

‘There is nothing marked, sentimental, or interesting in my career. All I know is that I was happy, well, rich, joyful, and surrounded by friends. I have now one faithful, kind friend in William Lamb, two others in my father and brother—but health, spirits and all else, is gone, gone how? Oh, assuredly not by the visitation of God, but slowly and gradually by my own fault.’\*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘Pray say a few wise words to me. There is no one more deeply sensible than myself of kindness from persons of high intellect, and at this period of my life I need it. I have nothing to do, I mean necessarily. There is no particular reason why I should exist : it conduces to no one’s happiness, and, on the contrary, I stand in the way of many. Besides, I seem to have lived 500 years, and feel I am neither wiser, better, nor worse than I began. My experience gives me no satisfaction, all my opinions and beliefs and feelings are shaken, as if suffering from frequent little shocks of earthquake.’

The author of the book in which these letters appear goes on to say ‘that one new acquaintance was made by Godwin in 1830, the last of the long series of younger friends. This was Edward Bulwer, known better to this generation as Lord Lytton, who came to sit at the feet of the writer of ‘Caleb Williams.’’ He was introduced to Godwin by Lady Caroline Lamb in the following letter, which is without date and was certainly written many years before 1830, probably in 1823 :—

‘Mr. Bulwer Lytton, a very young man and an enthusiast, wishes to be introduced to you. He is taking his degree at Cambridge; on his return pray let me make you acquainted with him. . . . Hobhouse came to me last night : how strange it is I love Lord Byron so much now in my old age, in despite of all he is said to have said. But I also love Hobhouse because he so warmly takes his part.’

In July, 1824, she was driving in an open carriage, when a funeral came by. She asked whose it was, and the reply was ‘Lord Byron’s.’ The biographer states that she never recovered from the shock. At first she lay as one stunned, incapable of exertion and without interest of any kind. She then resumed her pen and pencils and was occupied with her favourite books and music in a manner to give hopes that the dark cloud had been uplifted. But she speedily relapsed, and indulged in all sorts of caprices and vagaries. It is told of her that one day,

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\* ‘William Godwin : His Friends and Contemporaries.’ By O. Kegan Paul. 1875.

coming into the dining-room whilst the butler was arranging the decorations for the table, she told him that they wanted feature, expression and elevation: that the centre-piece in particular was too low: then ordering it to be removed, she stepped into the vacant place and assumed a picturesque attitude to illustrate her idea:—

‘The butler rushed from the room, and finding Lamb in the library, begged him for God’s sake to come to the rescue. The moment he saw her, he said only in the gentlest tone of expostulation “Caroline, Caroline!” then took her in his arms and carried her out of doors into the sunshine, talking of some ordinary subject to divert her attention from what had happened. That evening she received her friends with as calm a look and tone as in happier days; but what an ordeal for him to pass through!’

What an ordeal indeed! At times it was too much for him. He resolved on separation, and, as regards absence and estrangement, was separated at intervals. But how impute to guilt, or punish as criminal, irregularities which were clearly owing to a disordered intellect and were always bordering on, if they did not actually reach, insanity! If he kept away from Brocket, he left her its undisturbed occupant, and whenever she expressed a wish to see him or his presence was needed to keep her quiet, he was there to soothe and watch over her.

At the same time, he was watching over a son whom he tenderly loved, and trying to read in his fine features the signs of the complete intelligence and mental soundness they were never destined to reflect. If Lord Melbourne occasionally sought distraction in things that were not domestic, let it be remembered what sort of domesticity awaited him in his own home. If he was sometimes cynical or distrustful of mankind and womankind, let it never be forgotten how his best affections had been converted into instruments of torture, how his finest feelings had been turned against him. No wonder that he was fond of repeating one of the ‘detached thoughts’ of Horace Walpole: ‘To those who think, life is a comedy—to those who feel, a tragedy.’

‘Later in this year (1818) Sheridan died, and William Lamb was among the well-born crowd who followed him to the grave. His admiration was unbounded for his genius.’ This, combined with his friendship for Tom Sheridan, led (it is added) to his seriously contemplating the biography of the deceased orator and wit.

‘He went in for a preliminary course of reading in Old English comedy from Beaumont to Congreve, and long afterwards he used to excite the wonder of the superficial and the admiration of the learned

frequenters of Holland House by reciting whole colloquies from Wycherley and long speeches from Massinger. This was preparatory to writing the earlier portions of his work, and delightful preparation it was. Then there was a course of more laborious study in the orations, English, Irish, French, Roman, Greek. Their differences of style and comparative anatomy had for him a charm that they never had before.

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‘Of the earlier Irish school he had little or no means of judging. Fox and Windham were the *penates* of his house, and the latter was with him a sort of idol. Canning he could listen to for ever; but the man who he always said was the most irresistible in argument he had ever heard was Plunket. By the time he had come to settle conclusions about all these, something of his youthful preference for Sheridan was shaken; for he could not reconcile them with his unbridled freaks of fancy and tendency to over-decoration. This did not cool his biographic zeal, or abate his ambition to be the author of a book that every one would read. After many postponements and changes of design he at length began, and actually wrote the introductory portions of the *Life of the orator as we have it now.*’

Having got thus far, he began to flag and shrank away from the drudgery of collecting facts and collating authorities for a consecutive narrative:—

‘He had got together all the best marbles and bronzes, sacrificial tools and incense-burners for his temple, but to go quarrying for the stones and digging out the rubbish for the foundation, or making the cement and trowelling it into the numberless interstices that must be filled up—Heigh-ho! perhaps somebody else would do it better: why not Thomas Moore, an enthusiast by nature, a skilled workman by trade?’

There was some hesitation and some demur: the poet, we are told, instinctively knew that, professionally considered, it was not a job that would pay. We should say that he instinctively knew the exact contrary, and it is matter of fact that he got a thousand pounds down at starting. But the hesitation did not last:—

‘Moore was told by everybody he dined with that he was just the man to embalm Sheridan’s memory in frankincense and myrrh. The *Minstrel Boy* liked the compliments better than the work, and took to it reluctantly. Lamb proffered him all the aid in his power, and sent him his notes and sketches, with the introductory chapters which only were written. *Eventually they made their appearance, with little adaptation, at the beginning of Sheridan’s Life, accompanied with due acknowledgments.*

Here Mr. Torrens’s imagination has fairly run away with him. We cannot take upon ourselves to deny that Lord Melbourne went

went through the exhaustive course of preparation attributed to him; but when all that we have the means of testing looks like the baseless fabric of a vision, we are justified in being sceptical as to the rest. Sheridan died in 1816, not 1818. Moore did not publish the 'Life' till 1825, nine years afterwards, and it was originally meant to accompany his collected edition of the Works. There are no introductory chapters. There are no acknowledgments. Lamb's name is not so much as mentioned in the Preface, and only once (*à propos* of his marriage) in Moore's 'Journals': where may be read the precise circumstances under which (in 1824) Moore contracted for the 'Life.' The sole semblance of authority for Mr. Torrens's detailed statement is a note (vol. i. p. 408) in which two paragraphs are quoted from 'an unfinished Life' by a person unnamed, who, from the description, may be inferred to be Lord Melbourne. This note proves that Moore made no other use whatever of the manuscript.

In November 1818, Lamb, then member for Hertfordshire (it is not stated when he was chosen), supported Lord Althorp's motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the country. In 1819 the next stirring affair in which he was engaged was the renewed contest for Westminster, when he accompanied his brother to the hustings and witnessed his mortifying defeat: Burdett and Hobhouse being returned. Queen Caroline next came upon the scene. Nearly all Lamb's private friends and political connections were against the prosecution, and his votes were mostly given in accordance with their view.

On all Irish questions which, soon after the accession of George IV., began to assume formidable dimensions, he took the Liberal side, but his love of order and his confidence in Lord Wellesley induced him to support the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the passing of the Insurrection Bill in 1822. On September 2, 1825, he intimated his intention not to present himself again as a candidate for the county, stating that he was induced to come to this determination solely by personal and private considerations, having accepted an offer to stand for Hertford, where he was opposed by Mr. T. Duncombe, who fairly frightened him off the course by intimations and insinuations of the most unjustifiable sort. One of the most malignant attacks of this kind (we learn from the biographer) alluded openly to his wife, and was subscribed 'Glenarvon.' He might have retorted with telling effect against any but a case-hardened adversary. His place was taken, at his suggestion, by Henry Bulwer, 'who,' Mr. Torrens states, 'had already shown that he possessed capability and ambition



to win distinction in a different sphere from his elder brother.' His elder brother was a quiet country gentleman: Edward, Lord Lytton, was the youngest of the three.

Canning's accession to the Premiership was Lamb's real starting-point as a working practical statesman. On the 27th of April, 1827, he was returned for Newport by a small majority. A petition was threatened, but before it could be presented he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. On Canning's proposing him, the King is reported to have said, 'William Lamb, William Lamb—put him anywhere you like.' Instead of standing again for Newport, he got elected for Bletchingley, obligingly vacated for him by Mr. William Russell. He started for Ireland early in July, leaving Lady Caroline at Brocket on the plea of ill-health, but taking with him his son, from whom he could not bear to be separated.\*

The peculiar duty to which Canning's parting instructions pointed was one for which Lamb was admirably fitted by knowledge of mankind, charm of manner, temper, and tact. He was to pave the way for Catholic emancipation and an entire change of policy by gradual changes of men and measures, bringing the friends of toleration to the front, and transferring some portion of the power which the exclusionists had held so long as almost to regard it as their patrimony. Mr. Torrens, Irish by birth and education, was an Irish official when the traditions of Lamb's secretaryship were fresh; and although (since coming upon the Sheridan episode) we cannot help suspecting that the Irish atmosphere has exercised its prescriptive influence upon his facts,† we see no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the animated passages in which he describes the effect of the new Secretary's arrival at the Castle:

'From the outset he resolved to see and hear for himself everybody and everything. The prescriptive reserve which haunted the Secretary's office he put aside with no other notice than a hearty laugh. Peel had encircled the department with an arctic zone of distrust which, save by a few adventurers, was impenetrable: Goulburn was the centre of a mere fog, without light or sound or motion. His successor came to bring brighter and more hopeful weather. The staff of the department viewed his proceedings with surprise at first and then with sorrow. Some hinted doubts as to whether he was quite aware of the sort of persons he consented to see, and inwardly they deplored the obstinacy of his imprudence in seeming to talk to them just as he would to old acquaintances. Old Mr. Gregory

\* His son died Nov. 27th, 1836. The only signs of complete intelligence were displayed a few hours before his death.

† It was Mr. Kinglake who said that, when St. Patrick expelled poisonous reptiles from Ireland, he also drove out facts.

groaned;

groaned; melancholy Mr. Mangin sighed; the sententious Attorney-General, Mr. Joy, kept his mind to himself except when asked point-blank for an opinion, and then flavoured it with a sneer. The versatile Solicitor-General, Mr. Doherty, who had fought for his kinsman the Prime Minister at Liverpool elections, and hoped that he would now have his reward, was all things to all men; and finding that Lamb loved a joke, plied him with specimens innumerable of Celtic fun. But the Secretary went his own way, and kept to it.

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'The messengers of the office used to say long after his time, "When Mr. Lamb was here the only orders were, Show him in:" and though he could not promise to grant one in fifty of their requests, they invariably went away in better humour than they came, and muttering as they passed the sentry at the gate, "Not a bad kind of man that." At the end of an early letter to the Home Office full of details of business he says: "I have a dozen fellows talking to me whilst I write this letter, which will account for its incoherence," in regard to official formalities; for there was none as to substance and sense.'

We have neither space nor inclination to follow Mr. Torrens through his detailed account of Lamb's Irish administration, which is clever and spirited, and would be valuable for its information if we could implicitly depend upon it. But after coming on such a statement as that the local taxes of Dublin amounted to 250,000*l.* per annum (they were less than half), we can hardly be expected to take on trust much that he has obviously not paused to verify. We are far from suspecting him of wilful inaccuracy, but his coloured allusive gushing style is precisely that by which both writer and reader may be misled. Besides, there is a great deal of matter, curious in itself, which has little or no bearing on the immediate subject of the biography. Bulwer, in his 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' has given an undue preponderance to the foreign policy with which he himself was diplomatically engaged: and Mr. Torrens has been similarly tempted to devote a disproportioned space to the country of his birth, not excepting periods when Lord Melbourne had little or nothing, directly or personally, to do with it.

Canning's death made no ostensible change in Lamb's position till the Duke of Wellington's accession to the Premiership, when, in reply to a complimentary letter from the Duke requesting him to retain the office he had hitherto filled with so much credit, he wrote that he must postpone his decision till he had conversed with his Grace upon the whole of the intended arrangements. He finally left Ireland on the 23rd of January, 1828, and on his arrival at Melbourne House found Lady Caroline dying. The tone

tone of her letters was habitually so desponding that he had distrusted the accounts she had recently written to him of her real state :—

‘She lingered only a few days longer, for the most part in a state bordering on unconsciousness. Her brother William, who throughout her illness had been unremitting in his care, warmly expressed his sense of the solace which her husband’s frequent letters had afforded her, and the tenderness of his demeanour when he came. “William Lamb behaved throughout as I always knew he would.”’

‘In spite of all her waywardness and folly, Lamb was beyond all doubt passionately fond of his wife. She retained to the last a strong influence over him, and years after her death he used to speak of her with tears, and ask moodily, “Shall we meet in another world?”’

He consented to retain his office under the Duke until the forced resignation of Huskisson, when Lord Palmerston, Lord Dudley, and Lamb met to resolve upon the course which it was incumbent on them to pursue. Their conference is described by Lord Palmerston in his Journal :—

‘We all left Huskisson (then living in Downing Street) together, and Dudley proposed that we should walk up a little way, our cabriolets following. He was in the middle and said, “Now we are by ourselves in the street, and nobody but the sentry to hear us, let me know, right and left, what is meant to be done—‘in’ or ‘out.’” I said “out,” and Lamb echoed “out.” “Well,” said Dudley, “I am under some embarrassment as to what I shall do.” . . . He said that the Colonial Office would be filled by a moderate Tory, a man of promise, a member of a Tory family. Lamb then said that for his part he did not happen to know any young member of a Tory family who was a man of promise, but by Dudley’s own showing the character and complexion of the Government were to be altered, first by withdrawing Huskisson and then by putting in his place a decided Tory. That this would decide him at all events. . . .

‘Dudley said that there was something in attaching oneself to so great a man as the Duke. “For my part,” said Lamb, “I do not happen to think the Duke so very great a man; but that’s a matter of opinion.” I left them, and on my return home wrote to the Duke a letter of resignation, which was to be sent to him early the next morning.’\*

Bulwer (Lord Dalling) adds in a note, that George IV. was very anxious that Lamb should remain :—

‘At least the Duke of Cumberland requested that I would go to him and mention, as the King’s particular desire, that he would not

\* ‘Journal,’ April 24, 1828, quoted by Bulwer in his ‘Life of Lord Palmerston.’  
quit

quit the Government. I gave the message, and carried back a civil answer, but one that left no doubt of Mr. Lamb's determination.\*

Mr. Torrens states that, after Lamb's resignation, Jerdan called on him and persuaded him to resume his contributions to the 'Literary Gazette':—

'They had previously been casual, but now became more frequent, being chiefly criticisms on theological or ethical works. Some of his reviews were of plagiaristic or platitudinarian volumes of sermons, and are spiced with keen, though not irreverent humour.'

As these must have been short, it is to be regretted that we have not been treated to a specimen or two. They would have been more to the point than the frequent and discursive views of general politics, able as these are, which occupy so large a portion of the book.

Peniston, the first Lord Melbourne, died on the 22nd of July, 1828, and the accession of William to the title and estates gives occasion to the biographer for philosophising in his peculiar way on the position and prospects of the new peer. He writes as usual with spirit and vivacity, but he has the Macaulay fondness for effect, and he thinks nothing of rounding a sentence at the expense of a date or a fact. Twenty-five years sounds better than nineteen, so he begins:—

'For five-and-twenty years Lamb had been a member of the House of Commons, a favourite there, seldom refused a hearing, the intimate of its greatest men, and for a season the occupant of a difficult post; yet he had not made a speech worth remembering, and the Cabinet—the crown of parliamentary strivings—had never been conceded him.'

He had made many speeches which the biographer has thought worth quoting, and he had established a reputation which was to place him at the head of the Cabinet in due course.

'Half a century spent and gone, and how little to show for it! He would have given a great deal to have had a fervid, even a fantastic faith in anything worth working for. He had been born a Whig, bred a courtier, drawn by conviction into Canningism, and persuaded to retain office under the Duke of Wellington. But Whiggery was said to be worn out. There was no longer a Court genial, generous, or gay; Canning was dead, and the great soldier's administration seemed tottering to its fall. Utilitarian levelling like that of Bentham he regarded as nonsense. State parsimony like Joseph Hume's he thought a pettifogging blunder. Radicalism after the manner of Hunt and Cobbett he called mere raggamuffinism. He envied Stanley, as he said, the equal pleasure he took

\* 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' vol. i. p. 272.

in fighting a main of cocks and defending the abuses of the Established Church. He coveted Palmerston's light-heartedness and india-rubber temperament, and Lansdowne's delight in the arts and in the duties of hospitality. Althorp's devotion to his wethers and shorthorns, and Holland's happiness in his great dinners and amusement at my lady's whimsicality, were alike to him marvels of contentedness. He was inactive, yet he was not at ease.'

It is difficult to imagine a more erroneous estimate of a character. It would make out an earnest, high-minded man, with a noble career before him and intuitively conscious of it—so much so that his future was divined from his bearing—to be like the hero in 'L'Homme Blasé,' better known to the English public as 'Used Up.' No man had so many objects of interest at all times; and the notion of his envying the lighter qualities or amusements of his distinguished contemporaries is preposterous. Would any one who really knew Lord Holland envy his 'happiness in his *great* dinners and *amusement* at my lady's whimsicality'? How did Mr. Torrens become acquainted with all these peculiar reflections and envies of Lord Melbourne fifty years since?

A few pages on, he quotes with approbation an extract from Haydon's diary for November, 1833:—

'The scene at the Lord Mayor's dinner was exquisite; the mischievous air of over-politeness with which Lord Brougham handed in the Lady Mayoress; the arch looks of Lord Melbourne; the supercilious sneer of Lord Stanley at a City affair, as he calls it. In the ball-room I said to Lord Stanley, Lord Melbourne enjoys it. There is nothing Lord Melbourne does not enjoy, said he. Can there be a finer epitaph on a man? It is true of Lord Melbourne, who is all amiability, good-humour, and simplicity of mind.'

But Lord Melbourne, it seems, had not given up hope:—

'He would try again, try on; but how? While he pondered, an unexpected shadow fell upon his path that looked like the realisation of hope long deferred. It proved illusory, and vanished into nothing, as out of nothing it almost seemed to come: *but it changed the whole condition of the man*, and served undoubtedly to hasten his advancement to the first rank in his party.'

What was this unexpected shadow which, although it proved illusory, changed the whole condition of the man?

'Late in August Mr. Greville mentions a party at Stoke, during which he asked the new Viscount if the rumour was true that he had been offered the Admiralty. "He said he had never heard of it." Yet the rumour had its significance.'

The significance was that the Duke of Clarence (soon to be William IV.) had just relinquished the post of Lord High Admiral,

Admiral, and it was of importance that he should be adequately replaced by a Board with a President who would command confidence.

‘That the ex-Secretary for Ireland, who had never been in the Cabinet, should hear himself talked of as a probable First Lord of the Admiralty in a circle closely associated with the Court, could not but sound like an augury of things to come.’

The reasons which induced Lord Melbourne to resign office under the Duke were still in full force. They had been confirmed rather than shaken. To suppose that he could be tempted by a higher office to abandon his principles and his Canningite friends, would have been more likely to be resented as an affront. He had never even heard of the rumour, but the bare mention of it by Greville changed the whole condition of the man, and was hailed as an augury of things to come!

We pass on to the formation of the Reform Cabinet. ‘Why did he’ (Lord Grey) ‘regard Melbourne as ‘most fit?’ Mr. Torrens’s answer to this query recalls the celebrated passage in Madame de Sévigné: ‘Je vous le donne en dix: Je vous le donne en cent,’ &c. After ringing the changes on various items of unfitness, and suggesting that Lord Melbourne (who, according to the same authority, had just been exalted to the seventh heaven by being talked of for the Admiralty) would probably have been satisfied with the Duchy or the Privy Seal, the explanation is that his fitness for the place seemed from the first to have struck Lord Holland.

‘His clear blue eye rested fixedly on Melbourne, and if any doubt had previously existed in the mind of the Premier it would have been dispelled by his advice, and the recollection that no one would be more acceptable personally to the King. What, then, were those distinctive qualities which recommended their possessor so irresistibly? William IV. liked him because, as he used to say, “he was a great gentleman;” by which he meant that under all circumstances he felt that he could appeal not only to his sense of honour, but to his generosity and genuine loyalty to the State.’

Lord Melbourne was a gentleman in the highest sense of the term, but he was not what is commonly called a great gentleman; he had not the air or manner of a *grand seigneur*. William IV. never liked him, and the words placed in the Sailor-King’s mouth are wholly unlike what he ‘used to say.’

What has been treated as an important (and turned out in one instance an unlucky) appendage to the new Secretary for the Home Department, was his private secretary, ‘Tom Young,’ who was misunderstood by Mr. Charles Greville and is misdescribed by Mr. Torrens: —

‘Young

'Young had been recommended to the Home Secretary by the Duke of Devonshire as a shrewd, handy sort of man, whom he had found as purser of his yacht more serviceable than men of better breeding. To his surprise, and that of others, Melbourne named him private secretary, and, as he said, made use of him as a weather-gauge when nicer instruments were off their balance. Had he checked the habitual bluntness of the man, or winced at his innate vulgarity, he would have been no longer useful. "Through him," he would say, "I am able to look down below; which for me is more important than all I can learn from all the fine gentleman clerks about me." By long sufferance Tom Young grew too familiar, not only with his chief, but with persons who could brook it less good-humouredly. But he was devoted, indefatigable, had a keen discernment of the foibles and oddities of his master; and, save on one occasion, served him sagaciously and well.'

Young had been a purser in the Royal Navy, from which he retired with an independence, travelled, and gained a footing on the outskirts of society. On the occasion of the Duke of Devonshire's special embassy to Russia, the functionary (Mr. Jones, of the Victualling Office) charged with the outfit was looking about for some one to undertake the general management of the commissariat arrangements during the voyage out and home, when Young was suggested to him and engaged. The Duke was pleased with him, invited him to Devonshire House, and recommended him to Lord Melbourne. Although neither refined nor cultivated, he was not vulgar, obtrusive, nor blunt. He had temper, tact, and fair average manners. He was a really good-natured fellow, always anxious to oblige, and eminently what the French call *serviable*. He had a numerous acquaintance, especially among active stirring people just below the upper stratum of society. Thus, he was hail fellow well met with the wire-pullers of the Reform agitation, with Place, Atwood, and Joseph Parkes; as well with Barnes of the 'Times,' Black of the 'Morning Chronicle,' and Fonblanque of the 'Examiner.' The state of affairs was critical, and a man of this kind was invaluable at the Home Office. No doubt Lord Melbourne learnt from him what he could not have learned from 'fine gentleman clerks;' but he had nothing in common with the 'Græculus esuriens' of Juvenal or the 'starving Frenchman' of Johnson; and we are quite sure that Lord Melbourne never sneered or winced at him, never talked of looking down below 'through him,' and never admitted him to anything approximating to intimacy or companionship so as to encourage undue familiarity. The words which Mr. Charles Greville puts into his mouth, and which Mr. Torrens tacitly adopts, are completely out of keeping with the character.

The

The only new fact supplied by the biographer—and we presume on authority—touching Lord Melbourne's participation in the Reform Bill, is his saying, 'I am for a low figure. Unless we have a large basis to work upon we shall do nothing.' In the debate on the second reading he made no attempt to justify his inconsistency: he frankly and fully admitted that he had been opposed to parliamentary reform, that he had even objected to giving the franchise to Manchester and Birmingham; but he contended that the declared will of the country left the Legislature no alternative.

His brother George, Under-Secretary at the Home Office, was as much given to the use of profane expletives as himself. The late Lord Ossington used to relate that, encountering Lord Melbourne when about to mount his horse at the door of the office, he called his attention to some required modifications in the new Poor Law Bill. Lord Melbourne referred him to George. 'I have been with him,' was the reply, 'but he d—d me, and d—d the Bill, and d—d the paupers.' 'Well, d—n it, what more could he do?' was the rejoinder. Half the point of this story is lost in Mr. Torrens's version, which makes the Under-Secretary d—n the clauses of an Education Bill instead of the paupers.

All topics of a private nature are treated with proper feeling and good taste by the biographer—we wish we could add, with accuracy. After tracing the origin of Lord Melbourne's acquaintance with Mrs. Norton—a delicate topic which subsequently became too important to be suppressed—he says that to celebrate her younger brother's birthday she asked to dinner, along with two of her husband's colleagues in the magistracy and some members of her family, Lord Melbourne and the author of 'Vivian Grey,' 'in whom she had recently discovered the son of her father's intimate friend.' A man more unlikely to be intimate friend of Tom Sheridan than Disraeli the elder, we can hardly imagine, but let that pass.

Young Disraeli was not long returned from his travels in the East, with traits of which he had interested her on the occasion of their first acquaintance. He had just then been defeated in an attempt to get into Parliament for the borough of Wycombe, where he attributed his failure to want of support by the Whigs. Mrs. Norton presented him after dinner to the Home Secretary, who had the power, she said, of retrieving the disappointment if he chose; and whose frank and open manner led to a long conversation, in which Mr. Disraeli mentioned the circumstances of his late discomfiture, dwelling on each particular with the emphasis which every young man of ambition since Parliament was invented is sure to lay upon the broken promises and scandalous behaviour of his victorious foes. The minister

was



was attracted more and more as he listened to the *uncommonplace* (just described as commonplace) language and spirit of the youthful politician, and thought to himself he would be well worth serving. Abruptly, but with a certain tone of kindness which took away any air of assumption, he said, "Well now, tell me,—what do you want to be?" The quiet gravity of the reply fairly took him aback—"I want to be Prime Minister." Melbourne gave a long sigh, and then said very seriously :

' "No chance of that in our time. It is all arranged and settled. Nobody but Lord Grey could perhaps have carried the Reform Bill ; but he is an old man, and when he gives up, he will certainly be succeeded by one who has every requisite for the position, in the prime of life and fame, of old blood, high rank, great fortune, and greater ability. Once in power, there is nothing to prevent him holding office as long as Sir Robert Walpole. Nobody can compete with Stanley. I heard him the other night in the Commons, when the party were all divided and breaking away from their ranks, recall them by the mere force of superior will and eloquence : *he rose like a young eagle above them all, and kept hovering over their heads till they were reduced to abject submission.* There is nothing like him. If you are going into politics and mean to stick to it, I dare say you will do very well, for you have ability and enterprise ; and if you are careful how you steer, no doubt you will get into some port at last. But you must put all these foolish notions out of your head ; they won't do at all. Stanley will be the next Prime Minister you will see.' "

The internal improbability, not to say absurdity, of all this must be obvious to any one who has the slightest knowledge of the two principal actors in the scene. It places both of them in a ridiculous light : the youthful aspirant not yet in parliament gravely replying, 'I want to be Prime Minister ;' and the Home Secretary as gravely explaining to him that the place was bespoken and that he had better think of something else. Can any one believe that Lord Melbourne spoke of Stanley in such terms? Who reported the dialogue to Mr. Torrens? To cap the improbability, Mr. Disraeli had stood as a Tory-Radical against the Whig candidate, Colonel Grey, at Wycombe, and was, as he always has been, the declared enemy of the Whigs. What really took place will be best prefaced by an anecdote in an Essay published in 1858, to which Mrs. Norton contributed and which she carefully revised.

' Many years since, a right honourable gentleman, who now holds a conspicuous position before the world, had recently returned from the East, when he was asked to dinner to meet Lord Melbourne, who good-naturedly turned the conversation on the manners and customs of the countries recently visited by this gentleman. "Your Lordship," he remarked, "appears to have derived all your notions of Oriental matters

matters from the 'Arabian Nights Entertainments.' "And a devilish good place to get them from," rejoined Lord Melbourne, rubbing his hand and laughing.\*

As the conversation proceeded, the gentleman, in a semi-serious tone, or in the proud consciousness of latent power which he afterwards expressed on a memorable occasion in the House of Commons, said that what he looked forward to was the Premiership. 'And I wish you may get it,' quietly observed Lord Melbourne. This is the sole foundation of the dialogue which Mr. Torrens reports in such detail.

His account of the action 'Norton against Lord Melbourne' is correct in the main, and we may as well dispose of it at once. The trial took place on the 22nd of June, 1836.

'The witnesses were chiefly discarded servants, nearly all of damaged character,† who had been, for a considerable time before, kept out of the way at the country seat of Lord Grantley, and none of whom professed to be able to swear to any circumstances within the three preceding years. At the close of the plaintiff's case, late in the day, the Attorney-General asked for an adjournment; but on an intimation from the jury, in which the judge also concurred, he waived the suggestion, and without calling witnesses proceeded to analyse the evidence that had been adduced. He branded the whole story as a tissue of fabrications which it was impossible men of discernment and impartiality could believe; and though his client was inadmissible as a witness, he was authorised to state upon the honour of a peer that the charge was entirely false. The judge left the issue fairly to the jury, who, without leaving the box, returned a verdict of acquittal. A loud cheer broke forth at the announcement, which was echoed by the crowd waiting without the court. At an audience next day William IV. cordially congratulated the minister on having baffled the machinations which, he did not doubt, had had their origin in sinister aims fomented by the meaner animosities of party.'

Still the evidence, such as it was, remained uncontradicted, and left on many minds an unfavourable impression, which would have been obviated by full knowledge. It was therefore most unlucky that the trial was not adjourned, and that witnesses were not called for the defence; for on collating dates, it appeared that during the entire period (two months) of the year specified by the servants, Mrs. Norton was suffering from a dangerous confinement and saw no one but her medical attendants and her family.

\* Hayward's 'Essays.' First Series. Vol. i. p. 261.

† Fielding says of one of his characters that, 'Not knowing what to say, she followed her instinct as chamber-maid and lied.' This instinct was strongly manifested by two of the female witnesses, who swore that Mrs. Norton was in the habit of rougeing; that she always put on rouge when Lord Melbourne was expected, and renewed it after he had gone away. One of the jury, who was acquainted with Mrs. Norton, told the writer that he needed nothing more to convince him that they were lying, lying spitefully and in concert.

According

According to the received code of honour, when a lady's reputation is concerned, a gentleman is bound to act like the loyal servant who (in 1716), when twitted with having sworn falsely to save Stirling of Keir's life, said he would rather trust his soul with God than his master's life with the Whigs. Lord Melbourne's solemn denial might not go for much, if he had not twice volunteered to reiterate it. Wilde (afterwards Lord Truro) was known to dislike undertaking a bad case, either from love of justice or haply because he disliked being beaten. When therefore he refused a brief for the defence—really because he had refused a retainer on the other side and intended not to act at all—Lord Melbourne, misunderstanding the motive, sent a message pledging his honour that justice and right were on his side.

Some years afterwards, when the Custody of Infants Act had been passed, Mrs. Norton resolved on applying to the Court of Chancery for her children, and it was understood that the application would be resisted on the grounds of moral unfitness. At all events, it was necessary to come prepared with affidavits negating the imputation of infidelity; and one day a friend of hers engaged in getting up the case, received a message from Lord Melbourne, with whom he was personally acquainted, requesting him to call the next morning early. Calling between ten and eleven, he found Lord Melbourne in his dressing gown and slippers in the act of shaving. 'So,' was the abrupt address, 'you are going to revive that business. It's confoundedly disagreeable.' 'You know, my Lord, that Mrs. Norton can't live without her children.' 'Well, well, if it must be done, it must be done effectively. You must have an affidavit from me. The story about me was all a d—d lie, as you know. Put that into proper form, and I'll swear it.'

The circumstances under which Lord Melbourne became Premier in July 1834, and was summarily ejected in the following November, although already made tiresome by repetition, could not well be omitted or glossed over in this biography; but we are utterly at a loss to know why twenty pages are filled with the contest for the Speakership in 1835—unless for the purpose of proving that Mr. Spring-Rice (afterwards Lord Monteagle) was aggrieved by being set aside and was a much more important person than (after he had held high office) he was commonly considered by his contemporaries. But it is one of Mr. Torrens's weaknesses—an amiable one—to go out of his way to do justice, or more than justice, to his personal friends; and a letter from Lord Macaulay (from India, August 11, 1834) to Mr. Spring-Rice is introduced apparently for the sole purpose of elevating that gentleman:—

'What

‘What shall I find you when I come back? Whatever you choose, that is my firm opinion. The game is in your own hands, and if you are not Prime Minister, or very near it, when I return—which will be, I hope, before the end of 1839—I shall say that you have played the game ill.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘But Stanley’s opinions are aristocratical, and his manners unpopular. Lord Althorp’s talents are not eminent; and either of them may any day be translated to the House of Lords. I see no man among the Whigs so well qualified as yourself, by talents for business and talents for debate combined, to lead the House of Commons—or, in other words, to rule the empire. Stick to the *Centre Gauche*. Gain their confidence, and you may do what you please. *This is the game that I would have tried, if I had remained in England.* It is a game which you can play, and which nobody now in the House of Commons can play but yourself.’

We cannot say that this letter lessens our distrust of Lord Macaulay’s judgment or brings us over to his estimate of his friend, who was a clever, bustling, thoroughgoing politician, and an amiable man, but not the metal of which Prime Ministers are made.

The chief difficulties which Lord Melbourne had to encounter on his resumption of the Premiership in April, 1835, were occasioned by Lord Brougham, who laid claim to the Lord Chancellorship; and O’Connell, who had been led to expect the Irish Attorney-Generalship. O’Connell bore his disappointment like a man of sense, and supported the Government as before. Brougham, after a short interval of suppressed irritation, broke out in a succession of intemperate sarcasms and diatribes against them. It was in reply to a brilliant display of this kind that Lord Melbourne rose and said:

‘My Lords, your Lordships have heard the powerful speech of the noble and learned lord, one of the most powerful ever delivered in this House, and I leave your Lordships to consider what *must* be the nature and strength of the objections which prevent any government from availing themselves of the services of such a man.’

This is one of the most crushing replies in the annals of debate, turning the adversary’s own admitted powers against him, leaving him in the position of the struck eagle who—

‘View’d his own feather on the fatal dart,  
And wing’d the shaft that quivered in his heart.’

A graphic description of Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords is given by Haydon:—

‘In the Irish Church debate the Duke spoke well, without hesitation, enforcing what he said with a bend of his head, striking his hand forcibly and as if convinced on the papers. He finished, and to

my utter astonishment, up starts Melbourne like an artillery rocket. He began in a fury. His language flowed out like fire; he made such palpable hits that he floored the Duke as if he had shot him. But the moment the stimulus was over, his habitual apathy got a head; he stammered, hummed and hawed. It was the most pictorial exhibition of the night. He waved his white hand with the natural grace of Talma, expanded his broad chest, looked right at his adversary like a handsome lion, and grappled him with the grace of Paris.'

On one occasion, exasperated by an unexpected move in party tactics by Lord Lyndhurst, he was provoked into saying: 'The noble Duke (of Wellington) would not have taken such a course, but *he* is a gentleman.' Lord Lyndhurst sprang to his feet: 'Does the noble Viscount mean to say that I am not a gentleman?' The offensive expression was instantly and handsomely withdrawn.

The years of Lord Melbourne's life to which he always looked back with unmitigated satisfaction, to which the biographer might point as the brightest illustration of his career, are those which intervened between the accession and the marriage of the Queen. If, as is universally agreed, no monarch, male or female, ever better understood or more conscientiously fulfilled the highest duties of a constitutional Sovereign, all honour to the sagacious high-minded counsellor who watched over her with parental care whilst those duties were new, and devoted his best energies to guide and confirm the inborn rectitude of purpose and elevation of character, by which the prosperity of a great Empire and the well-being of millions have been nobly upheld. It would be difficult to name a more impressive scene than that of the elderly statesman reading to the young and inexperienced Sovereign the verses in which Solomon, asked by God in a dream what he wished to be given him, replies:—

'7 And now, O Lord, my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in.

'8 And thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude.

'9 Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?'

On its being invidiously remarked to the Duke of Wellington that Lord Melbourne was a great deal at the Palace, the Duke sharply replied: 'I wish he was always there.' On August 24, 1841, the Duke gave his public testimony to this effect in the House of Lords:

\* 1 Kings iii.

" I am

“I am willing to admit that the noble Viscount has rendered the greatest possible service to Her Majesty. I happen to know that it is Her Majesty’s opinion that the noble Viscount has rendered Her Majesty the greatest possible service, making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the Government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the constitution, independently of the performance of his duty as the servant of Her Majesty’s crown; teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country.”

In his later years Lord Melbourne had doubts whether he had given the proper advice to her Majesty on the occasion of what was called the ‘Bedchamber question,’ in 1839. He admitted that he was unduly biassed by an unwillingness to blight the prospects of his followers: ‘I counted up more than two hundred of my intimate acquaintance, or their families, who would be half ruined and heart-broken by my going out.’ In reference to this affair, he said: ‘You should take care to give people who are cross, time to come round. Peel’s fault in that business, when he failed to form a Government, was not giving the Queen time to come round.’

Amongst the most curious of the scattered notices of Lord Melbourne, which Mr. Torrens has culled from various sources, are some passages from the ‘Memoirs of Haydon,’ to whom he sat for his portrait in 1832. The artist speaks of him as having a fine head, and looking refined and handsome. Finding him free and easy, Haydon turned the conversation on one of his own favourite projects:—

‘With regard to Art, he was afraid history would never have the patronage which portraiture obtained. Haydon said the Government alone could do it. The minister ejaculated, “How?” “First by a committee of the House, then by vote.” Melbourne was afraid selections might be invidious. The painter rejoined that the selected would be more likely to be envied than otherwise. He asked, had not sculptors had every opportunity, and had they generally done as well as they ought? Haydon replied “that they had not. But it was no argument, because one class of artists had acted as manufacturers that others must do so too.” Melbourne, “Then we shall see what a popular Parliament will do. If Hume is not against it your scheme may be feasible.”’

The scheme has been tried, but without the anticipated result of creating a demand for historical pieces, which, for obvious reasons, can never be equally in request with portraits. Calling one morning, in January 1835, Haydon found Lord Melbourne reading the ‘Edinburgh Review’:—

‘He began instantly, “Why, here are a set of fellows who want public money for scientific purposes, as well as you for painting; they are a set of ragamuffins!” “That’s the way,” said I; “nobody has any right

to public money but those who are brought up to politics. Are painting and science as much matter of public benefit as politicking? You never look upon us as equals; but any scamp trades in politics is looked on as a companion for my lord." "It is not true," said he. "I say it is," said I; and then he roared with laughter and rubbed his hands.'

Calling again on the 1st of March, he found Lord Melbourne reading the 'Acts,' in a quarto Greek Testament that had belonged to Johnson, given him by Lady Spencer:—

"Is not the world, Lord Melbourne, an evidence of perpetual struggle to remedy a defect?" "Certainly," he mused out. "I Milton says, we were sufficient to have stood, why did we fall?" Lord Melbourne rose bolt up, and replied, "Ah, that's touching on our apprehensions." We then swerved to Art.'

Controversial divinity and Ecclesiastical History were favourite studies. He astonished M. Van de Weyer by familiarity with the history of the Gallican Church, and resistance to Papal usurpation in 1682, when Bossuet played a prominent part. He had no predilection for science; there is a current story that, on being pressed to give Faraday a pension, he parried the application by pretending to mistaking him for an astronomer.

Asking how it was that Raphael was employed to decorate the Vatican, he was reminded that Raphael was a great painter. 'But was not his uncle, Bramante, architect to the Pope? was a job.'

His dislike of humbug, pretension and the affectation of knowledge, occasionally led him into the opposite extreme, gave plausibility to the good-humoured raillery of Sydney Smith:—

"Our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor. Instead of being an ignorant man he pretends to be, before he meets the deputation of tallow chandlers in the morning, he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young about melting and skimming, and then, although he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of pure Leicestershire tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould. I moreover believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing, and that his caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of Lycurgus of the Lower House (Lord John Russell). I am sorry to hurt any man's feelings and to brush away the magnificent fabric of levity and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our Minister of want of diligence."

What Johnson said of Thurlow was equally true of Lord Melbourne.

\* 'Life of Reynolds,' p. 308, note.

Melbourne: 'Sir, he is a fine fellow: he fairly puts his mind to yours.' But if you had no mind to put or be put to, the sooner you got out of his way the better. He had been induced to ask a literary man of note to one of his small dinner-parties by hearing that he was well versed in Massinger and Marlowe, with whom the gentleman had only a superficial acquaintance, but was ashamed to own it. 'There now,' was Lord Melbourne's comment, 'that fellow has been trying for half an hour to make me believe he knows a great deal of what he knows nothing. We won't have *him* again.'

On the breaking up of a Cabinet dinner at his house in South Street, at which the first step towards free-trade in corn, the substitution of a fixed duty for the sliding scale, had been settled, he called out from the top of the staircase to the retiring guests: 'Stop a minute; let's all be of one mind. Is it to lower the price of bread, or isn't it?' a point on which the political economists were then far from unanimous. Hardly a year before, he had declared in the House of Lords that any minister who tampered with the Corn Laws must be mad.

Mr. Torrens conveys the impression that the spirited policy of England in the Syrian question was entirely owing to Lord Palmerston. This was not so. When Thiers (October 1840) announced an intention to call out an extraordinary conscription of 150,000 men, Lord Melbourne wrote to the King of the Belgians to this effect: 'Thiers' announcement is a threat. By G—d! I won't stand it. If this goes on, I will immediately call Parliament together, and see what they think of it.' This letter was passed on to the King of the French, and the Thiers ministry came to a speedy end.\*

His patronage caused him an infinity of trouble and anxiety, because he was unfeignedly anxious to distribute it with an exclusive reference to merit and the public good. We find him in 1837 complaining of an epidemic amongst deans and judges; and 'as for the bishops, it was his positive belief that they died to plague him.' The judicial appointment most questioned was that of Baron Maule. His caustic wit had been freely exercised at the expense of his predecessors on the Bench, who protested against him as a colleague; and attention had been called to his habits by the fire at the Temple, which began in his chambers. But he had every qualification for a judge, except morals, which were a minor consideration from the Premier's point of view. On Maule's name being mentioned at a dinner party some time after the appointment, a celebrated beauty (not a Sheridan) looked up and asked with a lisp: 'Pray, Lord Melbourne, is that the

\* *Ex relations* Lord Palmerston, June, 1865. .



man you made a judge for burning down *the Tower*?' A part of the Tower had recently been burned down.

He was less scrupulous about blue ribbons, regarding them merely as means of rewarding or conciliating support, and careful only to avoid wounding vanity and self-love. He declined taking the Garter, saying that he did not want to bribe himself. There was a well-known reply of his to an Ear soliciting a Marquisate, beginning: 'My dear ——, how can you be such a d—d fool?' Referring to it when it got abroad, he said that he could understand people being anxious for peerages but not their caring so much about the grade; and he acted up to his principle by refusing an earldom. When a list of would-be baronets was laid before him, he exclaimed: 'I did not know anybody cared any longer about these sorts of things. Now have a hold on the fools.'

It is unnecessary to dwell on the defeat of his Ministry, and his resignation, August 28, 1841. From Her Majesty's Journals it appears that he betrayed no depression or chagrin: 'For four years,' he said, 'I have seen you every day; but it is so different now to what it would have been in 1839: the Prince understand everything so well.'

During the closing years of his life, he retained a keen relish for intellectual intercourse; and at the little dinners in South Street and Bolton Street, the fulness, richness, and piquancy of his conversation were as remarkable as ever. He preferred bold ready talkers when they had anything in them; and defended a lady who was thought too bold and positive, by saying 'That's what I like her for: she speaks out.' On being told that George Smythe (Lord Strangford) wished to be introduced to him, he exclaimed, with evident satisfaction: 'What do these young fellows want to know *me*? Bring him to dinner by all means.'

These young fellows did want to know him. It was valued, envied privilege to be admitted to his companionship. It was he who, with failing health, gradually withdrew from the world, not the world that withdrew from him. It was therefore with wondering incredulity that we came upon these passages of the biography:

'Throughout his long and chequered life Melbourne had had his sorrows and his troubles. But the greatest of his trials was to come in the sense of being neglected. Too susceptible not to feel, and too proud to masquerade in gay looks when his soul was sad within him he chafed daily at the indifference with which he was treated, not merely by the common herd of fashion, but by those who for years had compassed him round with blandishments of what he had taken for respect and attachment. For a time he tried to persuade himself  
the

that the numerous omissions to call were partly accidental. Some were sick, and some had gone abroad; some were time-servers and shabby dogs who had learned to trim, and were ashamed to look in the face their old patron: was he not better without them? But as weeks and months rolled on, and the bed of the once full stream of attention grew more and more dry, the hope of its ever returning again shrank within him.

\* \* \* \* \*

“One who truly and unalterably loved him found him in the afternoon looking more than usually dejected. “I am glad,” he exclaimed, “you are come. I have sat here watching that timepiece, and heard it strike four times without seeing the face of a human being; and had it struck the fifth I feel that I could not have borne it.”

He had only to say the word, and troops of admiring friends and affectionate relatives would have gathered round him. If Lady Palmerston had lived to be told that her idolised brother was abandoned or neglected when she was at the height of her social distinction and popularity! No doubt he had his moments of dependency, when it was painful to be alone. What highly gifted man or woman has not?—

‘Dearly bought the hidden treasure  
Finer feelings can bestow—  
Hearts, that vibrate sweetest pleasure  
Thrill the deepest notes of woe.’

But far from complaining of neglect and ingratitude, he has been heard to declare more than once that his long tenure of office had made him think better of mankind. Pitt, according to Wilberforce, had arrived at the same conclusion.

Lord Melbourne particularly prided himself on the part he had taken during the Reform Bill agitation in preserving order. Great, therefore, were his mortification and surprise when, at the trial of Smith O’Brien in 1848, a letter from Young to Sir William Napier was produced, dated Home Office, June 25th, 1832, sealed with the official seal, and containing these words:

‘Are you aware that, in the event of a fight, you were to be invited to take the command at Birmingham? Parkes got a frank from me for you with that view, but had no occasion to send it.’

The vexation caused by this incident certainly aggravated Lord Melbourne’s last illness. He died on the 24th November, 1848.

Differing on many points from Mr. Torrens, we recognise in him a man of undoubted ability, earnestly intent on raising an appropriate monument to one whom he esteems and admires.

But we must say that he has an odd way of setting about it. He is always blowing hot or cold: there is no average temperature

ture in his praise or dispraise. He leaves the impression that he never fairly thought out the character he has undertaken to delineate. Lord Melbourne may have been strong-minded or weak-minded, of a cheerful and hopeful, or a desponding and querulous disposition, but he could not have been all at once. Even as regards his qualities of statesmanship, the biographer seems unable to come to a definite conclusion.

In his Preface he says that the early impression made on him by Lord Melbourne 'has not been effaced by any combination of high qualities in the statesmen he has subsequently known;'—and he must have known all Lord Melbourne's successors in the Premiership. Yet in the body of the work (vol. ii. p. 98) we read:—

'It would be idle to claim for Melbourne the strength of will, the originality of resource, the knowledge of detail, or the unflinching eloquence, which in varying degrees characterised *most* of his predecessors and successors in the civil primacy. But he had a quality which they lacked, and which, at the juncture in question, tended in no small degree to bring about the unanimity wherewith it was agreed to have him a second time for chief of the party. He had no enmities and no enemies.'

Dating from the fall of Walpole, he had twenty predecessors in the 'civil primacy,' and fourteen of them were: Pelham, Devonshire, Newcastle, Bute, George Grenville, Rockingham, Grafton, Shelburne, Addington, Portland, Perceval, Liverpool, Goderich, Wellington. Will Mr. Torrens, after reading this list, reiterate his assertion that Lord Melbourne was inferior in essential qualities to most of his predecessors in the civil primacy? Or, if he does reiterate it, how is he to maintain the honoured subject of his biography in the proud position he has elsewhere claimed for him? But then the man who ended (we are told) by having no friends, had no enmities and no enemies. Is this a matter of congratulation or laudation? We incline to think with Sir Oliver Surface that it is not:—

'*Sir Oliver.* Everybody speaks well of him (Joseph)! Pshaw! Then he has bowed as low to knaves and fools as to the hono<sup>r</sup> dignity of genius and virtue.

'*Sir Peter.* What, Sir Oliver! Do you blame him for not making enemies?'

'*Sir Oliver.* Yes, if he has merit enough to deserve them!'

Lord Melbourne had merit enough to deserve both friends and enemies, merit enough to throw any co-existing demerit into the shade, merit enough to give him permanent rank as high-bred, high-minded, highly cultivated, thoroughly English statesman of whom the contemporary and every succeeding generation of Englishmen may feel proud.

ART.

**ART. IX.**—*The Reports from the Select Committees of the House of Commons on Public Business, with the Minutes of Evidence in the Years 1848, 1854, 1861, and 1871.*

**E**VERY autumn the Opposition newspapers point in triumph to the number of Bills introduced by the Government which they have failed not only to pass into law, but even to submit to discussion in the House of Commons.

Once it was a point of honour, that any subject recommended to Parliament in her Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne should be taken into consideration in the course of the Session, and that, unless the Government were defeated, the Act thereupon should be passed through both Houses; but it is many years since the full tale of measures submitted by the Government has been completed. To avoid the recurrence of this occasion for reproof, the programme of her Majesty's Ministers at the opening of last Session was prudent to excess, yet at its close the outstanding Bills were as numerous as ever, and Heads of Departments had to endure their habitual disappointment and undergo the regular routine of reproaches. That the losses of the Ins should be scored up as points made by the Outs is fair party fighting, but the nation suffers not a little in the long run from the constant delay of needful legislation.

If our parliamentary harvest be scanty, it is not that the labourers are few, for the number of members who take part in debate has greatly increased; and a strike, at least of the unskilled hands, is as little to be dreaded as overproduction. Since the last reform of Parliament there has been an immense influx of new and inexperienced members, who, although determined to talk, have never acquired the art of public speaking. This has most seriously diminished the power of the House to deal with business, just when the increased interest taken in politics and the universal aspiration after improved administration have augmented the amount of work to be done, and in consequence it happens that year by year important Bills, such as those dealing with local taxation and valuation, maritime contracts, and many other extensive subjects too numerous to mention, never receive any attention at all, but are brought in at the beginning of each Session only to be withdrawn at the end. Measures such as these, after infinite labour and pains spent in their preparation, become the despair of an industrious Minister and his hard-working staff. And yet their familiar names will no doubt next Session be heard again. Once more it will be hoped that time may be spared for their consideration, and their

their titles will encumber the Order Book day after day, until they become again the subject of rebuke instead of credit to their promoters. Every year some unexpected incident springs up to delay business, and now the new blight, 'obstruction,' like the Colorado beetle, threatens, if not decisively stamped out, to devour all that remains of our diminished yearly in-gathering.

Mr. Thomson Hankey, in a letter to the 'Daily News,' has severely blamed the Government for their bad arrangement of business: but surely the Government did not talk out their own measures; and if on every trifling matter the House, like Verges, 'will still be prating,' weighty measures must stand over and accumulate until time fails for their thorough discussion. We are reminded of a French peasant, who, being asked why his garden was so overrun with caterpillars, replied, 'Mais, Monsieur, voyez-vous? c'est le gouvernement qui est en faute.' Could not Mr. Thomson Hankey spare one of his remonstrances for his honourable colleague, and induce Mr. Whalley to enter the Society of La Trappe? That Government should meet Parliament with a plan of its own for preserving order and facilitating business, instead of trusting to a Committee to suggest one after long delay, is very sound advice. Had Mr. Hankey also distinctly urged upon them the advantage of pushing one Bill at a time through the House before taking up another, and drawn their attention to the fact that, whatever the character of the measure, amendments increase as the days run on, it would have been another word in season. No expression of dissatisfaction surprises us; but a member so old and constant in his attendance knows well, what the country ought to take note of, that the poor Government are allowed but two days a week to transact all the business of this mighty nation, and out of this scanty allowance they have to find opportunities for every regular attack on their policy, and to receive every minor assault that can be made upon them on Supply. Moreover, it is but bare justice to recal to mind that, as last season's harvest has fallen short for lack of sunshine and superabundance of rain, so the greater part of our parliamentary in-gathering has been drowned under ceaseless floods of small talk, illumined by no gleam of genius, gladdened by no flash of fun, nor matured by the fostering heat of a generous rivalry. All the warmth of debate has been of the heavy, oppressive, unwholesome sort; dull and disheartening to the Minister; wearisome, how wearisome to the watchful, silent member! What wonder, then, that the harvest is light; and now the clouds that 'did oppress our house' turn round upon the farmer and say, 'Why did you not carry a good crop of Bills?' May we not entreat the new electors of the  
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working classes, who wish to make choice of good men and true for service in Parliament, as Englishmen and lovers of fair play, to try and examine their representative, and mark whether he has talked little, and that little to the point? for there is no doubt that the present House of Commons, of their own special choosing, is the most garrulous which has ever sat in St. Stephen's.

We believe constituencies are furnished with a list, showing the number of divisions in which their member has voted. Could they not obtain fuller information, and learn how many times he has made careless, slipshod remarks? How often the House has had to listen half an hour, when, had he been animated by some slight regard for that precious commodity—Imperial Time—he might with very little pains have confined his meandering talk within five minutes, so that the Minister could have had a chance of dealing with the one or two solid suggestions, swamped in querulous verbiage, like Falstaff's half-pennyworth of bread in jorums of heady sack!

Old members apologise for intruding on the time of the House in the ancient spirit of respect, and several of the more cultivated of the new members do not neglect the traditions of the past; but the mass of new members returned at the last election have introduced a familiar, chatty style, unsuited to good work, and quite unworthy of what they love to call 'the first assembly of gentlemen in Europe,' an odd expression to bring into vogue just at the moment when there are many indications that the House of Commons exhibits a tendency to waste its whole strength in prescribing petty regulations, and to pass from a powerful political body into an overgrown vestry, overwhelmed with points of administrative detail. Far be it from us to say that members are not each and all gentlemen; but would we could style them all practical men and good men of business, or dare avouch that they exhibit just those special qualities that the country was taught to expect from the representatives chosen by the new constituencies. When the cry goes up that measures cannot be passed, is it all the fault of the Ministry of the day, and has the House of Commons nothing to answer for? Speech is only silver. Passing small change from hand to hand wastes precious minutes. Could we not resume payment in gold?

Then the House attempts to prescribe regulations, on the assumption that a judge cannot be trusted to make rules or appoint officers in his own court; that a Secretary of State, advised by his permanent Under-Secretary, cannot arrange the clerical staff of his department; that the complicated machinery  
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of sanitary and other local laws must be set forth in an Act of Parliament, the endless clauses of which must inevitably consume weeks in Committee. How can members express surprise that Parliament should have no time for its proper functions? Nothing is to be left to the judge, nothing to the Minister, nothing to the local authority. The House of Commons is not only to supervise all, but to do all; and ought then, in justice, to be responsible for all—an hourly-changing body responsible for innumerable acts all performed beyond its purview! By the Common Law every office-holder is bound duly to discharge his duties. He is responsible to a superior, who, in turn, is directly responsible to Parliament. Yet, last Session, clauses were put into the Prisons Bill directing medical officers when to visit the prisoners, and twenty other such details. This is only a specimen of the sort of things on which the House fritters time away. They are done, not because it is right, but to satisfy somebody. In this case it happened to be Mr. Parnell. The House will next prescribe how chaplains are to preach; soldier drill; sailors hand, reef, and steer. These duties should not be left undone; but the machinery to secure their fulfilment is not an Act of Parliament. The House has ceased to be content with laying down the guiding principles, the leading rule which the country used to expect the responsible Ministers to see carried out by the local authorities, to whom regulations of detail should be left. The House wants to play all parts, like Bottom, and have the lion's share in everything, as well as the lion's legitimate part of roaring the night through.

But it will be said the great waste of time in the last Session was caused by that little knot of seven members described by the barbarous expression, 'Irish Obstructives,' or 'Obstructionists.' We thought that the name of a 'man,' even if an Irishman, was still a noun, and that a substantive would be more elegant than the adjective 'Obstructive.' Have we not the mover, seconder and supporter of a motion? Why not, then, the obstructer? As for the term 'Obstructionist,' it has such distinguished newspaper and other patronage, that we can only hand it over to the judgment of Lord Sandon, and the leading educationists of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education.

It is but too true that the Irish Seven, encouraged by impunity, made a woeful and ever-increasing waste of the time of the House; but whoever has glanced at the Order Book of the present House of Commons must have noticed, long before obstruction was invented, the quantities of amendments put down to almost every clause of every Bill; amendments that often neither considered with care nor made consistent with  
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other clauses ; placed there, not in order to improve the law, but to please the whim, sometimes even of a single constituent, and consequently recommended to the Committee in a half-hearted manner by a loose string of words ; and often withdrawn, to the evident relief of the mover, after the waste of half an hour. Unprepared speeches and impracticable amendments have been the bane of the present Parliament, and it is to practices such as these that Mr. Parnell has devoted some years of study. Is it then surprising that his misdirected talents should have discovered to what an extent such evil example was capable of expansion and improvement ?

If seven Irish members have misbehaved, and misbehaved with impunity so long, is the House in no degree responsible for the conduct of its members ? And if the House is not absolutely responsible for their acts, it certainly is for its omission to enforce order. Is the High Court of Parliament the only Court in the realm incompetent or incapable to keep order within its own chambers ? What would be thought of a judge who suffered any usages of pleading to be so abused as to cause a constant miscarriage of justice ? The House has deputed so little of its authority to its officers, that the country must hold it responsible for the proceedings that are allowed to go on within its walls.

Let us trace the course of just a few of the events of last Session. The first signs of the new Irish policy were shown in a misuse of what is known as the half-past-twelve rule. This rule was first adopted in 1872. By it any member could give notice of opposition to any Bill or motion against which he desired to speak at any length, and then such Bill or motion could not be brought on after half-past twelve, and the opposer was saved the fatigue of sitting up time after time on the chance of the subject being brought on late at night. The rule was so convenient to opposers that it became very popular, and it narrowly escaped being made a Standing Order at the beginning of last Session. From the outset, however, it was liable to abuse. Debate on the first Order would often be kept up simply to prevent some Bill being reached before half-past twelve, and members would oppose their opposer's Bill, to which they had no genuine objection, merely to force negotiations for the withdrawal of real opposition to their own Bill ; and a distasteful amendment would be met by a notice blocking a Bill on a totally different subject. But besides this discreditable bartering of motions, purporting to be for the improvement of the law, the rule practically handed over the power of the House to a single member. The body which had been jealous of trusting its Speaker with sufficient



sufficient executive authority to suppress disorder, quietly handed over a full veto on any or every proposition to the least regarded of its members. That such a rule was not notoriously abused for five years, is a strong testimony to the public spirit of members.

The proceedings of last Session show that this rule might be used almost as effectually as the famous 'Nie pozwalam' of the Polish Diet. There a single dissentient voice could prevent any alteration in the laws of Poland, which were the fundamental birthright of every free citizen. When the Polish nobles became aware of their danger from the permanent standing armies of the surrounding military monarchies, there was not wanting a large patriotic majority to support measures for raising a disciplined and truly national force; for reforming the relations between lord and serf; and for fixing the Crown once more in a royal dynasty: but Russia always bribed an obstructive party to cry 'Nie pozwalam,' and was ever ready to support the confederation of that party in arms. Our limited right of 'Nie pozwalam' half an hour after midnight, suggested to a small minority, about a fifteenth part of the members for Ireland, the immense misuse of the forms of the House through which they still hope to make necessary legislation impossible, and so to wring their own terms from the embarrassments of the Government and of the House.

Let us state the proposition which Mr. Parnell endeavoured to demonstrate last Session by practical arguments. If seven Irishmen can show themselves unfit for free institutions by making parliamentary government at Westminster impossible, then it follows that a Parliament composed exclusively of Irishmen sitting in Dublin, must render Ireland healthy, wealthy, and wise. The Saxon mind refuses to admit the inference, and happily hitherto fourteen-fifteenths of the representatives of Ireland have shared the Saxon difficulty. Soon after the half-past-twelve rule had been re-enacted for the Session, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar began handing in notices of opposition against any and every Bill in the Order Book; on one occasion we counted twelve such notices on the morning paper, on another eight, on another nine. These Bills related to every variety of matter, but few of them affected Ireland; many were not Government Bills, and most were for objects obviously useful. Then on a certain Wednesday, Mr. Chaplin, member for the agricultural county of Lincoln, moved the second reading of a Bill to protect the life and limbs of labourers working on threshing-machines; a measure of two or three clauses, providing that these machines should be licensed, and that the licensing authority should see that

that an efficient guard was put up between the machinery and the labourer engaged in placing corn in the receiver. We forget whether it was twelve or twenty honest fellows, on an average, in each year who, as Mr. Chaplin told the House, got caught in the rapidly-revolving wheels, and were cruelly mangled, maimed, and even killed for want of some simple precaution.

Mr. Chaplin's proposal was greeted with a murmur of approbation by the House. Then up rose Mr. Biggar and deliberately talked out the Bill. Why? That is yet a mystery. We have heard it attributed to personal dislike. Could any member justify such a course to his conscience? Is it probable? The member for Cavan and the member for Mid-Lincolnshire sit on opposite sides of the House, frequent widely different social circles, and probably never see each other outside the House and its approaches. Was it an experiment to see how much the House would stand? The remarks of the member for Cavan afforded no explanation of his conduct, for they were rarely audible and, when audible, were not intelligible. One allegation only was understood. The measure did not apply to Ireland—a reason for extending and not for destroying the Bill.

Of course there was nothing original in the fact of talking out a Bill on a Wednesday, but the manner was entirely novel; that device was never before used in such an open undisguised fashion. There was no pretence of argument, no plausible objection was offered to its consideration, yet the House, neither at the moment nor in connection with subsequent events, ever took any notice of this incident.

Against the next stage of the measure Mr. Biggar of course put a 'stopper,' as, for brevity, the notice of opposition is familiarly called, which brings a Bill under the half-past-twelve rule and effectually blocks its further progress. In vain the friends of the agricultural labourer represented to the member for Cavan that the only reason why the Bill had not been extended to Ireland was that threshing-machines were scarcely in use there, and that no case of injury had been brought under the notice of the promoters; but if he, or any other member from Ireland, desired it, they would be most happy, by an amendment in Committee, to extend the Bill to that country. As this offer was not accepted, and the Bill was pertinaciously blocked during the whole Session, the country can judge of the validity of the one objection offered by the member for Cavan.

We do not believe the public have ever been made aware to what extent working members were harassed and business delayed. The most necessary and harmless measures, which in other Sessions would have either passed wholly without comment,

ment, or would have drawn forth some terse and practical criticism from such members as had made the subject their special study, were received with distrust and declamation by these lynx-eyed Obstructors, who denounced every Bill as bad, and then said they had not read it. One would insist upon a Minister explaining the provisions of a Bill; but, before the Minister could rise, another would spring up, and say it was too late to hear the explanation; or if the Minister was quick enough to make his explanation, it was too late to allow a Bill of such importance to proceed. Thus, in idle wrangling, the hours from half-past twelve till two, and later, were consumed, and measures which were practically and really unopposed, and which in business-like times would not have occupied five minutes, were worried night after night, and not passed after all. It was astonishing how long it was before this form of obstruction made an adequate impression even upon the majority of the House, and yet the explanation is very simple. These proceedings were scarcely ever reported by the Press, and if by chance they were, few of the absent members or of the public had leisure to bestow upon them.

Not quite consistently with such conduct, the Obstructive party proclaimed themselves champions of early rising, and so well have they promoted that good cause, that through their action, and their action alone, the House sat very much later last Session than in any other on record, save one. A return moved for by Mr. Pease demonstrates, that for late sittings the only Session which can compare with that of last year is the Session of 1871, when Mr. Gladstone, anxious to complete the Education Scheme for Great Britain, endeavoured to push the Scotch Education Bill through Parliament in the month of August, the English Bill having been passed earlier in the same Session. Mr. Speaker Denison, we believe, never got over the effects of those long sittings, and it was that painful experience which led to the establishment of the half-past-twelve rule. Even before that extreme instance, the prolonged debates had wrung from the late Speaker the complaint that the practice of sitting so late turned what ought to be a most honourable service into an almost intolerable slavery. Now in 1877 the House sat later than in 1871. And how were the small hours spent? Not, as under the guidance of Mr. Gladstone, in the hope of completing an important national work; but, in despair at the defeat of all business, great and small, the House lay struggling under the nightmare of obstruction.

It was during the prolonged discussion of the Prisons Bill that Mr. Parnell lighted on the fortunate discovery which has won  
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him and his party so much credit with many who entirely disapproved of his general conduct. He brought under the notice of the House the length of the periods for which the punishment of solitary confinement was permitted. Mr. Parnell made himself the most eloquent advocate of a more lenient rule, and at once acquired the active support of the advanced Liberals below the gangway. The Government, after pointing out that the term named in the Act was an outside limit, and that the full extent of the punishment was rarely inflicted, accepted the amendment.

We are very anxious to do justice to Mr. Parnell in this matter, as we are exercising our English right of freely criticising his public conduct, and we would draw this moral from his success, that if his reasonable proposal was not only dispassionately considered, but willingly and promptly adopted both by the House and the Government, where is the necessity of persistent obstruction?

Mr. P. A. Taylor received the support of the Obstructors in his annual attack on the 'flogging clause' in the Mutiny Bill. Mr. Taylor boldly stated that insubordination and mutiny were only provoked by the harsh conduct of the officers, and were never likely to spring from want of acquired self-control, even among the most boyish of our 'jolly tars.' We wish to apply this argument to H.M.S. 'St. Stephen.' Last year persistent and aggravated insubordination broke out on board that fine old vessel. Is Admiral Brand, therefore, an overbearing tyrant; Sir Stafford Northcote a harsh martinet; or the Marquis of Hartington a bitter disciplinarian, commanding fearful obedience from all his men? We thought the gallant captains of our starboard and larboard watch had exhausted the arts of persuasion, not to say flattery, in endeavouring to smooth down the wilful spirit of our mutineers. But no; mutiny existed, therefore the officers must be in fault.

To the mind of any less advanced Liberal than Mr. Taylor it would occur that it might be for want of some prompt punishment to check insubordination on its first appearance, that for nigh three months the good ship rolled about in the doldrums, and never fetched a mile of headway. We cannot venture to recommend the flogging of members of Parliament, but we require some means less cumbersome than a twenty-six hours' debate, and less extreme than the prolonged imprisonment of the mutineers, to keep the national ship under command, and to work her forward on her daily voyage.

On the 2nd of July, Army Estimates were considered in Committee of Supply. The votes for the Reserve Forces were discussed,

discussed, and agreed to; but it happened that the debate on the last of these votes was concluded just as the clock struck half-past twelve. The Chairman proceeded to put the question, but, as the voices were being taken, Mr. O'Connor Power rose, and moved to report progress, as it was two minutes too late, according to his principles of early closing and the law which he meant to impose upon the House, to take the vote and put the last touch to the labours of a long night. One hundred and twenty-eight members declined to leave the night's work unfinished. Nine members supported Mr. O'Connor Power; and the Opposition, though soon reduced to seven, persevered and kept the House sitting till 7 A.M. The majority then gave way; Mr. O'Connor Power and Mr. Parnell cheered their own success, and went home exulting in the thought that they had forged a chain for the British lion, and had nothing further to do than to lead him tamely round the world.

As Napoleon knew no misgiving after Ligny, so now the intrepid Irishmen moved confidently forward, as to an assured success, to destroy the next measure of the Government.

The South Africa Bill afforded an excellent occasion for their favourite tactics. Territories scattered across a continent inhabited by half-a-dozen coloured races—the annexation of the Transvaal Republic, with an area equal to that of an European kingdom—were extensive subjects indeed, and offered an ample field for a rambling debate. The Secretary for the Colonies had declared that the passing of the Bill was of capital importance to the peace and prosperity of South Africa, so that the defeat of the Bill might be supposed to be an injury to the Empire. The measure was supported by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, the late Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Liberal Government, and by Mr. W. E. Forster. Two nights of debate—one on the second reading of the Bill, another before going into Committee—had exhausted, and more than exhausted, all fair reasoning on the subject.

In the meantime the Obstructors had covered the paper with amendments to almost every clause and line of the Bill, with the scarcely disguised object of defeating the measure by delay. The Committee was prepared for much, but it certainly was surprised at the course pursued. Once more, however, with wonderful forbearance, it endeavoured to listen while the new member for Dungarvan asked the House to adjourn the Bill until the arrival of delegates from South Africa; and alleged the misgovernment of Ireland, in old times, as a reason why the Colonies of South Africa should not now be allowed to confederate for self-defence; defended the kidnapping Boers; compared the probable future

future of the Zulu and Kaffir to that of the so-styled 'subject race' in Ireland; and at last entered on the principles of parliamentary government generally, and on the rules of debate in the German, French, and other foreign Chambers. In vain the Chairman, with unwavering courtesy, called this nine-days'-old member to order. While preserving outward deference to the Chair, he persisted in repeating his offence. The member for Dungarvan was succeeded by the member for Meath, and he by another Obstructor, and so the ball was kept going, till at last the indignation reached its climax when Mr. Parnell rose, and was understood to say 'that he gloried in his obstruction, for he had made it impossible for the House to come to any decision on the proposition of the Government,' and expressed '*his satisfaction in preventing and thwarting the intention of the Government in this respect.*' The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose amid a general uproar, such as has rarely been witnessed in the House of Commons, and moved that the words should be taken down; but in the confusion only recalled to memory so much of the words used as are shown in italics. Many members, wearied by the tediousness of so many hollow debates, had quitted the House, and at this critical moment were scattered about the building, at luncheon, or on the terrace, or in the library, but by the time that Mr. Speaker had resumed the Chair and received the report of the words taken down in Committee, although the front Opposition bench was without a tenant, the House presented a tolerably full appearance for a quarter before three on a Wednesday afternoon. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then made his complaint to the House, and the Speaker called on Mr. Parnell to explain his conduct, after which that member was directed to withdraw.

Then the Speaker reminded the House of what was the common law of Parliament, in these words: 'The House is perfectly well aware that wilful and persistent obstruction of the business of the House is a contempt of the House, and any honourable member so offending is liable to the censure of the House, to suspension from the service of the House, or to commitment, according to the judgment of the House;' and, resuming his seat amid loud applause, left the conduct of the member for Meath to the judgment of the House; whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the Leader of the House, moved the following resolutions:—

'That Mr. Parnell, having wilfully and persistently obstructed the business of the House, is guilty of a contempt of this House.'

'That Mr. Parnell, for his said offence, be suspended from the service of the House till Friday next.'

Whereupon Mr. Speaker proposed the question on the first of these resolutions.

Then Mr. Whitbread, who deservedly enjoys great influence from his long experience and conspicuous ability, interposed, and begged the Government, as the House was now engaged in a judicial proceeding, to grant an adjournment, in order that the sentence of the House might be passed with unanimity and deliberation. He prefaced this appeal by declaring that the patience and temper of the House had been tried almost beyond endurance, and that, consistently with its own dignity, the House could not allow its proceedings to be persistently and deliberately interrupted; and added the timely caution, that obstruction could never be dealt with 'by a mere tinkering of the forms of the House.'

The suspension of Mr. Parnell, merely for a couple of days could only have been proposed to give time to prepare in concert a deliberate judgment on his conduct, and it is unnecessary to dwell on the conversation which ensued before the motion for adjournment was agreed upon; but to show how ready many eminent Liberals were to support the Government in repressing obstruction, it will be well not to omit the rebuke of Sir William Harcourt. The member for the city of Oxford said, 'that the proceedings of the Obstructors were not for the purpose of discussing the Bill, but for the purpose of defying the authority of Parliament, of bringing the House of Commons into contempt and of destroying that great engine by which the British Empire was chiefly maintained.'

We venture to express a doubt whether further forbearance and delay were necessary. The offence was notorious, often repeated, committed in full publicity in the face of the court which had to judge it. The words taken down were wisely allowed to drop, but why have they delayed to repress, if not to punish obstruction? Why have they sacrificed the public interests of the Empire to the tenacity of enemies, who out of the House announce that they pursued a policy, not of reconciliation but of retaliation? In England we do not punish words, but overt acts; yet, if at public meetings a man happily describes his own acts, may we not censure his conduct according to his own description? The Government, by the proposed resolutions—the eminent Liberals by their speeches—expressed their opinion that a grievous offence had been committed. The House ratified that opinion. Why were the offenders then suffered to escape scot free, only to renew their offence? Fear of public opinion out of doors was alleged. Surely this is pusillanimity, not forbearance; want of practical sense, not policy. What! when the leaders of both sides agreed

agreed, and are supported by ninety-nine hundredths of the House, are they afraid of public opinion out of doors? Is the House of Commons, then, no representative of the British People? Do not leave such a boast to the Irish malcontents!

If we have the greatest diffidence in regretting the course adopted by the House on that Wednesday afternoon, we have none in lamenting the change of front made by the Government. In spite of the warning of the member for Bedford, the Government on the following Friday, the 27th of July, proposed to the House two new rules of debate. Mr. Parnell's plea on Wednesday had been—'If I have broken your rules, condemn me under your rules. If your rules are too weak, make them stronger.' It is dangerous to take advice from a foe, but the Government adopted the counsel of Mr. Parnell in preference to that of Mr. Whitbread. We took some pains to inquire whether the new rules commended themselves to the judgment of experienced members of the House; and, as far as we could ascertain, Mr. Parnell is the only person out of the Government who was ever heard to express approval of them. With something of prophetic strain he is reported to have exclaimed, 'Why, these rules won't touch us, but they may catch Mr. Whalley;' and catch Mr. Whalley they did, sure enough, while Mr. Parnell drove his six-in-hand 'slap' through them.

The first of the new rules is intended to restrain speaking against time, by keeping a member to the question; and yet it gives the offender, after he has been twice called to order, a vested right to a fresh speech in explanation of his misconduct, during which he contrives to re-say all he has said before, and to give reasons for saying it. What a mode of limiting irrelevant talk! Surely, if such a rule is to be workable, it ought to be made the duty of the Speaker or Chairman, on the third offence, at once to propose the question—Is it your pleasure that Mr. Blank be further heard on this Bill or motion? In the Italian Parliament the process is simple and direct. There the Chair has authority to order a member, on the third offence, to resume his seat, and calls on the next speaker. This rule has worked so well, that it has been continued on the advice of the Committee which revised their rules in 1876.

As to the second rule; of what efficacy in Committee can be any limitation of motions for delay, if that limitation is confined to one and the same question only, seeing that a fresh question arises on every amendment, and an amendment may be proposed, and very often quite properly, to every phrase, and every word of a clause?

The Committee on the South Africa Bill sat again on Monday,  
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the 30th of July, when, after a whole night spent in sham debate, a few lines only of progress were made in a Bill of fifty-six clauses. Since neither remonstrance nor forbearance would induce the Obstructors to yield, the Government resolved on a very extraordinary course, which was pursued on the following day. The House met, as usual, at four, and passed the whole evening in Committee on the South Africa Bill; the usual fustian about Irish wrongs of the last century was run off the reel, producing the usual irritation. The usual irritation kindled the usual confusion and disorder. Rebuke, remonstrance, and interruption, as on other occasions, by giving intermission to their efforts, provided the Obstructors with needful repose. Many divisions were taken, in which the minority, including tellers, waxed and waned between eight and five. The Obstructors issued their usual imperious mandate to report progress about midnight, when Mr. Fawcett expressed a hope that there was no truth in the rumour that the Government had determined to keep the Committee sitting even till eight o'clock in the morning to finish the Bill. The Obstructors cheered the announcement, rendered confident by their own triumph early in the Session, and the remembrance of those of former minorities. However, when towards three in the morning the Chairman was relieved, and the place hitherto occupied by the ever-ready and imperturbable Mr. Raikes was filled by the form of the indefatigable Mr. W. H. Smith, they began to experience an uneasiness difficult to conceal; and no sooner had a third Chairman taken the Chair, than Mr. Parnell jumped up and said, he, too, had reinforcements in reserve; that he had telegraphed to Ireland, and the first mail-boat would bring over new adherents. Brave words! which helped to keep up their hopes until about six in the morning, when, after a night of wrangle and recrimination rather than of debate, after the gas had long been put out, and under the chill morning light the pale faces and rumpled dress of the lounging parliamentary revellers told of fatigue, there came dropping in, one by one, neat, shaven, and fresh as the morning dew, a hundred and twenty honourable gentlemen, who proceeded to take their accustomed places. Then as cheer upon cheer broke forth from the night-watchers, the affected confidence of the Obstructors became visibly disconcerted. For the first time, doubt of their ultimate triumph perturbed their spirits, and was confessed in ludicrous complaints that 'It was not fair.' They desperately redoubled all previous provocation, and at last the youngest of the party, whose years could not greatly exceed in number that of the weeks he had been in Parliament, was put up to tell the  
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House of Commons that he had not entered on that course of obstruction without calculating the consequences, and he should be obliged if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would tell him what those consequences might be. He heard every member saying something ought to be done, but no two agreed as to what should or could be done, and he had come to the conclusion that nothing would be done. Personally, they liked the Leader of the House; he was very courteous; but then he was so lacking in firmness, that they felt they had nothing to fear. The indecorum of this taunt did not provoke any response from Sir Stafford Northcote, but the rebuke came from the lips of an honourable opponent. Sir William Harcourt rose, and said he would explain to the honourable member why the House had shown them so much patience. It was to give them rope enough. It was forbearance, though they had failed to value it, and the consciousness of overwhelming power which had stayed the heavy hand of the House. Mr. Gray seemed as incapable of appreciating the character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as of comprehending the power of the House. The state of Sir Stafford Northcote's mind with regard to obstruction was long that which theologians define as 'invincible ignorance.' He could not believe in such a monster as mere obstruction. In a long official life he had often encountered obstinate resistance from passion and prejudice, but resistance for some object. Many dragons and chimeras dire had he conquered with the knightly weapons—candour, kindness, and perseverance; and when his favourite arms found no penetrable stuff in the thick skin of this new Hydra, he could not readily betake himself to others, and hesitated long to beckon Talus to lay on with his iron flail. In spite of all that had gone before, Sir Stafford Northcote made one last appeal to this minority of seven to yield to the desire of the House, and to allow the examination of the remaining clauses to proceed. This appeal was accompanied with expressions which, though obviously intended to make a golden bridge for a flying foe, were received with marked disfavour by the Committee. But the foe, detecting the 'least taste in life of blarney' in the soothing words of the Chancellor, far from flying, utterly rejected the overture. They mistook once more forbearance for weakness, the harbinger of submission. For the last time their faces gleamed with hope, and they renewed their defiance. 'Now touch us, if you dare!' To this the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied with a quiet dignity, which soothed those who had been offended by his more than lenient remarks:—'That the House would act, though not at the time that they should dictate, but at such time

time as the House should select, and that would be when the House was full, and the proceedings would have the weight of a general assent.'

The great object of the Government in acceding to the adjournment on the previous Wednesday had been to gain the unanimous support of the leaders of the Opposition, so that whatever action it might seem proper to take, that action should be taken by the entire House, and the country should know that the Obstructors had been proceeded against, not by the Ministry of the day, nor by one political party, but by the collective House of Commons. It had been arranged, therefore, to take proceedings only in a full House. Lord Hartington, who had promised to be present, happened on this eventful day to be out of town, but having received advice of what was going on, he at once hastened to redeem his pledge. He was expected to be in his place about half-past one, and at that hour it was intended that the long-suspended sentence of the House should be pronounced. This arrangement, if in its origin of a confidential character, had long ceased to be secret; and some one must have made it known to the tenacious seven, for about half-past twelve, after all their annoying obstruction, all their taunts, all their patriotism and self-glorification, the member for Dungarvan got up and announced their surrender, stating that, though he was determined to resist the wishes of the Government, he had no intention of opposing the general wish of the House; and as he now saw that the House desired to proceed with the Bill, he would reserve his remaining amendments for a later stage. On this statement comment would be wasted. The first time the Obstructors were met with a firm front they gave way.

After nineteen hours of interruption, the Committee resumed the consideration of the clauses, and in less than two hours concluded its labours on the South Africa Bill. Then the House, to mark its determination to fulfil its allotted task, proceeded to go through the remaining Orders of the day, and advanced several Bills a stage; so that in something less than six hours from the time obstruction ceased, the House had concluded a good day's work, as in the happy times before Mr. Parnell patented his continuous brake, and brought the heavily-freighted parliamentary train to a permanent standstill. Thus ended the longest sitting in living memory, and we believe in the experience of our sires and grandsires. For twenty-six hours and a-half the House had sat without a moment's intermission.

As in every other crisis of history, many curious and amusing legends sprang up about this notorious sitting; but alas! these  
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were the work of idle men at some comfortable club on the other side of St. James's Park. One we will tell as a specimen, and because we understand that it is believed in the provinces that such lively flashes of wit frequently illumine the dull hours of debate. It was fabled that an Irish baronet, weary with watching and warm with whisky, counting too much on the unreadiness of a volunteer Chairman in the small hours of the morning, boldly rebuked a recalcitrant countryman as something more than a fool; and on being called on to withdraw the expression, murmured that it was 'only a quotation;' whereupon the Chairman said, 'Whether the remark of the honourable member be explained by a "quotation or potation," it is equally inadmissible, and I must beg him in future to mind his *p's* and *q's*.' Alas! no such pleasantries as this alleviate the tedium of vain repetitions. Lever is no more, and the merry creatures of his fiction have perished with him, at least they do not frequent St. Stephen's. If constituents would only consider how the most agreeable society, the most delightful music, palls after three or four hours, how the tired senses flag and refuse their office, then they would realise the desperate boredom inflicted on their representatives, who sit out nineteen hours of obstruction; then they would appreciate the long-suffering of the House. It was the sense of work to be done that used to nerve the House to sit so late. Take away that stimulus, and what remains but exhaustion of body and mind?

Those who had loyally supported the Government through the labour and heat of that memorable night, inquired eagerly what course Ministers intended to take against the Obstructors, and many expressed an opinion that impunity would restore their confidence in a bad cause. Other members, chiefly those who regularly passed their nights in bed, expressed great relief in the expectation that now nothing need be done. Popping the head under the bedclothes is the approved way of conjuring away an imaginary danger. But supposing the danger be real, is it brave or loyal to desert the rest of the household? However, nothing was done; and though, during the remainder of the Session, obstruction never again assumed such formidable proportions, still it frittered much time away in petty annoyance, and blocked many Bills before it sank at last into the insignificance from which it sprang.

Whoever has watched the civil war waged during the autumn by Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar against Mr. Butt, and has marked the unqualified approbation which the former receive from many quarters, must be perfectly well aware that obstruction,

tion, in whatever form it may arise, must be dealt with vigorously and promptly at the very beginning of next Session.

What is the secret of the popularity of the Obstructors, and why did their friends in Ireland take such interest in their conduct on the Prisons Bill? Neither Mr. Parnell nor the Irish peasantry have any particular interest in common criminals and their flannels, but many an Irishman had a friend in the late Fenian conspiracy. Not a few covet the crown of martyrdom, if it could be made quite easy and pleasant; so from many quarters in Ireland comes the humanitarian mandate: Increase the comforts in all prisons, and claim special indulgence for political prisoners. It is worth noticing that the efforts of the Obstructive party were always in favour of the breakers of the law. Criminals at home, mutineers at sea, kidnappers in South Africa, all these are to be dealt with tenderly; but when it comes to honest Hodge and his threshing-machine, let the whirring wheels go round unguarded and cut him into collops—he has no claim to Obstructive sympathy.

What is the use of blinking the truth, that these members are sent to Parliament by a section of Irishmen profoundly hostile to Great Britain, who, acting on the maxim, 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity,' endeavour to bring about that opportunity? Hindrances of needful reform, embarrassments in the public service, dangers to our fellow-countrymen in distant colonies, what are they but English difficulties and Irish opportunities?

These gentlemen are not amenable to British public opinion. They do not frequent our social circles. The repulsion their conduct excites does not affect them. The only public opinion they regard is that of the portion of their fellow-countrymen most disaffected to the British Government. How then could the Leader of the House of Commons hope to win them by appeals such as he might confidently address to his honourable rivals for public office?

The delusion shared by many members when they separated for the recess, that obstruction would die out of itself, or that it could be charmed away by some magical alterations in the rules of the House, to be discovered by a Committee, must have been dissipated by the proceedings of the autumn.

The success of the two new rules was not encouraging; besides, there have been Committees enough, the evidence tendered before which teems with suggestions for facilitating business. No doubt the Government should weigh their recommendations in the recess, but it should meet Parliament prepared to deal promptly

promptly with obstruction, from whatever quarter and in whatever shape it may arise. The incidents of last Session were so entirely novel, that the surprise of the House in a great measure accounts for its unreadiness to deal with them. But this excuse cannot be twice offered to the country. Many useful changes may indeed be made in procedure, and we shall venture to suggest a few ; but it is not by newfangled rules of debate that the House can put down obstruction. Obstruction is an offence entirely new in English history ; but, as for other offences, the punishment should fall on the offenders, and on no one else. Surely it is false in principle to limit the rights of six hundred and fifty law-abiding representatives, because seven abuse those rights. If even Sodom was to be spared for the sake of ten just men, is it fair to visit the sins of seven on the whole House ? Why is the vast majority of the Irish members and all the British to be cabined, cribbed, confined, on account of so insignificant a minority ? Such an attempt would be a triumph to the Obstructors. Moreover, it would be entirely futile, because no restriction, which would not be hurtful to business and altogether intolerable, would be of any avail against the ingenuity of the perversc.

Supposing a dozen mischief-makers, jealous of the enjoyment of her Majesty's lieges in Hyde Park, were to strew the Broad Walk with branches broken from the trees, or open umbrellas in the face of the horses in Rotten Row, would you place restrictions on promenaders and forbid the riders to trot, save under the guard of a policeman ? No ; you would not sacrifice the law-abiding many to the lawless few ; you would catch the delinquents and punish them. If you would thus protect the pursuers of pleasure, how much more are you bound to protect Parliament in the transaction of the business of the nation ? What right have you to sacrifice any further the interests of the public to the indulgence of that timid sentimentalism which threatens to paralyse the vigour of our race ? It is that shrinking from action which has fostered the agitation carried on by Mr. Parnell through the autumn. The Speaker has stated what is undoubtedly the common law of Parliament : 'That any member who wilfully obstructs the business of the House is guilty of a contempt of the House.' Every competent court is itself judge of what is a contempt of its authority. How then should action be taken ? The Speaker has of course the power of naming a member to the House ; and in flagrant cases of obstruction, as of other disorder, he should name the offender to the House ; but since obstruction is essentially a cumulative offence, we think that any member might be entitled to rise to order

order and move: 'That Mr. Blank is guilty of obstructing the business of this House'; and if it appear to the Speaker that it is the pleasure of the House that this question be proposed, he shall forthwith propose it. The accused member, after being asked if he desires to offer any explanation of his conduct, shall be directed to withdraw, and the question shall be at once put without amendment or further debate. If it be carried, this second question ought at once be submitted to the House: 'That Mr. Blank for his offence be suspended from his duties in this House for one month, and for such further period until he shall have made his submission to the House, and have given assurance that he will not so offend again.'

Though every member would have the right of instituting this proceeding, practically the right would only be exercised by the Leader of the House, or by some member of great experience acting in that capacity. In case the offence occurred in Committee, it would be the duty of the Chairman to propose the first resolution under the same conditions as in the House; and he would report that resolution, if carried, to the House. If, however, it were not convenient to make the report immediately, the passing of the first resolution ought to have the effect of suspending the offender from attendance on the Committee until the House should have pronounced its judgment in the matter; that judgment would be given by a vote on the second resolution, which would be proposed at the next meeting of the House.

If this plan were adopted, it would be the fault of the erring member if he did not recover his position after a very moderate time for reflection; and should he make a feigned submission in order to sin again, he could then, with public approval, be suspended for a longer period. Expulsion is too severe a penalty for a first offence; and besides, in some cases, it might lead to a triumphant re-election, and the wreathing of that martyr's crown so earnestly aspired to by the mischievous demagogue. If it is urged that the constituency would at all events lose the services of its member for a month, we answer—it is just it should suffer some inconvenience. The Royal Writ directed it to return a fit and proper person to serve in Parliament; and if, in gratification of whims of its own, it has chosen to return an unfit and improper person, it has no just ground of complaint. Liberty has its duties as well as its rights. The constituency should either recal its representative to reason, or petition Parliament for a new writ. Such a petition, if genuine, would receive due consideration; and the House, if satisfied of the *bona fides* of the memorial, might expel the

the obstinate misdoer, grant the writ, and give the electors an opportunity of correcting their error.

If it is urged that, when party spirit runs high, a majority might vote anything to be obstructive, and so put to silence troublesome opponents, we answer, We must and do rely on the justice of our countrymen, which alone can be our ultimate safeguard. Why, if an unjust spirit should come to prevail in Parliament some hundred years hence, of what avail would be our rules? Of course then down would go freedom and all else we cherish, in whatever way we attempt to deal with obstruction now. Instead of providing against remote contingencies, it is our duty to deal practically with the emergency of to-day. Unless the acts of obstruction were notorious, the offender incorrigible and taken red-handed in the act, is it likely the House would pass the two resolutions? Surely last year the House was not rash in punishment. Members know well that their conduct will be proclaimed and canvassed by the press in every corner of the three kingdoms, and their sentence will in turn be judged by public opinion, and if the spirit of justice ever depart from the nation, it is in vain to invent safeguards in Parliament. Is it feared that the rights of minorities will be sacrificed? Let us explain what are those rights of a minority which the House is wisely anxious to preserve intact. A minority is justified in demanding an adjournment if a Bill is forced on when, from some sufficient cause, the members best informed on the subject are absent; if time enough has not been granted for the details of a measure to have been mastered by the House and the country; or if the Opposition may fairly hope, within a reasonable delay, by further expounding their arguments, to alter the judgment of the House or of the country on that measure. In the name of common sense, what have the tactics of Mr. Parnell to do with cases like these? But if you tamper unwisely with the rules of debate, you may unawares put the rights of a minority in jeopardy.

There is a suggestion we should like to make, with reference to proceedings in Committee, where obstruction may be made most plausible. We would recommend, in order to avoid the necessity of recourse to such a clumsy expedient as a twenty-six hours' sitting, the adoption of a rule found effectual in the United States, which gives the promoters of a Bill an appeal from the Committee to the House. In America, if a Bill is being talked out in Committee, the promoters put down a motion for a future day in the Order Book, which is entitled to come on before other business, and runs thus: 'That on (say) Friday next at five o'clock the Committee of the whole House shall be discharged



discharged from the further consideration of the Bill intituled ———, after having taken the question on the several amendments then pending, or that may be then offered, without debate.' If this motion be carried, it becomes the duty of the Chairman, when that day and hour arrive, immediately to stop discussion and to put the question upon the pending, and any other amendments, only allowing the mover of each of such other amendments five minutes to explain its purport, and then to report the Bill to the House.

This would be quite enough; but in America the House sometimes exerts its authority a second time. On the consideration of the report, the promoters move the previous question, and, if that is carried, the Bill is forthwith considered as amended, and the vote taken on any amendments without other debate than the five minutes allowed to the mover of such amendment. On neither of these occasions are motions for delay admissible.

This rule does not seem to give more than due power to the House to deal with its own business and restrain factious opposition. If the opposition were substantial, there would be so much difficulty in passing the motion for closing the Committee that it would not be worth while trying to do so.

Leaving now the weary subject of obstruction, let us consider whether, without altering the rules of debate, some facilities may not be given to the passage of Bills through the House. Are there not too many occasions of debate? Why, after the affirmation of the principle of the Bill on the second reading, should there be another discussion, going over exactly the same grounds, on the question, That Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair, before going into Committee? and *à fortiori*, why should a third discussion be permitted in Committee on the question, That the preamble be postponed? Surely, if the House has once affirmed the principle of the Bill, that is enough. You do not want the same arguments three times over. If the House is to preserve its character as a place of business, after affirming the principle of a Bill, it should proceed straightway to settle the terms of its provisions, the proper work of Committee. The House would then review the amendments made in Committee on the report, and if any important argument should have been omitted on the second reading, it could be urged at this stage, or subsequently on the third reading; and as a Bill can be recommitted at any stage, any oversight or blunder which might possibly occur, even after this double revision of its provisions, can always be corrected. Besides, there is this other safeguard, that a measure has to be passed through all its stages in the other House

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of Parliament. The debate on going into Committee seems therefore quite superfluous. This change was recommended by the Committee on the business of the House in 1854, though not then adopted by the House. It is only an extension of the rule of progress which has worked so well. The line of reform hitherto chosen by the House has been the abolition of superfluous questions on the stages of a Bill, and this is but one more step forward in the same direction. The new rule would run thus:—

‘That when the order of the day has been read for the House to resolve itself into Committee of the whole House (except the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means) to consider any matters to them referred, Mr. Speaker shall forthwith leave the Chair without any question put, unless an instruction to such Committee be moved, and then the debate shall be restricted to the question on such instruction.’

We also respectfully submit this further rule to consideration:—

‘That in Committee the preamble shall stand postponed, and no amendment thereto shall be received, except for the purpose of making it in harmony with the Bill as agreed to by the Committee.’

The adoption of the first of these rules would get rid of two loose practices—one by which a member often persuades the House to pass the second reading on trust, engaging to fix the Committee at some time more favourable for explanation; this enables the advocates of such measure in the country to boast, in after years, that the Bill was read a second time without opposition—the other, that of committing a faulty Bill *pro formâ*, for the purpose of recasting it. This is allowed now, *per misericordiam*, to save two debates on second reading, but, if the debate on going into Committee were abolished, the member would be in just as good a position if he withdrew his faulty Bill and submitted the improved measure to a second reading in a regular way. Moreover, this rule would facilitate another desirable change, that of separating the sittings of the Committee of the whole House from those of the House itself. If the Committee of the whole House had power to fix its own meetings, and to adjourn from time to time, it might begin its labours in the morning early in the Session, as soon, indeed, as a Bill was ready for its consideration. It would make its reports to the House at a convenient time, probably at the commencement of the evening sitting. This would bring about a division of labour between Mr. Speaker and the Chairman of Committees; and those members, whose constituents were not particularly interested in the Bill under

under examination would gain some respite from attendance. The Committee on a Bill of the first importance could still be taken at an evening sitting. If the Committee sat twice a week from twelve till four, it would not be necessary to postpone the meeting of the House beyond half-past four on those days.

As to the second rule, we believe only twice in twenty years has a genuine debate on the principle of the Bill arisen on the question, 'That the preamble be postponed.' Considering how many opportunities there are for debate, ought not these rare advantages to be renounced in favour of the reasonable progress of everyday work?

We have already spoken of the half-past-twelve rule, and, whatever other changes may be adopted, we trust that rule is doomed. It has failed utterly in securing its ostensible object, the adjournment of the House at a reasonable hour; indeed, it has been worse than inefficient. The return moved for by Mr. Pease shows that, on comparing the six years which preceded its adoption with the six years since it has been in force, the House has sat altogether fifty-four hours longer after midnight under the rule than without it. Moreover, it is liable to unnoticed as well as notorious abuse. Instead of a hard-and-fast rule, might not some such arrangement as this be recommended by the Leader of the House as an honourable understanding to be observed by gentlemen sitting on both sides—that, except in cases of emergency, no fresh business, if seriously opposed, should be begun after midnight; but that, if the member in charge of a Bill were in a position to say, either that there was no substantial opposition, or that he had effected a compromise with his opponents, such member should be allowed to proceed until opposition actually arose; and if after half-past twelve a question of difficulty provoked any long discussion, the debate should be adjourned? We believe an arrangement of this kind would be calculated to save those miserable wrangles about the hour, which keep the House up later than any business would do. Unopposed or slightly opposed business would be gradually advanced, and the House might adjourn about one o'clock, with something gained, instead of after two, with nothing gained and with much loss of temper and dignity.

But there is an object to be attained, more important even than restraining needless debate, namely, to secure certainty as to the subject for discussion; and neither of these objects can be attained, without some modification of the rules regulating the Committee of Supply. At present the only thing certain is uncertainty. Not merely can any grievance or other matter be brought on as an amendment, on going into Committee of Supply,

Supply, but the rules which govern the precedence of Notices on Supply are so complicated, that few members know which amendment of the twenty or thirty on the paper is entitled to stand first on any day. Thus, if the Government give notice, even for a Monday, when there is some restriction, of (say) the Education votes, the House may find the subject intercepted by an amendment relating to the pensions of the Irish constabulary, or the conduct of our Ambassador at Constantinople; and, be the subject of the amendment large or small, no mortal can tell how long it will occupy. Last Session the dismissal of a badly-behaved Irish constable occupied nearly four hours. The merits lay in a nutshell; but out of that little husk reams of talk were drawn, and the House was prevented from discussing Estimates by such a paltry cause. The difficulty of dealing with this acknowledged evil has arisen from the reluctance of the House to invalidate the principle, that the redress of grievances should precede the grant of a supply. We do not wish to tamper with that principle, nor to prevent the grievance of the meanest of her Majesty's subjects from being examined at a convenient opportunity. The Supplies, however, are not out of the control of the House until the Appropriation Bill is passed at the end of the Session. If one day a week (Friday) were reserved for the discussion of miscellaneous grievances on Supply, surely the principle would be amply recognised by a fifth of the time of the House being dedicated to its maintenance. On the other days of the week, to secure the due examination of the Estimates, amendments on Supply should not be admissible, unless they referred specifically to some one or other of the votes to be taken on that day; so that, if the Government gave notice (say) of Irish Education Estimates, the amendments relating to Irish Education Estimates should alone be considered: when the British Museum vote was taken, any amendment on that vote. By this means the House would know what it was going to do, and would set about it at once. Some further regulations on Supply are, however, necessary; and first to prevent a double discussion upon the same question. On the first day of going into Army and Navy Estimates no amendment should be moved, and the Minister should speak first, and explain to the Committee the general policy of the Government, and criticism should follow on that exposition. At present the process is reversed: every officer, inventor, and shipbuilder in the House makes his recommendation. Last of all comes the Minister, and announces the scheme for the year, and shows that half the recommendations have been already adopted, and on the points in controversy the discussion has to come all over again another day.

day. Moreover, if the Committee on the first day would consent to grant the votes which appeared to be unopposed, the trouble of a vote on account at Easter would often be saved.

At present, Supply is so overlaid with amendments that whole classes of estimates are not reached till the end of the Session. We think after a certain date, say May 1st, no fresh amendments relating to the annual estimates should be received. Of course the time limit would not apply to supplementary votes, if presented after Easter, and we think votes on account and excess votes of past years might reasonably be taken, without being intercepted by an amendment on going into Committee. We do not think these facilities would be too great, when it is recollected that Government has but two days a week to conduct the complicated business of this great Empire. Independent members have more time allotted to them than the Government, and they would do well to aim at winning greater facilities for themselves, instead of withholding them from the Government.

The precedence of the motions of private members is settled by the irrational method of a ballot, at which the Irish members always fill half the numbers, obtain the priority, and after all grumble that no time is given to Irish affairs. Might not the Committee of Selection, which consists of eminent and experienced members of both parties, determine the precedence of motions, at least on Tuesdays, under an instruction from the House to consider the urgency of the case, the efficacy of the remedy proposed, the number of persons interested, and generally the interest of the public in the matter? If Wednesdays in June were reserved for Bills which had already been read a second time, some private members would have a chance of passing their measures; and if the better practice were revived of taking the discussion on Bills of Principle, as for example the 'Ballot Bill' of old days, and the 'Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill' of recent times, on the order of leave, instead of on second reading, it would avoid the scandal of a talking-out on Wednesday, and ensure a division, to say nothing of saving the expense to the country of printing a thousand copies of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's most familiar measure. But why weary the general reader with more technical matter? Those who take a practical interest in the subject will find the evidence given before the Committees on Public Business, especially those of 1848 and 1854, abound with recommendations. We have pointed out those facilities which, we venture to think, would be most beneficial for the regular transaction of business. As for obstruction, it is in our eyes an offence under the  
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common law of Parliament. The penalty we have suggested would be swift, sure, sufficient for prevention, and no more. The Obstructors should not be allowed the slightest suffering to boast of, nor the smallest shred of palm-leaf to bear. Were, however, sentence to be passed on the old theory of justice, and the punishment proportioned to the wantonness of the offence and to the mischief of the intended consequences, we hardly know what penalty would adequately express the indignation of every lover of liberty at an attempt to paralyse the usefulness of the most venerable National Council of free citizens in the world. But just as we have wisely softened the medieval law of high treason, and treat attempts on the life of the Sovereign as freaks of insanity, so we would regard this extravagant enterprise as the delusion of a disordered fancy, and meet it with the mildest form of efficient restraint.

While these pages were passing through the press, we learned that Mr. Parnell had found imitators in the French Chamber. That Assembly has at once revived a regulation imposing the penalty of imprisonment on persistent offenders. Want of courage is not the fault that critics are wont to find in the conduct of M. Paul de Cassagnac, but the mere show of firmness has sufficed to nip Obstruction in the bud. Usually we are little inclined to look to Paris for lessons in parliamentary procedure, but we are glad to note the success there of a course though much more severe, yet similar in spirit to that which we recommend: nor is our satisfaction diminished when we reflect that this promptitude has been shown by a Chamber which has much more reason than the House of Commons to be jealous of freedom of speech and in which the Liberal party has an overwhelming majority.

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- ART. X.—1. *Despatch from Lord Derby to Count Schouvaloff.*  
May 6, 1877.  
2. *Despatch from Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.*  
May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1877.  
3. *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* By  
Theodore Martin. Vol. III. London, 1877.

THE critical position of the war in the South-East of Europe, and the more marked position which, in the negotiations for peace, England may be forced to take up, has impelled the Government to anticipate, by three weeks, the ordinary meeting of Parliament, and to summon the representatives of the nation to meet a few days hence. At such a moment it specially

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behoves us to take account of our position ; to weigh well the probable announcements of its rulers to the nation ; and to choose the course which our own action shall follow in this grave crisis.

It might have been supposed that, if there was one act which, at a crisis like the present, would have met with ready acquiescence on the part of an Opposition, it was the resolution to summon the representatives of the nation to take counsel upon the dangers that seem to threaten it. If they are real, they may thus be faced ; if false, thus best dispelled. It is in accordance with the spirit of our constitution that at such a time the powers of Parliament should not be in abeyance. If there was any one section of the nation committed more thoroughly than another to maintain this truth, it was the Liberal party. For once they were asked to put in practice those maxims which they have made trite by reiteration. Nay, more than this, it is little more than a year ago since many members of that party, in the press and on the platform, were bringing charges of unconstitutional and high-handed action against the Government for not summoning together Parliament at a far more unusual season, and at a far more delicate, though more hopeful, juncture. The progress of diplomatic arrangements, before a resort to war, may be interrupted by those rumours to which unusual action may give rise : but the onward march of conquering armies is subject to no such nervous shocks, and wearied combatants will not prolong their struggle on account of the distorted interpretations placed on a constitutional act. But the traditions of our constitution, their own oft-repeated reiterations of Parliamentary responsibility, the very outcry which they themselves raised a twelve-month ago, have all as little effect on these self-constituted critics as the gravity of our present crisis. The Government did not think it necessary to summon Parliament in the autumn of 1876 ; therefore the non-summoning of Parliament was at that time wrong. The Government has found it expedient to summon Parliament three weeks before the usual time in 1878 ; therefore the summons is rash, is ill-timed, may create wrong impressions, may have this or that meaning which any gossip of the hour chooses to affix to it—it matters nothing what circumstances may be, it is wrong, and is to be virulently opposed. This is the sort of argument that we must suppose these critics of the Opposition to follow.

Yet, gossip and irresponsible rancour apart, it would surely not have been hard to account for the resolution at which the Ministry have arrived. As soon as Parliament meets, the question for the nation will be taken out of the hands of irresponsible critics.

critics. Factious comment will no longer be accepted abroad as the expression of the views either of the nation or of its chosen leaders. With a sense of relief we feel that after the 17th of this month there will be a channel through which the voice of the nation can express itself with authority: and that, by the meeting of the nation's representatives with its rulers, the tittle-tattle of the gossip-monger will die a speedy death.

More than this, Parliament will meet, as might also have been presumed, because the Eastern Question, which has long been most prominent in our minds, has now reached a new stage and appears under a new aspect, in which it is right that it should be laid before Parliament. We can no longer rest with entire security on assurances anterior to the war. We must trust to our own watchfulness to guard against any infringement of our rights. But, besides this, even those who have been most ardent in their desire, that the policy of England should be shaped by nothing but a consideration of the state of the subject provinces of the Porte, must by this time feel that the question has distanced any such consideration. The issue which we have now to decide is not whether we shall run the risk of perpetuating Turkish misrule, by resisting encroachments which profess only to be directed to the destruction of that misrule. That was the question before us last spring. Now we have to make up our minds whether we are prepared to set any limit on the extent of the encroachments which Russia, when she has destroyed that misrule, may be disposed to make. This is a question which surely no maxim of international law prevents us as a nation from considering, and on which every rule of constitutional procedure makes it right that the representatives of the nation should be taken into council.

There is no occasion to suppose, and no reason to believe that the Government have changed the policy which they have clearly enunciated on several occasions. They have stated both to the Russian Court and to the House of Commons that they mean to preserve a strict neutrality between the belligerents, so long as Russia does not trespass upon the British interests which she has promised to observe. There is therefore no fear of the Government hurrying the country into war without cause. But if we decide now, as we have decided before, that there are limits beyond which we cannot stretch our forbearance, and terms of negotiation which we cannot countenance, then we must face a stern prospect. The steps, which if taken by others might land us in war, are not long or impossible. The ardour of a spirited nation has been fed by conquest: that conquest is carrying it directly in the path where it must soon come into collision with



our treaty rights : are these rights to be an obstacle to further advance or not? The issue is a very simple one : it would be false sense of security that would persuade us it is necessarily distant one. It may become necessary, though we trust the necessity will not arise, to ask Parliament to vote supplies for the provision of the material of war. These are grave and serious prospects ; but that such proposals may have to be laid before Parliament is but a necessary sequel to the exercise of its functions by Parliament at this moment in any form whatsoever.

Such are the reasons, we may assume, that have prompted the resolution of the Government to anticipate the usual time for the opening of the Session. From both sides of the House we may confidently hope for dispassionate and patriotic deliberation. Of the grave charge, which we brought three months ago against certain leading members of the Liberal party, there is not one word which we can modify or withdraw and we cannot expect in the coming Session to escape the extremes of factious conduct into which partisan bigotry may betray its devotees. We recently read, with a strong sense of its truth, in a letter from the late Mr. Nassau Senior, the remark that 'the foreign relations of a country are the points on which an Opposition is generally most unscrupulous and most mischievous.' Experience goes far to verify the truth of these words, and they have not wanted confirmation during the weeks that have just passed. Mr. Bright, in a letter published in the 'Times' of December 29th, thus expresses himself : 'I do not think we shall have war, for the country is for peace, and the Government has no ally. The Administration may not be a wise one, but it must bend to circumstances. It has, as a Government, no interest in war ; for war would soon destroy it.' It would be difficult to find, in all the bitter annals of political controversy, words more 'unscrupulous and mischievous,' and we will add more unworthy than these, in the mouth of any statesman who has a reputation to preserve. According to Mr. Bright's words, if the Government agree with him, it is because they are acting from base motives : if they disagree with him, it is because they are fools.

But the general voice of Parliament may surely be trusted at a time like this to set aside party jealousy and to weigh the interests of our Empire and of international justice with candour and gravity. On the eve of a deliberation so momentous, it is well to weigh with the utmost caution the present position of affairs, to estimate their effect upon our own interests, and to learn the lesson of the past in its bearings on our own conduct

duct in the future. We can in the main foresee what our leaders will have to tell us, the direction which their proposals must take: it is not for Parliament only, it is for the nation also to make up its mind on the answer with which these proposals shall be met.

Fortunately we have had freshly presented to us, at a most opportune moment, a striking picture of a parallel epoch in our history. The account of the events, the forebodings, the feelings, of those threatening years from 1854 to 1856, so skilfully presented to us by Mr. Theodore Martin in the third volume of his 'Life of the Prince Consort,' makes that volume take a far higher rank than even those that have preceded it. It not only abounds with points of biographical and historical importance; it is a legacy to the nation of one who served her well in his lifetime, and whose words, if duly weighed, may be of incalculable assistance to her now. Mr. Martin's work has not fallen below the level of his subject. Without degrading the book by dragging it into the arena of party contests, he has yet managed to draw distinctly, though with calmness and moderation, the lesson to be learnt from the words of the Prince Consort, as well as from the events of those years. He shows, with no bitterness of invective—for the most part using the very words of prominent Liberal statesmen of the day—the dangers that were felt to be involved in the encroachment of Russia. From the beginning to the end of the volume we feel that we are in the presence of a calm judge, who has no party ends to serve; and all the stronger, therefore, is the impression of the irresistible teaching of events. We shall endeavour, as opportunity occurs, to draw from the words of the Prince some lessons bearing directly on the present position of affairs, and on some of the proposals that are current for the settlement of the Eastern Question in its newest phase. These lessons are far too important to be neglected in any attempt such as we now venture upon, to consider in all its bearings the result of our recent policy, and to lay down the lines of negotiation or of action which we should follow in the future.

When the Eastern Question forced itself with special urgency upon the attention of Europe, rather more than two years ago, there were certain objects as to the desirability of which all the great Powers were tolerably well agreed. But there was much difference as to the manner of accomplishing these ends, as to the time when they should be undertaken, and as to the sacrifices and dangers which ought to be incurred for their sake. We agreed in desiring to put a stop to Turkish misrule; but it  
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was essential that this work should be carried out by a European concert, as the dangers inseparable from any but joint action were far greater than the worst evils to which misrule could give rise. But it soon became clear that this was precisely the difficulty which had to be faced; that there was one Power prepared now to carry on the same consistent course of encroachment based upon specious pretexts of intervention in the interests of the Christian subjects of the Porte, which it had followed for more than a century. 'The Emperor of Russia,' are the words of Lord Derby's letter to Lord A. Loftus of May 1st, 1877, 'has separated himself from the European concert hitherto maintained, and has at the same time departed from the rule to which he himself had solemnly recorded his assent.' The European concert was embarrassed, and conjoint insistence on reform in Turkey had for the time to be laid aside. Again the old stumbling-block had stood in the way, and Russia insisted on her right of independent action.

In these circumstances a choice of courses was open to us. We might—a few rash spirits then thought that we should—have joined with Russia in her breach of the European concert. It is enough to suggest the position in which such a policy would have placed us at this moment. Already in her success the adherents of Russia are openly professing that she is absolved from the self-denying clauses in her declaration of war,\* and that she must claim that plunder which we had suspected to be her chief motive for intervention. Where then would England have been, as the ally of Russia? Would she have shared in the plunder, or would she have prevented the plundering intent of her ally? Had she taken the former course, how would it have been defended by the loud assertors of what they call national morality? And had she resisted, what sort of spectacle would it have been for Europe, that of the rash disturbers of the peace quarrelling over their gains? What chance would there have been for the amelioration of the Christian provinces, when one of the ameliorators wished to advance, while the other was fighting to check any further advances? All this is no matter of doubtful and hazardous conjecture: it is as certain as that the passions and desires of humanity are permanent factors in all human affairs.

Our next possible course would have been to have made ourselves from the first the upholders of treaty rights and of international law, and to have resisted any attempt to settle by force

\* 'Rhetoric apart, nobody now supposes that Russia will adhere to her profession of disinterestedness and forego the conqueror's claim to compensation.'—*Times*, Dec. 26.

of independent action what was a European question. Such a course would have gratified none of that ambition for which hitherto the difficulties in the East seem specially designed to provide food. It would not even have given to any one nation the specious honour of having put an end, purely in the interests of humanity, to traditional misrule. It would probably have had the effect of clearing the way for a solution that might have dispensed with the slaughter and the thousand miseries of the year just closed. It is needless now to discuss the reasons why such a policy was not carried out.

Russia, then, was left to choose her own line of action ; and for us there remained but two courses open, that of absolute, and that of conditional neutrality. With interests so various as those of our Empire, it is hard to say under what circumstances an absolute neutrality would be possible to us in respect of any war in almost any corner of the globe. The conditions of our interference might be remote ; but there is no continent in which we are not in some sense the guardians of civilisation, responsible for order, interested in the maintenance, and injured by the disturbance, of commercial relations. But if there ever was a region in which, by treaty obligations, by Imperial interests, by solemn responsibilities, we are directly and most of all concerned, it is in South-Eastern Europe. A war cannot arise there without the necessity being imposed upon us of distinctly and unequivocally laying down the conditions of our neutrality. An absolute neutrality in such a case is nothing but an abandonment of all that the dignity, the duty, the honour of the Empire demand.

The Despatch of Lord Derby of the 6th of May last did, accordingly, contemplate such conditional neutrality, and laid down in terms which admitted of no equivocation, and which met with the approval of every section of the nation to whose opinion any significance was to be attached, the conditions upon which our neutrality was to be dependent. From these we cannot now, without abdicating our Imperial position, afford to recede. They form a position which events may cause to be assailed, but which, nevertheless, we cannot surrender. There is, so far, fortunately, no room for argument or variety of opinion : as soon as events threaten these positions, it behoves us to be on the alert, if we would not suffer our National Declarations hereafter to be more worthless than the paper on which they are written. From this firm basis, then, we have to examine the prospect which recent events compel us to face, either as the spectators of war, or as assessors in negotiation.

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The very marrow of the question, it must be clearly understood, lies in this—are the rights secured by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and by the renewed Treaty of 1871, to be set aside without the opinion of the signatories being so much as asked? By these treaties no change can be made in certain arrangements in South-Eastern Europe without the consent of all the contracting Powers. These arrangements are more or less evidently threatened: and one of the contracting Powers is in a position to settle the re-arrangement after its own way. It shows no disposition to consult the others, and pretty openly threatens that any interference is to be resented. Are we then to submit to the evasion of our treaty rights; or are we to make it plain that we intend, and at the same time are able, to defend these rights if attacked? If we submit, is there much use wasting time and paper in drawing treaties hereafter? If we are resolute, is there any reason for any Power considering itself injured thereby?

It is worth while to call attention to some of the provisions of these treaties, by which Russia is bound to us as one of the contracting parties.

By Article VIII. of the Treaty of 1871 it was enacted that '*The High Contracting Parties renew and confirm all the stipulations of the Treaty of March 30, 1856, as well as of its annexes, which are not annulled or modified by the present Treaty.*'

Two of the 'Stipulations' of the Treaty of 1856, which are likely to come under notice in any negotiations for peace, deserve to be borne in mind. The first relates to the navigation of the Danube:—

'XV. The Act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different States, the Contracting Powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

'The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following Articles: in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine to be established for the safety of the States separated or traversed by that river shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.'

The second point, which affects us more nearly, is the Convention,

vention, annexed to the Treaty, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. It runs as follows :—

‘His Majesty, the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has, at all times, been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus; and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, His Majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits.

‘And Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of All the Russias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.’

In Russia, where the press is under such censorship as makes it little but the mouthpiece of the Government, and of that class which is dominant in influence, we have had repeated assertions of the right of Russia to settle the questions that have arisen in her own way, and very distinct enunciations of the objects to which that way is to lead. Every opportunity has been taken of exaggerating the disunion of England, her weakness, her unwillingness to interfere, her inability to protect her own interests even if she did interfere.

Surely it is time now that the nation should ask itself what are the special points where England’s interests are likely to be touched so closely as to render necessary a protest which must involve—which cannot be made except as a mere hypocritical boast unless it does involve—a possible resort to war. The nation would steadily resist any such resort in the interests or for the sake of Turkey. Just as surely would it resist it on the ground of any fanciful or remote dangers or injuries. When we are told, therefore, that we are not to think of going to war for Turkey, or for a whim, we are warned against an impossibility. What really lies behind this warning is something totally different, which the framers of such proclamations are afraid to utter plainly. They feel that there are interests, which are not those of Turkey, likely to be involved; that there are dangers, which are not fanciful, likely soon to be, if they are not already threatened; and they think that the time will soon come when precaution may be forced upon us. It is the fear of this likelihood, not the apprehension of what they know perfectly well to be an impossibility, that is the motive of their utterance: they are preparing beforehand to do what in them lies,

lies, so that precaution shall, under no circumstances, be possible to England.

It is not likely that a purpose like this will, for long, be successful. The 'Times,' indeed (January 2nd), speaks of 'a considerable and determined body, both in Parliament and in the country, which will resist to the last *any attempt on any pretext* to involve the country in war.' This party we do not think to be considerable: we are quite certain that, in using such language, it puts itself altogether out of court. But there is much danger lest their obstinacy should engender an opposite feeling. Apathy, after a certain point, may only too suddenly change into a pronounced resolution to interfere. Before that time arrives it will be for the nation to consider, and for Parliament very distinctly to declare what are the points which may render intervention a necessity. Before dealing with these, we cannot help recalling the words used by the Queen in a letter to Lord Clarendon (December 20th, 1853), which is quoted by Mr. Martin:—

'Lord Palmerston's mode of proceeding always had that advantage, that it threatened steps which it was hoped would not become necessary, whilst those hitherto taken started on the principle of not needlessly offending Russia by threats, obliging us at the same time to take the very steps which we refused to threaten.'

It is strange that a lesson so suggestive as these words convey should be so quickly forgotten!

With regard to the effect which this war may have on the position of the Balkan provinces and the navigation of the Danube, other States are more nearly touched by any danger which may be threatened by the disturbance of the *status quo* there: and we should perhaps consent to any arrangement to which these Powers may be disposed to agree.

The Russian conquests in Armenia suggest a question of much more serious importance. In the apparently well-grounded rumours, that follow the rejection of our own offered mediation, we are able to form some estimate of the probable claims that may there be made. These will include, we are told, 'a rectification of the frontier: the holding of Kars, and the acquisition of Erzeroum and the sea-port of Batoum.' With what modifications we may acquiesce in these terms it would be impossible to say, apart from a consideration of the other conditions of settlement: but it is easy to see the dangers to which they point, and the abandonment of securities implied in some of them. Here, as in other aspects of the question, the peculiarities of our position  
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must be looked to. There is no one upon whom we can rely to check the advances of Russia in Asia, except ourselves. Along with Russia and Turkey we form the triplet of European Powers whose Empire is partly Asiatic. From the responsibilities of that position we cannot, if we would, retire. Anything that threatens that part of our Empire, and above all, any threat which comes from the Power whose rivalry we have there most reason to dread, cannot but rouse us to alertness. A threat in this direction means anything which renders the defences of our Indian Empire markedly more hazardous or more costly; anything which diminishes our influence in Asia, which forms a nucleus for disaffection amongst our dependencies, or seriously interferes with the highway to India. With regard to the last point, it is still doubtful whether that highway will ever run through the Euphrates Valley: and, as a mere prospective danger at most, it may not be a necessary ground for intervention. But on the other hand there are serious menaces to our commerce in any advance of Russia in certain parts of Armenia. Those who would make least of these menaces are forced into palpable inconsistencies, that prove a fear lurking behind their professed confidence. In three consecutive sentences of his speech at Bradford, on January 5th, we find Mr. Forster first justifying the intrigues of Russia against us in India because 'they think we are intriguing against them in Europe;' then asserting that it would be better to have on our frontiers 'a Christian and civilised Power' than 'half-civilised barbarians;' and then, in spite of this preference, declaring that 'he would not encourage them to go there.' It is idle to think that wavering councils like these are to give us confidence. Whatever may be the ultimate decision on this point, whatever may be the moment at which we may find it necessary to protest against further advances, yet it would be impossible to contemplate, without great uneasiness, the possession by Russia of ports like Trebizond or Batoum. We may minimise the danger, or we may refuse on its account alone to resort to the *ultima ratio* of war; but are we to welcome it? And yet this is the sort of language that we find used:—

'Armenia, for the present, at all events, was severed from the rule of the Turks; and he did not know that anything much better could happen to that country. Then there were Batoum and Trebizond, ports on the east coast of the Black Sea, and both of which at present belonged to Turkey. If they passed into the hands of Russia, what would happen? The commerce of that country, which had almost diminished to nothing under the Turks, would be increased. The trade of the rich highlands of Armenia would gradually gravitate to the



the sea shore, and to the ports of Batoum and Trebizond. Who would be the gainers? England, and among other ports that of Sunderland.'—*Report of Speech by Sir H. Havelock at Sunderland (Times, Dec. 22).*

It is hard to believe that the speaker here had any serious meaning. He probably repeated simply what he had been told by his friends in Russia; but it would be difficult to parallel the blindness to facts which his words disclose. Armenia may be benefited by Russian rule, although as to this the Armenians seem to hold—and to hold with considerable vigour and tenacity—a very opposite opinion from that of Sir H. Havelock, who thus adjudicates on their political future in the corner of a sentence. But are we to accept this on the word of a man who tells us in the next sentence that English commerce will be benefited by the possession of two important ports by a Power naturally the chief competitor of England, which has never spared any opportunity of showing how fully she had imbibed the spirit of rivalry; that commerce will be expanded by the expansion of a Power whose tariff is the most illiberal in Europe? Russia has excluded us from the commerce of Central Asia, and yet her possession of Batoum and Trebizond is to open to us more widely that of Persia! The reference in the last sentence to Sunderland is in the true spirit of claptrap, and for an unthinking cheer the speaker was ready to throw to the winds not only judgment, but even common sense.

While, however, we protest against palpable misrepresentations like this, we are not disposed, at this stage, to lay down in this direction any defined limit, where uneasiness must pass into a resolution at all costs to resist. But there are other points which touch us more nearly, and which were distinctly raised in Lord Derby's despatch of May 6th, and in the Russian reply. In the former it is said with regard to the Straits of the Dardanelles, that her Majesty's Government saw 'serious objections to any material alteration of existing arrangements.' To this it was answered that the future arrangements 'must be settled by common agreement on an equitable basis.' Yet now we hear that the very change we dread is to be one of the conditions of peace. We are told, in fact, in the words of the Russian envoy in 1829, 'that peace must be signed in the camp,' and that its conditions are to be learnt only when it is concluded. 'Remonstrances will then be too late, and Europe will patiently suffer what it can no longer prevent.'

But it is not only that we ourselves are pledged to the maintenance of existing arrangements as to the Straits, and that we have to deal with a spirit of aggression which shows very little scruple

scruple about the breaking of guarantees. This is enough, and more than enough, to rouse the resolution of the nation, and to cause us to state distinctly our interest in the matter, and the limits of our forbearance in regard to any tampering with it. In making plain our resolution to suffer no overturning of existing relations with regard to the Dardanelles, we shall not only maintain the faith of treaties, but we shall take our stand upon securities of vast importance to ourselves. To listen to the vague talk as to the opening of these Straits, one would fancy that Russian commerce was crippled by the inability to move a fleet into regions where a fleet could pass only to bring a menace of war, or else that the refusal on the part of Europe to permit an objectless show of force, is a standing insult to Russia. We have heard much of what is called a 'natural right' of Russia to a free passage, which is distinguished from 'a political right' of Turkey to keep it closed. The distinction is absolutely baseless. Rights by land are not different from those by sea: and the same arguments that would assert the 'natural right' of free passage for ships of war through a strait both shores of which are possessed by the same Power, would prove 'the 'natural right' of an armed force to pass unquestioned through a neighbour's territory. Such a right is the right of the strongest and nothing more; and as such only can it be discussed. If liberty of passage is allowed, the dangers it involves can only be guarded against by a vast and costly increase of our armaments for the protection of the route to India by the Suez Canal. Are we to submit to this, or to the possible interruption of communication, only from a tenderness for Russian feelings? Are we to be obliged to find, in a costly and permanent watchfulness, a substitute for guarantees which were bought at the price of a long and heavy war? Bearing on this very point there is a passage in a letter from the Prince Consort to the present Emperor of Germany, which is so full of sound wisdom that it is well worth quoting:—

'The creation of war harbours and establishments in the Black Sea is not such a simple and practicable task as it may look. Except Sebastopol, there is no natural harbour in all the Black Sea. They must therefore be constructed artificially, and this alone is an undertaking which cannot be carried out under from twenty to thirty years. Cherbourg was begun under Louis XIV., and is not complete to this hour, despite the most strenuous and unintermitted efforts of the different French Governments. Plymouth was begun in 1805 and only finished in 1842. I speak here only of the harbour, not of the dockyards which are still in hand. Since 1845 we have been at work at Dover, Holyhead, and Portland, without much progress visible. If

If this be so in the centre of civilisation, and with all our national resources at hand, how should we stand in dealing with similar works in Asia Minor? After the harbours are built, great dockyards would be essential; Russia has for fifty years been hard at work preparing hers in Sebastopol (this, too, within her own territory); then the whole would have to be protected by extensive sea and land fortifications; and these again would create the necessity for a garrison of from five to ten thousand men, and when all is done, we should only have built a mousetrap for ourselves, for without the possession of the Dardanelles we might at any moment be cut off from everything we had constructed, and starved out. In the same way it would puzzle us to hold Malta without Gibraltar, island though it be.

‘Well, you say, whoever wants to be secure must not shrink from making sacrifices. Most just: but we *have* made the sacrifices of the war—sacrifices which for us alone already amount to forty-seven millions sterling—sacrifices which very naturally Austria, Prussia, and Germany have shrunk from making. The nation has willingly made these *temporary* sacrifices, but it has not paid that price in order to purchase *permanent* sacrifices. It expects, and justly, a peace in return, which will lay the foundations of lasting security and concord, not an armed truce, the maintenance of which is based upon the constant presence of all the antagonistic elements of strife.

‘The reduction of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, which is indicated as the sacrifice on the other side, is no sacrifice at all, but an actual boon to the Russian State. But to a limitation of this kind we are told Russian honour can never assent! I should accept the argument as unanswerable, if it were the Baltic fleet whose limitation was demanded, or a fleet organised for the protection of the Russian coasts and of Russian commerce; but the fleet here is one whose very existence can be regarded only as a means of aggression against the Porte: a fleet which has no enemy to repel from its commerce or its coasts; which cannot venture on the high seas, but is built solely for a land-locked sea; whose existence, therefore, is in no sense necessary for the welfare of Russia, although it menaces the destruction of the Porte. The only argument which Prince Gortschakoff could adduce for its being necessary was, that it was required to protect Constantinople against the ambitious designs of the Western Powers.’

The securities on which the Prince Consort here insists were surrendered by the Treaty of 1871. They were surrendered precisely on the ground that the closing of the Straits rendered them unnecessary. There is not, therefore, one word which he uses with regard to the more remote danger, that does not apply with much greater force to the opening of the Straits. It is a question, not of national honour only; not merely of a regard for international law and the faith of treaties—but one in which are involved consideration of the very safety of our Empire, and the necessity for resisting a permanent outlay,  
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which would seriously cripple our resources. All this at once forces us to make as clear as day our determination to suffer no re-arrangement of the existing rights as to the Dardanelles, without our entire and acknowledged approbation. We repudiate entirely the opinion expressed by Mr. Forster in the speech above referred to, that, because the other contracting Powers (of whose motives we know nothing and whose interests are incomparably less than ours) may not think it necessary to interfere, we are therefore bound to waive our treaty rights. These rights may not be threatened, and we have no wish to anticipate the time when they may be threatened, by uttering one word wantonly provocative of war; but we believe that the best guarantee against such a contingency is to state plainly the resolution to which we have come regarding it. If that resolution is once expressed, we are confident that little more will be heard of proposals subversive of the *status quo*. But we must not deceive ourselves as to its possibility. It is the object after which Russia has long striven. By no other means could she so effectually handicap England in the struggle for dominion in the East. Of all the prominent points in Lord Derby's despatch, it was the one to which the most evasive answer was given. And among the rumoured proposals for peace this holds a prominent place. Russia's claim is no remote contingency: our answer to that claim must have no uncertain sound.

It has been suggested in many quarters, that any danger arising thence might be warded off, and that valuable compensation might, without hostile measures or threatenings, be obtained by England's taking possession of Egypt. The proposal has been glozed over with the same sort of specious motives of carrying improvement into some dependency of the Turkish Empire, which were so persuasive in the mouths of Russian diplomatists. We are to relieve the Khedive of his responsibilities; to enter upon the suzerainty of Turkey (she is an ally, but she is not Christian, and she has ventured to oppose the crusade of Holy Russia, and so she has no rights), and as a return for this we are to give the blessings of constitutional government to the inhabitants of Egypt. Others, who take a less idealized view of foreign politics, where our obligations and our duties do not soar into such a shadowy abstraction, propose that we should acquire some of these territories by purchase. The offer to purchase sovereign rights at a moment of defeat comes amazingly near a sharing of the spoil. If Europe is to stand by and see the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire without a care or a protest: if the conditions that have hitherto prevailed in regard to the connection between Europe and the

East are to be completely overturned; then indeed the time may come when England may be forced to claim her share in the *disjecta membra*. But let us trust that such a time has not yet come: and that England will still have a voice to raise against any unrighteous machinations, and any secret compacts that may bring about such a crime against the plainest dictates of international morality. Now, at least, we are firmly persuaded that no such proposal would be listened to either by England or her rulers: that we shall never submit to purchase security against aggressions which defy our treaty rights and menace our Empire, by sharing in the plunder, and accepting what others may be either afraid or careless to claim. With what face could we, who have protested against the aggressions of others, condone, by sharing them, a reckless ambition which we have reprobated, and which many of us refused to believe possible? At the outset of the war we demanded and received from Russia assurances that 'Egypt would not come within the scope of her military operations,' and yet these very advocates of Russia would have us throw over those assurances by which, in receiving them from others, we implicitly bound ourselves. What may come at some future time we know not: but as things now are, the proposal invites a violation of international law and treaty, and a special breach of faith with Russia, and all to secure a doubtful and a dangerous possession.

Our resolution, then, with regard to the Straits must be clearly expressed, and we must be turned from it by no delusive and fanciful proposals. It is needless to say that the occupation of Constantinople is a point on which we must be no less clear. Lord Derby's letter declares that 'it is scarcely necessary to point out that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to witness with indifference the passing into other hands than those of its present possessors of a capital holding so peculiar and commanding a position.' It is perfectly plain to any one what these words involve. The reply of Prince Gortchakoff recognised the resolution they conveyed, and stated that 'the acquisition of that capital is excluded from the views of His Majesty the Emperor.' He recognised, further, 'that the future of Constantinople is a question of common interest, which cannot be settled otherwise than by a general understanding.'

Without making any accusation against their good faith, it is clear that these words are cautious, if not ambiguous. The occupation of Constantinople is no longer 'excluded from Russian views.' The semi-official 'Agence Russe' protests against hopes being given to the Porte 'that the entry of the  
Russians

Russians into Constantinople would cause England to intervene; and in the dispelling of these hopes it sees the only prospect of peace. So, again, a recent volume, whose authoress\* is credited with an influence even over statesmen in England, gives us rather too candid an exposition of the objects which Russian ambition aims to satisfy by this war. She informs us, as the exponent of the views of Russian society, that 'in the city of Constantine only can the work be consummated;' and that in official 'concessions to the Powers, Russia has displayed too great a condescension.' We may hope that these are only exaggerations which more moderate counsellors would disavow; but to be apathetic in the face of them is but the false security that invites provocation.

Any direct interference with the Suez Canal calls, at present, for no discussion. We do not believe that it is threatened: and we may surely be confident that there would be no difference of opinion as to England's action, if it were.

We have thus spoken of the position of the Balkan provinces, of the questions of frontier in Armenia, of the passage of the Dardanelles, and of the occupation of Constantinople. On some of these points it may be said that the declarations of May last were sufficiently explicit to require no re-statement. But it is clear that matters are not now as they were then: that declarations then made have not the emphatic force of protests authorised by Parliament, and uttered when the events against which they are raised, are imminent. More than this, it is clear that such renewed protests, defining as they must the position of England with regard to the developments of the war, must not be mere empty vaunts. The authority which protests must make its protest valid: thus, and thus only, can be secured, along with honour, the greatest of England's interests, 'the interests of Peace.'

We must beware that no false issue be set up: that no misleading accusations be suffered to prevail. We hear much of what is called 'a war party.' There is, we make bold to say, no war party in the country at this moment. Nay more, we feel confident that there need not as yet be even a question of peace or war. The issue between the two parties that are now competing for the public ear, is simply this: Are we prepared to carry our compliance to any conceivable point, or is it possible that a time may come when compliance must cease? And if even the most pacific amongst us must see that

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\* 'Is Russia Wrong?' *A Series of Letters by a Russian Lady. With a Preface by J. A. Froide.* London, 1877.

such a time may come, we have only to ask further : Can collision best be avoided by loudly proclaimed indifference and an ostentatious refusal to prepare, or by timely resolution, and unconcealed, but still pacific, vigilance? England would not enter upon war, should war be necessary, 'with a light heart,' but with a clear conscience. We are not of those who are panic-stricken at the thought, deeply as we might deplore it. We know what are our resources, and how carefully they have been husbanded. Let us hope that others know equally well how to measure their extent. May no delusive hope—that most certain of all incentives to war—mislead them into thinking that England is unprepared, because unwilling; that because she is pacific now she will be easily pacified when roused. We would not seek to inflame any angry passion, or kindle what may too soon and too suddenly prove a consuming fire of national indignation, but we do not seek to conceal the fact that such indignation is ready to burst forth. We know how it is engendered, how it swells, how it quickly bursts all bonds. Those abroad, who judge of England only by a partisan press or by the words of irresponsible theorists, may easily be mistaken in their estimate: we warn them how fatal their mistake may be. It has been made before: may it not be made again!

In full confidence we leave the issue to the judgment of Parliament. We have attempted to show what we deem to be the reasons for the early summons, and to point out the questions which will probably be laid before the two Houses. We have indicated what opinions they may have to pronounce, and in what way they may be asked to give their opinions stability and force. We have shown the meaning that is to be drawn from any such action, and how the chief object of that action, the lively hope that may be fostered through its aid, is still that peace may be maintained on our own part, and that the struggle between our two allies may be ended. But to our confidence must be joined a warning. On both sides of the House it must be felt that Parliament never met in circumstances more delicate, when the rashness or obstinacy of a few might more easily lead to disastrous results. The supporters of the Ministry may well feel a firm assurance in the wisdom of those whose direction they are called upon to follow. Respect for the difficulties of foreign policy has always been a tradition with the Conservative party, even when that policy was in the hands of those who did not command its trust. To no one has that tradition been more sacred than to the Minister upon whom our destinies now chiefly depend. Such respect would suggest the sinking of small differences, and a careful avoidance of all that would add to the  
burden

burden now imposed on those who are at once the leaders of the party and the rulers of the nation. Above all, we would deprecate any exaggerated or heated indignation that may be needlessly provocative of war. Such rash impulses are harmful even in the anonymous utterances of the press, much more so in the responsible deliberations of Parliament.

But it depends above all upon the patriotism of the bulk of the Opposition whether we are to have peace or war. Disunion in our counsels must breed contempt for us abroad, and contempt abroad is the most certain forerunner of war. Surely the extremes of partisanship have had their own way long enough: surely it is time for that spirit of grave and liberal judgment, which each of our great political parties can claim, to reassert itself at a crisis like this. You wish to avoid war: join with us then in abandoning that suspicion which, were it ever so well founded, must still only hamper those to whom power is now committed, and must through them weaken that national force which is the best security against war. Reserve your suspicions: pour them out when your political opponents only, and not the nation, shall be the sufferers. In the Session that is just opening there are reputations for disinterested and large patriotism to be gained. We fear that there are also reputations for statesmen to lose. May it be with no doubtful or wavering emphasis that Parliament shows on which of these sides the great preponderance of its sympathies lies!

Though we have been discussing the probable terms of peace and their effect upon the interests of this country, it must not therefore be supposed that the war is at an end, and that the Turks have no longer any means of resistance. It is true that intelligence has reached us, that the Russians have crossed the Balkans by the Shipka and Trajan passes. But even if this turns out to be true, we do not believe that they have gained any signal advantage. On the contrary, they have by this very act, and seeming success, incurred a greater peril than at any previous period of the campaign, for they have thereby placed a chain of lofty mountains, liable to be made impassable by a single snow-storm, across their line of communications, and have thus exposed their advanced guard to the risk of being cut up in detail by concentrated attacks of the Turkish forces collected on the south side of the mountains.

Doubtless, Russia will try to play the same game as in 1829, and will seek to impose upon England and Turkey, as she then did at Adrianople. But Europe now knows in what straits Russia was when she wrung that treaty from the Turks by duping Lord Aberdeen. We trust that the present ministry will  
not



not fall into the same trap. The destruction of the Danube bridges, the scarcity of provisions, the prevalence of sickness, and the impossibility of transport during stormy weather, must inevitably paralyse the movements of the army north of the Balkans.

If the Turks understand the present crisis of affairs, and do not yield to panic, but show a bold front by concentrating their forces on good strategical positions, they may yet with the help of the weather materially alter the prospects of the campaign. Even if they do not succeed in repelling the advance of the Russians, they have still the fortifications of Adrianople, behind which they may retire; and should these be at last forced, they can fall back upon the strong lines erected to defend Constantinople, where, with the command of the sea, they may defy, till they can obtain honourable terms of peace, the whole power of the Russian empire.



THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *Life of the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin.  
3 vols. London, 1875–76–77.

2. *The Crown and the Cabinet.* By 'Verax.' London, 1878.

ONE of the most curious legacies we have inherited from our ancestors is an extreme susceptibility to the influence of political forms and phrases. We are proud of our weakness, and not without reason, for it is a sign of far-descended freedom and of traditional greatness. It is accredited by famous examples in poetry and history. When the worthy Dicaeopolis wished for his own purposes to prorogue the Athenian Ecclesia, he used his privilege as a citizen, and announced that he felt a drop of rain. The Prytanen, as they were bound to do, at once declared the day's proceedings to be at an end.\* If any member of the Polish Diet wished to stop a debate, he had only to make use of the Liberrum Veto, and the Assembly had no alternative but to dissolve itself or to murder the obstructing individual. In the same way the English politician, who seeks to acquire popularity by turning the whole community upside down, may be tolerably sure of success, if he can but represent some public act to be 'unconstitutional.'

The word is a good word, and may be used to signify a variety of positive things. On the other hand, it has vast magic as a mere phrase, and, as such, it is used always in one sense and for one purpose, namely, to bring discredit on the Crown. When it is so employed it is, of course, convenient to ignore the fact that the Constitution consists of several parts, and that the encroachment of any one part on the liberties of the others is, in the eye of the law, an unconstitutional act. We never hear, for instance, from modern historians that it was an unconstitutional act of the subjects of King Charles I. to cut off his head; or that there was anything unprecedented in the conduct of William IV.'s ministers who carried off their Sovereign

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\* Aristophanes, 'Acharn.' 171.

reign at a moment's notice to pronounce, without deliberation, the dissolution of Parliament; or that Sir Robert Peel pushed hardly on the Royal Prerogative in limiting the Queen's choice of her personal attendants. For each and all of these acts, springing as they did from the will of the majority or its representative ministers, grave and weighty reasons are found; but no epithets are too forcible to describe the wickedness of the Charleses, the Jameses, the Georges, and even the Williams, who have sought, by the exercise of their prerogative, to check the liberties or the opinions of the Commons. We are by no means concerned to defend the conduct of the monarchs we have mentioned; we believe that both their thoughts and actions were often of a thoroughly unconstitutional character; but, as applied to the Crown in the reign of Queen Victoria, most people will be inclined to consider the phrase 'unconstitutional,' to speak mildly,—inappropriate. We have been long under the impression that the reign of the present Sovereign has been distinguished by the smooth working of our constitutional machinery, by the superiority of the Crown to anything like party favouritism, and by the hearty sympathy which the Monarch has shown for the varied interests of all classes of her subjects. But for the last eighteen months we seem to have been living in a quite different world. There has been solemn whispering and head-shaking in certain circles whenever the name of the Queen is mentioned. Respectable Liberal journals, daily and weekly, have been in a flutter at the aggressive attitude of the Crown. At a meeting of Radicals in Willis's Rooms to advocate the opening of the Dardanelles, one of the speakers complained of the undue influence that was being exercised by the Court, and was doubtless somewhat surprised to find himself called to order by the Chairman, and his audience giving three cheers for the Queen. In spite, however, of such momentary weaknesses as this manifestation of loyalty, there has been a tolerable agreement among politicians of a particular complexion that certain recent acts of the Sovereign have been alarmingly 'unconstitutional.'

What, then, has the Queen been doing? Has she been collecting in the House of Commons a party of 'Queen's Friends?' Has she been endeavouring to thwart the policy of her Ministers, who are responsible to the country, by 'an influence behind the Throne?' Has she been dismissing Lords-Lieutenant, or striking off the names of Privy Councillors who have made themselves obnoxious to her by the expression of their opinions? She has done none of these things. Much less has she tried to revive the Star Chamber or the Dispensing Power. The 'head  
and

and front of her offending' is that she has intrusted to an accomplished man of letters the materials necessary for the preparation and publication of the *Memoirs of her husband, the late Prince Consort.*

Astonishing as such a statement sounds, it is the simple truth. We would remind our readers that the first volume of the 'Life' was published in 1875, the second in 1876; and that when they first appeared both volumes were read with eager interest, not only as containing the history of one whose worth the people had learned to appreciate too late, but as throwing a vivid light on the interior working of our constitutional machinery. Not a syllable was breathed by the critics against the character of the Prince Consort, or the attitude of the Crown, as depicted in this portion of the work. But when the third volume, composed evidently on the same principles as the first two, appeared, there arose a loud outcry. This volume dealt with the most interesting and critical period of Her Majesty's reign—the Crimean War—and, as the relation of the Crown to foreign affairs was more fully illustrated than in the earlier years which the biography covered, it was natural that the number of State papers in it should be proportionally large. But it was not of the predominance of politics that the critics complained. In their eyes the viciousness of the book lay in this, that, whereas a considerable section of the public were vehement advocates of Russia in her recent war with Turkey, the third volume of the 'Life' placed in the clearest light and the most vivid colours the character of Russian diplomacy, the nature of Russian warfare, as well as the anti-Russian sympathies of English statesmen and the English people, throughout the events that led to the invasion of the Crimea by the allied armies in 1854. Hence, say these critics, it was evident that the Queen had strong personal inclinations with which she wished her subjects to become acquainted, in order that by the exercise of her royal influence she might convert the misguided portion of the English people to better opinions. Which exercise of prerogative, without doubt, was highly 'unconstitutional.'

The frame of mind of persons haunted by these apprehensions is very characteristically illustrated by a pamphlet which has come into our hands, entitled 'The Crown and the Cabinet,' consisting of five letters, reprinted from the 'Manchester Weekly Times,' with the signature of 'Verax.' The argument in this composition does not call for serious notice. The author, indeed, appears to pose as a kind of tame Junius; he writes of the Queen and the Prince Consort as an 'exacting master and mistress,' and of their communications to their Ministers as

'pettish and insolent,' together with many other epithets equally respectful and appropriate; but the matter of his discourse might be readily compressed into the phrase of the French doctrinaires, 'Le roi règne, mais ne gouverne pas;' and it only deserves attention in so far as it is a representative expression of a certain middle-class opinion on the nature of the English Constitution. 'Verax' solemnly tells us that 'this instalment of the "Prince Consort's Life" is a Message from the Crown . . . a Message sent straight to the nation over the heads of Ministers, and only too well adapted to fire the resentments which those who are responsible for the policy of the country might wish to allay.' Speaking of the Queen's letter to Lord Aberdeen, to which we shall refer hereafter, he says, 'I make no comment on these remarks; my loyalty forbids.' As for the notion that the Queen is to exercise any direct personal influence on the counsels of the Cabinet, it fills him with despair. He is afraid that, if such principles prevail, 'a day may come when the most momentous questions affecting the honour and destinies of the nation may be settled at a morning call between some future Emperor and his Grand Vizier.' The true Constitutional position of the Sovereign, according to 'Verax,' is this:—

'It is commonly supposed that while the Queen reigns and all the acts of the Government are done in her name, the responsible business of Government, as regards both foreign and domestic affairs, is done by the dozen or fifteen statesmen whom the Queen selects as her Ministers from out of the ranks of the party which commands a majority in the House of Commons. We are under the impression that these statesmen meet together in perfect freedom, with minds unmolested and undisturbed by any outside influence, and determine to the best of their ability what course shall be adopted in the management of national affairs. We call them the Advisers of the Queen. We take it for granted that the Queen does not advise herself, that she has no advisers except those supplied to her by Parliament, and that she never hesitates to adopt the conclusions presented to her on their authority as if they were her own. We exult in this arrangement as embodying the perfection of popular government, and we boast of the advantage it gives us of having our national policy decided, not by *hereditary brains (sic)*, which may be wise or foolish, as accident determines, but by the select men of the nation, while it raises the Crown far above the strife of contending parties, exempts it from criticism, and enables us to render to it the homage of an ungrudging, unstinted, and unwavering loyalty. . . . The Crown we only know as the ceremonial device on the Great Seal by which the nation's resolves are attested, and the moment we are forced to know it in any other capacity *danger commences for one party, though hardly for both.*

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‘It is commonly supposed!’ There is truth in the last words of the above passage, but not the truth which ‘Verax’ intended them to express. The danger to which we are exposed arises not from any unconstitutional encroachment on the part of the Crown, but from the ignorance and cowardice manifested in these ‘common suppositions’ of which ‘Verax’ makes himself the mouthpiece. For ignorance of the grossest kind it is, to suppose that the occupant of the oldest throne in Europe, surrounded by a boundless prestige, possessed of a vast if undefined prerogative, and commanding countless sources of influence, could ever sink into the capacity of a mere mechanical register of the will of Parliament; or that, if she did, the people would be likely to ‘pay the homage of an ungrudging, unstinted, and unwavering loyalty’ to what they would recognise to be nothing but a clockwork figure. And cowardice, unworthy of Englishmen, it is to deny to the chief personage of these realms that privilege of free speech, which she herself so liberally allows to the meanest of her subjects. It is not from men who seek to discredit as ‘a Message from the Throne’ a book, published no doubt under the auspices of Royalty, and written with all the delicacy and skilfulness to be expected from its author, but seeking its fortune in the open market, and exposing itself to public criticism,—that the Crown of England has any ‘danger’ to apprehend. Rather it is English freedom that is imperilled by that slavish temper which, seeking to stifle the expression of all opinion contrary to its own, has ever been the instrument of force and tyranny. The dangerous fallacies involved in the constitutional theories of ‘Verax,’ as well as the extent to which his unfounded opinions appear to be shared by certain of his countrymen, suggest to us that it may be useful to inquire first of reason, what is the nature of Constitutional Government in general, and then of history and our own experience, what is the character of the English Constitution in particular.

All government is founded partly on force, partly on opinion; good government consists in the combination of the two elements in their proper proportions. As Aristotle shows, the beginning of government is co-existent with the beginning of society. The rule of the father over the family is justified by his superiority in power. But his government is cemented and established by ties growing out of moral opinion, nor could the family be held together if the father failed to discharge his natural obligations towards his wife and children. Extended to the State, the same principle manifests itself in every form of government. Force encroaching unduly on freedom is certain after a while to reach  
a point

a point at which freedom recoils and finds the means to subvert force. This truth was constantly illustrated in the Greek despotisms by the frequency of tyrannicide, and by the ingenious arguments with which such acts were defended by the philosophers. It was exemplified again on a larger scale by the influence of philosophy in producing the French Revolution. On the other hand, unchecked opinion is apt by its impotence and distractions to play the game of force. There never was a government in which opinion had such absolute latitude as that of Athens. The people in assembly heard their affairs discussed by their orators; they voted on the spur of the moment; the vote of the majority became a decree, and, if need were, was carried into instant execution. Many of our readers will remember the story of a tremendous tragedy which came within a point of being acted in consequence of this system of government. The city of Mitylene had revolted from Athens. On the suppression of the revolt, the people assembled in the Pnyx to deliberate on the fate of the rebels. Under the influence of an harangue by Cleon, they voted by a large majority that the whole male population, to the number of 6000, should be put to the sword, and that all the women and children should be sold into slavery. A galley was at once despatched to Mitylene to order the decree to be executed. The night passed, and in the morning the people were filled with horror and remorse at the orders they had given. A fresh Assembly was called, and the decree of the previous day was rescinded. Twenty-four hours after the first galley had started, a second followed it; and the unflagging chase that ensued, the superhuman efforts of the rowers, and the arrival of the reprieve at the moment when the sentence was about to be carried into effect, form one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of Thucydides. Vast as was the popular energy of Athens, solid as was its power when wielded by a statesman like Pericles, such a glimpse of passion, vacillation and distraction, in a people given over to the winds of opinion, makes it easy for us to understand the impotence of its democracy to withstand the solid concentration of the Macedonian phalanx.

The most sagacious tyrants, as well as the wisest champions of democracy, have understood the necessity of tempering the extreme principles on which their respective forms of governments rest. Thus, Macchiavelli shows how Ferdinand of Arragon achieved his dark and selfish aims by acquiring 'reputation' as the defender of the Church, and, like another Power in later days, contrived that all his acts should be so connected with apparently generous motives, that men should be unable to gainsay

gainsay him. On the other hand, the framers of the American Constitution conceived it was politic to render the Executive secure from the storms of opinion by preventing the Legislature from touching the power of the President during his term of office by any method except direct impeachment.

In spite, however, of all the wisdom of human contrivance, human nature is perpetually driving monarchy towards despotism, and democracy towards anarchy. The philosophers, who saw every variety of government illustrated in the small states of Greece, found in the perpetual revolutions of which they were witnesses plenty of materials for political speculation, but few for political construction. Yet the foresight of Aristotle anticipated the possibility of a government at once free and powerful in the form of 'constitutional monarchy.' No such constitution had been as yet actually witnessed. 'A king,' says the philosopher, 'governing under the direction of law does not of himself constitute any particular species of government.' Yet the idea was both rational and practicable. 'A king ought to have a proper power, such a one, that is, as will be sufficient to make him superior to any one person, or even to a large part of the community, but inferior to the whole.' And enumerating the arguments against absolute monarchy, Aristotle says: \* 'He who bids the law to be supreme, makes God supreme; but he who intrusts man with supreme power gives it to a wild beast, for such his appetites sometimes make him; passion, too, influences those who are in power, even the very best of men; whereas law is intellect free from appetite.'

After the fall of the Roman Empire the principle of limited monarchy appears to have been generally recognised in the Gothic nations of Europe. But from one cause or another, in almost all these nations, the power of the Crown prevailed over the liberties of the people, and, in the eighteenth century after Christ, England stood forth alone as an example to Europe of the privileges that might be enjoyed by subjects under a constitutional monarchy. How these privileges were acquired is matter of history; and though history may be read in different senses, we venture to assert that no reading of it whatever can verify the theory of the cast-iron constitution which 'Verax' seems to imagine was, at some time or another, imposed upon the nation. 'To provide,' says he, 'against the chance that hereditary descent may occasionally give us a fool for a sovereign, our forefathers have devised the mechanism of responsible government.' We can hardly give 'Verax' credit for being so

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\* Aristotle, 'Politics,' book iii. cap. x. xi.



simple as he wishes to appear, and we believe that he knows very well that the principle of ministerial responsibility, so far from being invented to remedy any weakness inherent in the hereditary principle, was in effect a doctrine founded on the rational consideration—to use Aristotle's words—that 'the power of the King must be inferior to the power of the whole community;' and that, like every other constitutional principle since the Restoration, it flowed from particular circumstances, and is sustained by special precedents. The Constitution is older than ministerial responsibility; and the encroachments of the Royal power before the Revolution of 1688, as well as the growth in the power of the Commons since, originated not in any prescribed source of law or custom, but in the ever-shifting conditions regulating the equilibrium which the Constitution managed to maintain between force and opinion.

As all Englishmen are supposed to know, the constitutional checks on the power of the Crown from the earliest days were five in number;—1, the sole right of Parliament to grant supplies; 2, the assent of Parliament for every new law; 3, security of the subject from arrest except by legal warrant, and the right of speedy trial; 4, trial by jury; 5, the liability of the servants of the Crown to action for the violation of the liberty of the subject. These were the essential liberties for which our ancestors contended in Magna Charta, which were confirmed again and again by charters in subsequent reigns, and which were finally asserted and established in the Bill of Rights. It seems a miracle, as we look back, that rights so essentially civil should have been maintained against the overbearing force of the Crown in the military ages of our history. But it is plain that several counteracting causes obliged the Kings of England against their will to lean for support on their subjects, and enabled the latter on their side to insist on the royal recognition of their traditional liberties. Of these causes it will be sufficient to specify two; first, that uncertainty of title which weakened the power of so many of our kings, compelling, for instance, an usurper like Richard III. to seek popularity by the abolition of benevolences; and secondly, the foreign possessions of the Crown, which required for their defence a loyal support from the King's subjects, that could be readily granted only in consideration of reciprocal concessions on the side of the Sovereign. This principle of mutual bargaining, however, would scarcely have produced union and affection between the English monarchs and their people, if it had not been for a third cause, which united both parties by the common bond of self-defence, namely the attitude which the  
Crown

Crown assumed in its foreign relations in consequence of the insular position of the kingdom.

The English people have always instinctively understood that the maintenance of their domestic liberties depends on the independence of their country, and they have naturally looked for the preservation of this independence to their Sovereign, as the depository of the concentrated force of the nation, the disposer of peace and war, and the natural representative of England's freedom in the eyes of foreign Powers. In like manner the English Kings have caught the flame of insular patriotism; and have seen, in the passion they have experienced to assert their own independence and dignity against foreign pretensions, the reflection of their subjects' love for their individual liberties. Hence every advance in the greatness of England as a nation has been effected by the joint action of the King and the people. The Constitutions of Clarendon, aimed though they were by the Crown against a foreign ecclesiastical rival, secured the recognition of the ancient laws and customs of the realm. The framers of Magna Charta, while they forced from their monarch an acknowledgment of their liberties, were yet careful, in opposition to the wish of many of their own order, to keep the Crown on an English head. They felt that national passion which Shakspeare centuries afterwards expressed in the person of the bastard Falconbridge, who, with all his contempt for John as a man, is loyal to him as the representative of England's majesty. The feeling we have been describing finds vivid utterance in the words with which Falconbridge concludes the play:—

'This England never did, nor never shall  
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror  
But when it first did help to wound itself.  
Now these her princes are come home again,  
Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
And we will shock them; nought shall make us rue,  
If England to itself do prove but true.'

The great constitutional right of the English people to grant supplies through representatives in Parliament was really established by the most warlike of their monarchs. Hard pressed by his frequent wars, Edward I. issued writs to his sheriffs for summoning deputies from the boroughs, as well as knights from the shires, to grant such supplies as he and his Council might judge necessary. The preamble to the writ affirms it to be 'a most equitable rule that what concerns all should be approved by all, and common dangers should be repelled by united efforts.' The immediate result of this happy agreement between the Crown and the Commons was the victory over the Scots at Dunbar.

Dunbar. On the other hand, when the King sought to recover Guienne by means of arbitrary exactions, the nation withstood him, and he was obliged to relinquish his project of invasion, and to renew the national charters. So much do the wealth and security of the English people depend on the power of the Crown ; so essential to the honour of the Crown is the love and confidence of the people !

There have been times when the intense passion for *national* independence has proved injurious to the cause of individual liberty. It can scarcely be doubted that the moral support which the tyrannical Henry VIII. derived from his subjects, in spite of his glaring contempt for justice, was due to the aversion of the latter to the jurisdiction of a foreign Power. And in the same way, the raising of forced loans, the rejection of Bills passed by both Houses of Parliament, and the institution of the Star Chamber, were all forgiven to the Sovereign who appeared in arms at Tilbury to animate her troops against the invader, professing her readiness to die at their head in defence of the freedom of her people.

But no grace was granted to kings who were at once cowardly and despotic ; who sought to make use of the undue force which their predecessors had left at their disposal, without possessing in themselves that greatness of patriotic character which alone sustained those predecessors in public opinion. If the English people had, under the Tudors, surrendered some of their most cherished liberties, it was not because they had lost their spirit, but because they were willing to sacrifice some portion of individual freedom to the still more cherished object of national independence. And when James I. shrank from responding to the warlike ardour of his Parliament, he laid the axe to the root of that divinely-granted prerogative, the form of which he was so pedantically bent on preserving. We ask the Whigs of to-day, who refuse to grant supplies to their Sovereign in the moment of their country's danger, to consider the example of their ancestors, swearing to spend and be spent in defence of their religion and of the Palatinate, 'lifting up their hats in their hands so high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in Parliament.'

Modern historians are apt to dwell solely on the benefits we have derived from the resistance of our ancestors to the encroachments of the Crown, but it is also salutary to reflect how the discord between the Crown and the people brought trouble and dishonour on the nation. Force, wielded by feeble hands, strove in vain against the irresistible rush of opinion ; opinion  
breaking

breaking beyond all bounds found itself promptly overmastered by armed force; this again was swept away by a tide of opinion running in favour of legitimacy, on which despotism was once more borne triumphantly along, till the sudden ebb of the royal force in 1688, manifested to the world how vast a revolution had been effected in the relative position of the Commons and the Crown. During this period the country under one monarch had become obsequious to Spain, two other of its kings were the pensioners of France; one of them had agreed, in consideration of a price, to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, while, as a crowning disgrace, the Dutch fleet rode up the Thames and insulted us on the Medway.

We think it will hardly be denied that, during the 130 years that elapsed between the accession of Anne and the first Reform Bill, the various elements of the English Constitution were more evenly balanced than at any period before or after. No political system was ever more anomalous in principle, none ever worked better in practice, than that of popular representation by means of close boroughs. What constitution could apparently be more unpopular than one composed of an hereditary crown, an hereditary peerage, and a House of Commons, in which a large number of the members were direct representatives either of the House of Lords or of the Sovereign, in which the great centres of population were entirely unrepresented, and in which perfect independence of opinion was only possible to those who were public-spirited enough to purchase the right of representing themselves! Nevertheless, this strangely-compounded system was by no means unfavourable to individual liberty, and was certainly conducive to national independence. The reason is simple. All the essential parts of the nation were represented in it; each within its own proper sphere had full freedom of action; yet not one of them, however desirous of predominating, was sufficiently powerful to absorb the others, or to overthrow the well-distributed balance of the whole system.

To begin with, the excess of force inherent in royalty had been effectually restrained by the Revolution of 1688. The Crown had emerged from its unavailing struggle against popular liberty shorn of much of its ancient influence and prestige. After the death of William III. the throne was filled by a monarch who was ruled by female favourites, themselves the mere instruments of rival parties. The first two monarchs of the House of Brunswick, ignorant, one even of the language, and both of the character of their people, aliens from English sympathies, and regarding England itself only as an instrument for advancing Hanoverian interests, were altogether unfitted to in-  
spire

spire their subjects with feelings of devotion. They were but too thankful to be relieved of responsibility, by leaving the management of home affairs in the hands of their Ministers. Hence, as was inevitable, for the first sixty years of the eighteenth century there was a vast diminution in the *personal* influence of the Crown. It may in fact be said that during the whole of this period the Crown was in commission.

Out of this unnatural conduct of the Sovereign arose the system of government by party. The royal sources of power and patronage remained unimpaired, and under the circumstances it was only natural that they should be administered by the aristocracy, as the political body immediately connected with Royalty and deriving from that original its rank and possessions. A long struggle for power ensued between the two parties into which the nobility were divided; and, during the temporary eclipse of the Crown, the Whigs and Tories took their stand severally on the monarchical or popular side of the Constitution, and transferred the sentiment of loyalty, properly due to the monarch, to the party leaders who were able to command the distribution of places and honours. The Whigs being the principal authors of the Revolution, it was they who reaped the chief advantage from the system of party government which was now established; and, as it was with their elaborate scheme of parliamentary connection that the resuscitated power of the Crown was brought into collision after the accession of George III., it will be useful to recal the famous apology made for the principle of party by the greatest and most philosophical of Whig statesmen. The Cabal, as Burke calls George III.'s illegal advisers, had endeavoured to discredit party by calling it 'faction,' an accusation to which Burke replies: \*—

'It is indeed in no way wonderful that such persons should make such declarations. That "connection" and "faction" are equivalent terms is an opinion which has been carefully inculcated at all times by unconstitutional statesmen. The reason is evident. Whilst men are linked together they easily and speedily communicate the alarm of an evil design. They are enabled to fathom it with common counsel, and oppose it with united strength. Whereas, when they lie dispersed, without concert, order, or discipline, communication is uncertain, counsel difficult, and resistance impracticable. Where men are not acquainted with each other's principles, nor experienced in each other's talents, nor at all practised in their mutual habitudes and disposition by joint efforts in business, no personal confidence, no friendship, no common interest subsisting among them, it is evidently

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\* 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents.'

impossible

impossible that they can act a public part with uniformity, perseverance, or efficacy. In a connection the most inconsiderable man, by adding to the weight and the whole, has his value and his use; out of it, the greatest talents are wholly unserviceable to the public. No man, who is not inflamed by vain glory into enthusiasm, can flatter himself that his single unsupported, desultory, unsystematic endeavours are of power to defeat the subtle designs and united cabals of ambitious citizens. When bad men combine, the good must associate, else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.'

This defence of Party appears to us, within its own limits, perfectly reasonable. As a vindication of free Parliamentary Government from the insidious attacks to which it was exposed, the argument is unanswerable. But its validity depends on the willingness of Parliament to confine itself to what Burke assumed to be its true limit, *control*. So long as the House of Commons was content to fill the place marked out for it in the constitution, as the guardian of the public liberties, the bonds of party connection were necessary to oppose a firm front to the power of the Crown. But when the House of Commons itself began to usurp the functions of the Executive, when it came to look on office as the great end of party organisation, when it used its 'connection' for the purpose of reducing the Monarch (to quote Baron Stockmar's phrase) 'to a Mandarin figure, which has to nod its head in assent or shake it in denial as Ministers please,' then it became evident that Burke's position was no longer tenable, and that party was in a fair way to degenerate into faction. Tories as we are, we are by no means insensible to the great benefits which the administration of Walpole, the first master of Parliamentary 'connection,' secured for the country. But it is plain that towards the close of his term of power, and still more in the times of his successors, the government of the aristocracy was rapidly declining into oligarchy. The Tories, as a party, were too weak, in the absence of their visible head, to make a good fight against their rivals in defence of the monarchical rights which their principles bound them to maintain. Hence throughout the reigns of George I. and II. the power of the Whigs was continually on the increase. Now, in spite of their advocacy of the popular liberties, the Whigs have never been a popular party. The true Whig is a born lawyer and a natural aristocrat. He has a passion for constitutional precedents, and is ready to sacrifice his life and fortune for his doctrines of civil and religious liberty. But, like Milton, he has little sympathy with, and a good deal of contempt for, the people itself. Therefore, when constitutional freedom was once assured

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by the Bill of Rights, and when the Whigs, as the reward of their exertions, assumed the government, and relinquished the defence of the people, they soon betrayed the selfish instincts by which aristocracy, like every other form of government, is liable to be corrupted. The poet tells us that the sweets of office are as soothing to the fiery spirits of the Whigs as flowers are to bees, and once settled there, the administration of Newcastle shows that they may be indifferent to what the instinct of the people and the honour of the country demand of its rulers.

How far the Whig oligarchy might have prevailed against the influence of the Crown, if it had been allowed to develop unchecked its principle of 'connection,' it is impossible to say. But meantime a strong force was growing up outside Parliament, which served to counteract the exclusive influences to which the representatives of the people were exposed. This was public opinion. Unable to bring the Commons under its immediate control, it exercised a very decided influence on their proceedings. This influence was chiefly brought to bear on the conduct of foreign affairs. The passion of the people for independence, and their desire that England should uphold her position as the natural champion of freedom, was as ardent in the eighteenth century as at any period of their history. So strongly were the national traditions rooted in their mind, that, in the reign of George II., they twice forced Whig Ministers into war, against their judgment. And the apparent want of sympathy in these Ministers for the national honour was no doubt one of the causes which led to the revival of Crown influence under George III. The nation had found a Minister after its own heart in Pitt, whose greatness rendered him independent of either party; and the credit which had been obtained by the firm rule of a single man, when contrasted with the feebleness and vacillations of the 'connection,' had reflected a lustre on the Crown. When George III. came to the throne, he won the hearts of his people by inserting with his own hand in the Royal Speech the phrase that 'he gloried in the name of Briton.' Had he been as wise as he was spirited, he might have used his popularity in a legitimate way to break through the network with which the Whigs sought to surround him. Unfortunately, he discarded the one Minister who could have served the monarchical cause, and by his obstinacy and arbitrary conduct brought the Crown into difficulties, from which he was unable to extricate it before the rise of the younger Pitt. But when Pitt had once established himself in the good graces of the King, the loyalty of the people rallied unanimously round the Sovereign, and the excesses of the French Revolution, which showed how inseparable

nable was the security of the nation from that of the Throne, helped to maintain the Tory party in power for nearly fifty years.

‘In all my observation of the English state-machine,’ writes Baron Stockmar to the Prince Consort, ‘I have never been able to discover that balance of the elements of their constitution of which Englishmen boast so much. Previous to the Reform Bill the theory of this balance was perhaps much more defective than it has been since; but the system worked better in practice than it does now. *It admitted of a vigorous government.*’

— This remark appears to us perfectly well founded; and indeed the principle of the constitutional equilibrium before the Reform Bill was, we think, more logical than the Baron seems to allow. Each of the elements of the constitution sought to exercise its will unchecked; none of them for long together was strong enough to do so, though all, at one time or another, were strong enough to do a certain amount of mischief. The King sought to recover all the personal power of which the Crown had been deprived by the Revolution, and the consequence was the loss of our American colonies. Parliament, under the Whig oligarchy, endeavoured to usurp Executive power, and to dispossess the Monarch of his constitutional right of dissolution. The people, only indirectly represented in Parliament, made their voice heard outside in riots and tumults. All these irregularities produced violent shocks and oscillations in the balance of the State, but were impotent to overthrow it, because, whenever any single power showed itself dangerously predominant, there was strength and inclination in the other two powers to resist its encroachments, though not to annihilate its existence. Under such conditions, there was manifestly scope for ‘vigorous government.’ And vigorous government we had. Our commerce and enterprise laid the foundations of our empire in all parts of the globe. If we lost America, we gained Canada and India. We occupied the all-important military positions of Gibraltar and Malta. We put down rebellion in Ireland, and upheld freedom in Spain. And we endured, without flinching, a war of twenty years, in which we had more than once to stand alone against the associated power of Europe and, worse still, to confront at home the tyrannous anarchy with which we were contending abroad. There is no more glorious episode in our history than the suppression of the Mutiny of the Nore. It is well to recal to our statesmen, in these days of government by public opinion, the great examples of their predecessors, and the emotions which they excited in the minds of their illustrious contemporaries. ‘Let us figure to ourselves,’ says Prince Hardenberg, ‘Richard Parker, a common sailor, the leader of the revolt, taking at  
Sheerness



Sheerness the title of Admiral of the Fleet, and the fleet itself, consisting of eleven sail of the line and four frigates, assuming the title of the Floating Republic; and nevertheless recollect that the English, but recently recovered from a financial crisis, remained undaunted in the presence of such a revolt, and did not withdraw one vessel from the blockade of Brest, Cadiz, or the Texel! It was the firmness of ancient Rome.\*

How it came to pass that this mighty system was abolished we need not stop to inquire. But we think it will be admitted that the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, not because representation by close boroughs was opposed to the theory of the Constitution, but because it had been used for selfish ends, and had proved itself inadequate to cope with those questions for which the force of opinion, now become overwhelming, imperatively demanded a solution. In any case, the passing of the Bill produced a revolution in the political balance of power, the extent of which was not only unsuspected by those who framed the measure, but is even now imperfectly appreciated by the nation at large. The great intermediary power, which for nearly a century and a half had stood between the Crown and the people, was, politically speaking, neutralised; and, after the long separation caused by the vain attempt to restrict popular rights by force, the Sovereign was once more brought into direct personal contact with his subjects in a government resting almost entirely on opinion.

The first effect of this great Revolution was to destroy the old basis of party government. It is impossible to disguise the fact that the Whig died and was buried in 1832. True, a claimant to his name and estates has appeared; but those who knew the old owner see that his personator is no more like him, than the martyr of Portsmouth is like Sir Roger Tichborne. The opposite view has been lately maintained by our distinguished contemporary the 'Edinburgh Review,' who has endeavoured to prove the identity of the Liberals with the old Whigs.† To begin with the 'alias,' this is the account the new Claimant has to give of himself:—

'When the party to which we belong adopted the name of "Liberal," it did so not because it was ashamed of the old title, or meant to disown it, but because the new appellation stretched wider than the old, because it proclaimed the identity of our principles not only with a time-honoured band of patriots in our own country, but with those who have toiled and bled for freedom in every age and all over the world.'

\* Alison's 'History of Europe,' chap. xxii.

† 'Edinburgh Review,' January, 1877, 'Principles and Prospects of the Liberal Party.'

After this heroic reason for dropping a good old English name, our would-be Whig thinks to prove his identity by some round abuse of the Tories, and if his vituperations were really a proof that our dear old friend, with whom we have before now had many a sharp tussle, were really in the flesh, all the bad names in the world should not provoke us to a retort. But when we ask our Liberal-Whig for a little direct evidence by which he may be recognised, he refers to the following credentials: 'The removal of religious disabilities; the abolition of trade restrictions; the removal of burdensome and unjust taxes; the establishment of a system of primary education; the reform of the representative system.' We can only say with Dominic Sampson, 'Prodigious!' 'The removal of civil disabilities!' Why, would it surprise the 'Edinburgh Review' to learn that the Parliamentary Test Act was supported with eagerness by the Whigs or their immediate predecessors; that it remained in undisturbed operation till the time of George IV.; and that it was finally repealed by the Tories? 'The abolition of trade restrictions!' But who framed the Navigation Laws, if not that excellent progenitor of the Whigs, Oliver Cromwell? 'The establishment of a system of primary education!' Well, we do not know that either Whigs or Tories had much to say to education before the foundations of the present system were laid by a body of men for whom the Whigs have never displayed much affection, the clergy of the Established Church. 'The reform of the representative system!' But was not the Tory Pitt the first to propose Parliamentary Reform, and were not the genuine Whigs as much opposed in their hearts as the bitterest Tories to the measure of 1832, which they understood very well to be an act of political suicide?

By principles such as those enumerated in the foregoing extract, the 'Edinburgh Review' thinks to prove at once the essential difference between the Liberal and Conservative party—the latter of which, it says, cares nothing for principle, but only for institutions—and the identity of the Liberals with the old Whigs. 'Principles,' we are told, 'never change; if true once they are true for ever.' How has it come to pass, then, that the Liberals have been false to the principle of the Test Act, adhered to by Lord Somers? Of the Navigation Laws, passed by Oliver Cromwell? Of protection to trade, advocated by Fox in opposition to Pitt? And what has the 'Edinburgh Review' to say about the 'principle' of Church Establishment? Of the policy respecting Disestablishment a great deal, but of the 'principle' on which that policy is founded very little. 'When the nation

by its representatives demands a settlement of the question when some definite and intelligible plan for dealing with ~~the~~ immense and varied interests involved shall have been produced and shall have met with general acceptance, it will be time for a party or a Government to take it up.' Quite so. The 'Edinburgh Review' has let its cat out of the bag. The 'principle on which the Liberal party acts is expediency, or obedience to the will of the majority. But the assertion, that the will of a majority of the moment represents a principle which is 'true for ever,' is enough to make all the old Whigs turn in their graves. We tell the Liberals plainly, there is no use in beating about the bush. For one hundred and fifty years the Whigs were the guardians of popular liberty against the encroachments of the Crown, and during that period their principles were very clear and well defined. But at the close of that period the people declared that its minority was ended, and that it was capable of governing itself, and when this stage had been reached there was plainly no longer any reason why the Whigs should stand between the people and the Crown.

The Tories, on the other hand, had still a reason of existence. It is quite true, as the 'Edinburgh Review' says, that Toryism does not affect to stand on 'principle' so much as on institutions; in other words, it eschews the shibboleths and legal abstractions in which the Whig mind once delighted, and contents itself with loyally upholding the constitutional prerogative of the Crown against the invasion of democracy. So long as the right and honour of the Crown remain intact, the Tories have not the least desire to restrict the liberties of the people. They have indeed always been, in the widest sense of the word, a more popular party than the Whigs, as, though they know less about the people in the abstract, they know more about them in the flesh. Nor have they the Whig proneness to oligarchy. In his recent discourse on 'Equality,' Mr. Matthew Arnold, lamenting the profound chasm which divides the different ranks in English society, confesses that the conversation of those in a station inferior to his own is utterly unpalatable to him. This is the true Whig spirit. If Mr. Arnold had known more of the country parts where the survivals of feudalism are many and vigorous, he would have understood that there, at any rate, difference in class is no bar to the existence of the strongest sympathy and affection between individuals. Hence there is nothing to wonder at in the introduction of popular measures by the Tory party. Nevertheless, we allow that measures like Catholic Emancipation or the Reform Bill of 1867 are, in a  
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sense, injurious to our cause; because, whether or not these were actually fraught with danger to the Crown, to a large section of the Tories they appeared so, and therefore weakened the union of the party and its faith in its leaders.

Such being the change effected in the relations of parties by the first Reform Bill, what was the effect of this measure on the position of the Crown? In the first place, the capacity of the people to govern itself being virtually acknowledged, it became impossible for the monarch to adopt anything like a party line in the conduct of affairs. Had the Queen after her accession been inclined, like George III. when first he made Pitt Minister, to use her influence against the majority elected by the nation, she would clearly have been guilty of unconstitutional conduct. But she has never done, she has never by her intimate counselors been advised to do, anything of the sort:—

‘If things come to a change of ministry,’ writes Baron Stockmar, whom writers like ‘Verax’ strive to represent as a kind of Lord Bute, ‘then the great axiom, irrefragably one and the same for all ministries is this, viz.: The Crown supports frankly, honourably, and with all its might, the ministry of the time, whatever it be, so long as it commands a majority, and governs with integrity for the welfare and advancement of the country. A king who, as a constitutional king, either cannot or will not carry this maxim into practice, deliberately descends from the lofty pedestal on which the Constitution has placed him to the lower one of a mere party chief.’

Government being now completely based on opinion, the only course open to the Sovereign was to encourage all sound instinct and sentiment, and at the same time to stand completely above party prejudice, and this was what the Queen did:—

‘You always said,’ writes the Prince Consort to Baron Stockmar, ‘that if Monarchy was to rise in popularity it could only be by the Sovereign leading an exemplary life and keeping quite aloof from and above party. Melbourne called this “nonsense.” Now Victoria is praised by Lord Spencer, the Liberal, for giving her support to the Tories.’

The perfect unity of feeling between the Crown and the people was shown at the time of the abolition of the Corn Laws. Never during the present century had party feeling run to such a height. In consequence of the plainly-marked drift of public opinion, Sir Robert Peel tendered his resignation to the Queen. Lord John Russell was summoned to form a Liberal Ministry, but found the difficulties in his path innumerable. Between the perplexities of party and the jealousies of statesmen, it seemed as if the State machine would be brought to a dead-lock. In this emergency the Queen again sent for Sir Robert Peel, and

he loyally undertook to sacrifice himself for the good of his country. What the sacrifice cost we know, and it may be imagined that even a man so patriotic as Peel might have shrunk from a struggle which was certain to deprive him of friendship, connection, and power, if he had not been sustained in his resolve by the sympathy and approval of his Sovereign. As to the conduct of the Crown on this occasion, we quote the evidence of an unimpeachable witness, the Radical 'Examiner':—

'In the pranks and bunglings of the last three weeks there is one part which, according to all report, has been played most faultlessly, that of a Constitutional Sovereign. In the pages of history the directness, the sincerity, the scrupulous observance of constitutional rules which have marked Her Majesty's conduct in circumstances the most trying will have their place of honour. Unused as we are to deal in homage to royalty, we must add that never, we believe, was the heart of a monarch so warmly devoted to the interests of a people and with so enlightened a sense of their interests.'

Yet while thus withdrawing herself from the blinding influences of party, the Sovereign has never ceased to influence by opinion and suggestion the conduct of affairs. And whatever 'Verax' and his following may say, we believe most Englishmen will thoroughly approve of the views of the Prince Consort on the duties of an English monarch:—

'Nowhere,' he states in a private memorandum written in 1852, 'would such indifference be more condemned and justly despised than in England. Why are princes alone to be denied the credit of having political opinions based upon an anxiety for the national interests, their country's honour, and the welfare of mankind? Are they not more independently placed than any other politician in the State? Are their interests not most intimately bound up with those of their country? Is the Sovereign not the natural guardian of the honour of his country? Is he not necessarily a politician?'

Necessarily he is. In home affairs the Sovereign is a politician in the noblest sense, because he is the father of his people. Mr. Martin's narrative shows the eager personal interest which both the Queen and the Prince Consort took in every undertaking designed to promote the happiness or to improve the taste of the nation. Nor were they content merely to preside over their people from an eminence: many a widow of a lost miner or a drowned sailor has been cheered by the expression of Her Majesty's sympathy with her suffering; many a hero of humble station has exulted at the thought that his conduct has merited the notice and approval of his Sovereign.

There is thus a perpetual gravitation of the Crown and the people towards each other, tending to close up the breach that

was

was made in the Royal authority by the Revolution. Strong monarchs have always been popular in England. The reigns to which the imagination most fondly reverts are those of the First and Third Edward, Henry V., and Elizabeth. Under all these the principle of authority predominated over that of freedom, but enough of freedom existed to make the nation proud of its sovereigns, and to rejoice that in them its own majesty was worthily represented. It was only when the Royal power was turned against its subjects that opinion rose against Monarchy, and usurped the functions that properly belong to the Crown. And now that the people has become self-governing it turns instinctively to its Monarch, because it perceives the confidence she reposes in it, and sees in the heartiness with which she enters into all its interests the best guarantee of its prosperity and freedom. The *personal* feeling which the Queen inspires in all classes of her subjects has been proved wherever Her Majesty has chosen to show herself in town or country, and was not more genuinely exhibited by the 'numbers of farmers,' who, as the Queen records, rode with the Royal party through Dunstable in 1841, 'nearly smothering them with dust,' than by the 280,000 artisans of Birmingham, who, in 1843, thronged the streets of the stronghold of Chartism to welcome the visit of the Prince Consort.

But the influence which the Crown exercises over the course of domestic legislation is a far less important consideration than its relation to foreign affairs. In a nation that is self-governed opinion will be the ruling power, but in international dealings it must be evident to all reasonable beings that force is still supreme. If a nation, therefore, values its independence, it must be prepared to use its force, and for this purpose it must be ready to give generous and ungrudging support to its sovereign power. The Monarch is at once the head and the arm of the Constitution, in whose judgment rests the decision of peace and war, and on whose will depend the movements of the military and naval forces of the country. Moreover, the Sovereign, and not his Ministers, is the visible representative of the national majesty in the eyes of all foreign Powers. Constitutional arrangements are nothing to absolute monarchs; it is the monarch of each nation who is in their view responsible for all the actions to which the nation collectively commits itself. Hence the English Sovereign has a double interest in the conduct of foreign affairs; first, the security of his country, and next, the maintenance of his personal honour. Therefore, though, on the principle of self-government, the opinion of the Queen may not in the decision of home affairs be of more value

value than that of her poorest subject who possesses a vote, yet in foreign questions it is obvious that her interest is beyond all comparison greater than that of any other single Englishman, and may even be compared to that of the nation itself. Hence it follows that, not only by virtue of her prerogative, but by the nature of things, she must be allowed a large personal share in the control of our foreign policy.

This is a conclusion which 'Verax' cannot bear. So far from thinking that the Monarch, as head of the Executive power, should bear any part in the maintenance of his own honour, he holds that 'the special functions claimed for the Crown in relation to foreign politics are a survival from a former age when the Monarch had a far larger share of direct power in most things than he has now.' And again: 'The supreme importance of foreign affairs is only another reason why the Crown should stand aloof from them, and leave them in the hands of men who, whatever risks they may choose to adventure with the Sovereign, *are delegated by the nation to do the work*, and are held responsible, even to the length of impeachment, for the manner in which they do it.' It is therefore plain that, in the view of 'Verax,' the nation is not only competent to decide on the direction of its internal interests, but to originate and control the course of foreign policy.

Now for our part we think it can be very conclusively proved, both from reason and experience, that a House of Commons, elected on the principle of numerical representation, is utterly unqualified for the functions which its flatterers would thrust upon it. Admitting, for argument's sake, that the course of history since the Reform Bill has proved that the common sense of the nation has been sufficient to settle prudently questions of domestic interest, this does not at all prove that it will judge with equal wisdom of its interests abroad. Self-government is merely an application of the principle, that average common sense is capable of forming sound opinions on matters lying within its own experience. The principle which undoubtedly works well in the parish has been extended to the nation; and it may be plausibly argued that the average wisdom of the nation is fairly represented in such measures as the abolition of the Corn Laws and the Education Act of 1870. On such subjects almost everybody is capable of forming an opinion; but on what grounds is it to be believed that the ordinary Englishman, ignorant of elementary geography, still more ignorant of history, unacquainted with foreign languages, manners, and modes of thought, and peculiarly susceptible of insular prejudice, can judge with sagacity of imperial questions,

questions, requiring the deepest knowledge of human nature, and the most accurate acquaintance with principle and detail? The disqualifications of such a person to direct the foreign policy of his country will appear still more glaring if we consider the extremely complex system on which that policy has been based ever since the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

Previous to the Reformation the wars of Europe were almost entirely dynastic. After the Reformation and before the Revolution they rose partly out of dynastic questions, partly out of questions of opinion. But since the French Revolution every European war (though some of them were *occasioned* by dynastic jealousies) has been one of opinion. Whether they have been waged between absolutism and anarchy, between foreign conquerors and national insurgents, or between race and race, opinion has been the source of them all. Now the main question which since 1789 has distracted Europe, between Authority on the one side, and Liberty and Equality on the other, is one which England settled in her own fashion for herself in 1688. Her settlement was a compromise. Hence in almost every struggle that has occurred since the French Revolution, the interests of England collectively, and the sympathies of English parties and individuals, have been more or less divided between the rival causes. At the outset of the French Revolution the feelings of most Englishmen, and of Pitt among the rest, were on the side of the Reformers. It was only after the murder of the King, the institution of the Jacobin propaganda, and the invasion of Belgium and Holland, that English opinion pronounced against the Revolution, and asserted the cause of Constitutional Liberty in the great war that terminated with the overthrow of Napoleon.

The objects for which England undertook that war, and which have continued to guide her foreign policy ever since, are lucidly stated in a despatch of Lord Grenville in 1799. After recommending the restoration of the Bourbons as the best means of securing peace and prosperity for France, Lord Grenville says:—

‘But desirable as such an event must be both to France and the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. He looks only to the security of his own dominions and to those of his allies and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting from the internal situation of the country or from such other circumstances of whatever nature as may produce



produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the general means of pacification.

The principles here laid down are those which must necessarily govern the foreign policy of England as long as she remains a constitutional monarchy. Admitting, as she did, the fundamental justice of the principles of the Revolution of 1688, it would have been inconsistent if England had made war on France for the purpose of restoring the Bourbon dynasty. In spite, therefore, of her own opinion that the acknowledgment of her legitimate monarchs would be for the best interests of France, England refrains from interfering with the liberty of the French to determine their own form of government. On the other hand, as the representative of a free and independent nation, the King asserts his right to resist the pretensions of France to impose her opinions on the rest of Europe, and declares that, if she does so, he will protect his own interests and those of his allies. It is impossible that the true limits of the doctrine of non-intervention could be more compendiously defined. Lord Grenville's policy maintains the balance between that state of absolute isolation, to which the Liberal interpreters of the doctrine are so anxious to reduce their country, and that perpetual interference in the affairs of other nations to which the absolutist and revolutionary parties on the Continent respectively resort, whenever either of them gains the upper hand.

We are aware that modern Liberals profess the doctrine that, after the treaty of Vienna, England entirely departed from the position which Lord Grenville had made her assume.

'We are converts,' said Sir W. Harcourt in the debate on the vote of supply, 'to a new political faith since 1815. The treaties of 1815 were negotiated by great statesmen, but they were gigantic blunders. There is nothing left of that treaty now. . . . The reason why that treaty has gone is that the negotiation was founded upon principles that were radically false. It was founded on dynastic arrangements; it was founded upon geographical puzzles; it was made to satisfy the ambition of rulers, and it neglected the interests and sympathies of the nationalities and populations. What was it that broke down the edifice that had been reared? What was the yeast which leavened the lump? It was the principle of nationalities. What makes Prince Bismarck so strong in Europe? It is because he has had the courage and wisdom to grasp the principle of nationality by which he has ground his foes to powder. What has made Austria so weak? It is because she has not recognised that principle. What has made Russia weak as the oppressor of Poland? What has made her so strong as the vindicator of oppressed races, &c.?'

Astonishing words to be heard from the lips of one who is  
ambitious

ambitious of being thought an English statesman! For they are neither more nor less than a repetition of the revolutionary principles which the speaker's ancestors combated with their blood and fortune for a whole generation, which the statesman whom he affects to admire resisted to the day of his death, and which even the leaders of his own party have strenuously repudiated. What was it but the principle of nationality, or the divine right of subjects to rise against their rulers, which originated the invasion of Belgium and Holland in 1793, which resulted in the flagitious treaty of Campo Formio in 1797, which led to the oppression of Spain in 1808? All this was done by France under the Jacobins or Napoleon, precisely on the same pretences as those by which the oppressor of Poland constitutes herself the protector of the Eastern Christians. And even Fox and his followers, ready as they showed themselves to sacrifice the honour and independence of England to the idol of liberty, never bowed down before Napoleon as 'the vindicator of oppressed races.' But if it be true that after 1815 England became the convert to a new faith, why did she not prove the sincerity of her conversion in 1823, by aiding the revolutionists in Spain against the armies of France? What said Canning, Sir W. Harcourt's own favourite, on that occasion? Replying to Sir James Mackintosh, who had instituted a parallel between England under Elizabeth and under George IV., he said:—

'Elizabeth was herself amongst the revolters against the authority of the Church of Rome, but we are not amongst those who are engaged in a struggle against the spirit of unlimited monarchy. We have fought that fight. We have taken our station. We have long ago assumed a character different from those around us. It may have been the duty and interest of Queen Elizabeth to make common cause with, to put herself at the head of, those who supported the Reformation, *but can it be either our interest or our duty to ally ourselves with revolution?* . . . Our complex Constitution is established with so happy a mixture of its elements—its tempered monarchy and regulated freedom—that we have nothing to fear from foreign despotism, nothing at home but from capricious change. We have nothing to fear unless, distasteful of the blessings which we have earned and of the calm which we enjoy, we let loose again with rash hand the elements of our Constitution, and set them once more to fight each other.'

He concludes thus:—

'Our station, then, is essentially neutral, neutral not only between contending nations but between contending principles. The object of the Government has been to preserve that station, and for the purpose of preserving it to maintain peace.'

When

When Donna Maria, the Constitutional Queen of Portugal, was forced from her throne by the usurper Dom Miguel, it was argued by the Liberals in England that we were bound by treaty to render her armed assistance. But Lord Aberdeen conclusively showed that our engagements only held us to protect Portugal from foreign aggression, not to interfere in her internal arrangements. And the Government of that day stopped the expedition which had started from our shores to help Donna Maria on the ground that it involved a breach of England's neutrality.

Lastly, in the debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion of June 25th, 1850, on the principles of foreign policy applied by Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Peel made his last speech, the peroration of which was as follows :—

'It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken, you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate, you will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive when you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their mind the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. . . . You are departing from the established policy of England; you are involving yourselves in difficulties, the extent of which you can hardly conceive; you are bestowing no aid on the cause of constitutional freedom, but are encouraging its advocates to look to you for aid instead of those efforts which can alone establish it, and upon the successful exertion of which alone it can be useful.'

Thus at three different dates, by three Ministers of the most various temper and character, the policy of intervention on behalf of the cause of 'nationality' was disavowed and deprecated. On the other hand, Sir W. Harcourt has no grounds at all for implying that England took up an anti-national position at the Congress of Vienna. By a separate declaration Lord Castlereagh modified the eighth article of the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. This article, he says,—

'Is to be understood as binding the contracting parties, upon principles of mutual security, to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Bonaparte, in pursuance of the third article of the said treaty; but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government. However solicitous the Prince Regent must be to see his Most Christian Majesty restored to the Throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration

ration on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his Most Christian Majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British Government has invariably regulated its conduct.'

These principles, the same that we have before seen advanced by Lord Grenville, are those by which England must still continue to shape her policy if she wishes to preserve her security and independence. But clear and consistent as the principles themselves are, the difficulties in applying them justly are innumerable, and we think that we shall be able to demonstrate from experience that the only way in which the nation can hope to steer safely between the Scylla of Absolutism and the Charybdis of Anarchy is by leaving the Executive—we will go farther, and add the Sovereign herself—just liberty in the conduct of foreign affairs.

The first difficulty that presents itself to the proper application of the principle of non-intervention is the unstable character of our alliances. Allies we must have if the equilibrium of Europe, so necessary to the peace and safety of England, is to be preserved; and yet from the mixed nature of our own Constitution and the uncompromising nature of foreign politics, our friendships have seldom been of complete cordiality or long duration. During the present century the only governments which have remained unshaken by revolution are those of England and Russia; the others have oscillated between revolution and military force; and as our policy forbids us to cast in our lot with one or other of these causes, we are loved by the partisans of neither, and suspected by both. Nevertheless since 1815 we have contrived to maintain our position without loss of influence on the Continent. Through the reigns of Louis Philippe and the late Emperor the relations of the English and French Governments, in spite of antipathies and jealousies in each people, were intimate, and the Western Powers, from 1830 to 1870, were consequently a sufficient balance to the great military monarchies of Northern and Central Europe. Our policy has been to recognise, as far as possible, the *de facto* government in France, without regard to dynastic considerations; and the attitude we have had to assume in consequence is one requiring the greatest delicacy and reserve. How much of the desirable concord between France and England was due to the personal appreciation by Louis Philippe and his successor of the value of the English alliance, and to the tact and judgment with which their advances were met by the Queen and the Prince Consort, may be seen in Mr. Martin's interesting narra-

tive of the various visits exchanged between the monarchs of the two nations.

At the present moment, however, it seems as if the question of foreign alliances were not one with which England has any immediate concern, and we turn to consider a danger more likely to prove fatal to us than any want of co-operation abroad, namely the perils arising out of popular opinion at home. The policy of non-intervention, to be successful, requires the exercise of strict impartiality between the two extreme principles of action that divide nations and governments abroad; but the opinion of the majority of Englishmen has almost always been on one side. Their opinion is controlled by two main sentiments, the love of freedom and national pride. Careless and generous, the average Englishman wishes all the world to enjoy the same well-being as himself, and as he is conscious that he derives much of this well-being from his constitutional government, and is vaguely aware that his ancestors obtained their freedom by fighting for it, he is always on the side of subjects who rise against their rulers. French revolutionists, Spanish juntas, Italian republicans, Hungarian rebels, Polish patriots, have at various times in the century roused the English people to break away from their policy of non-intervention, in the hope of transplanting their own sacred Constitution on to foreign soil. Now it is plain that, though much of this desire is due to democratic sympathy, still more is due to national pride. It pleased the popular imagination to think of England as the leader of European freedom, and to hear of foreign nations adopting constitutional government, because the notion was English. And as the whole drift of the policy the people desired was guided by sentiment, as they were entirely ignorant of the circumstances to which the policy would have to be applied, they were frequently awakened to a sense of reality by the disastrous failure of their expectations, which, however, they were seldom just enough to ascribe to their own ignorance. The fallibility of that public opinion, which 'Verax' desires to be our pilot in foreign affairs, might be illustrated by a hundred examples since 1832, but it will be quite sufficient for our purpose to recal some of its exhibitions during the Crimean war.

Remembering, then, that at that period we were about to take the field against the greatest aggressive power in Europe, which ever since the days of Peter the Great, had pursued its object with rare steadiness and persistency, what, let us ask, was the temper in which the English constituencies, the masters of the English

**English House of Commons, to which the English Ministry was responsible, prepared for the conflict. The Prince Consort, with admirable humour, sketches the state of public opinion at the moment.**

‘ Another mistake that people abroad make is to ascribe to England a policy based upon material interests and cold calculation. Her policy is one of pure feeling, and therefore often illogical. The government is a popular government, and the masses upon whom it rests only feel and do not think. In the present instance their feeling is something of this sort: “ The Emperor of Russia is a tyrant, the enemy of all liberty on the Continent, the oppressor of Poland. He wanted to coerce the poor Turk. The Turk is a fine fellow; he has braved the rascal; let us rush to his assistance. The Emperor is no gentleman, as he has spoken a lie to our Queen. Down with the Emperor of Russia! Napoleon for ever! He is the nephew of his uncle whom we defeated at Waterloo. We were afraid of his invading us? Quite the contrary! He has forgotten all that is past, and is ready to fight with us for the glorious cause against the oppressor of liberty. He may have played the French some tricks, but they are an unruly set, and don’t deserve any better. D— all the German Princes who won’t go with us against the Russian, because they think they want him to keep down their own people. The worst of them is the King of Prussia, who ought to know better.” ’

Such being the ‘ policy ’ of the masses, how much wisdom was shown by their more educated representatives, who claim to give an intelligent reflection of public opinion? For instance, ‘ the defeat of the Turks at Sinope on our own element had made the people furious; ’ and what was the opinion of the Press? The sinking of the fleet was ascribed to the treachery of—the Prince Consort. In one journal he was pointed at as ‘ the chief agent of the Austro-Belgian-Coburg-Orleans clique, the avowed enemies of England, and the subservient tools of Russian ambition.’ It was suggested that there was an influence ‘ behind the Throne? ’ It was imputed to the Prince as a crime that ‘ he was occasionally present at interviews between the Queen and her Ministers, that the Queen discussed political questions with him, and that these had weight in guiding and strengthening the opinions of her Majesty.’ Worked up by these tremendous revelations, the public reached such an exalted pitch of feeling, that they positively believed the Prince had been arrested for high treason, and assembled in thousands to see him committed to the Tower. It of course required nothing but the meeting of Parliament to expose all these absurdities, and to establish, on the authority of all the leading statesmen of the day, the perfectly constitutional character of the Prince’s relations with the Queen. Opinion as usual veered completely round,

round, and the very journals which had been most bitter in their attacks on Prince Albert were now most servile in their flattery of him.

If, again, we turn to the House of Commons of this period as the truest image of a self-governed nation, we shall be unable to conclude that the opinion of the majority is a safe basis of national security and independence. In its readiness to grant supplies, and its determination to uphold the honour of the country, Parliament showed indeed all its traditional energy and patriotism. But as a deliberative assembly, claiming control over the actions of the Executive, it can scarcely be said to have added to its reputation. It would be no doubt unjust to reproach it with not having foreseen, what no man in England could foresee, the utter collapse of our military system in the Crimea; but it might have been expected that the announcement of our first disasters should have been borne with patience and dignity and that Parliament would have had the sagacity to perceive the cause of failure, and to suggest the remedy. As a matter of fact the House of Commons belied both these moderate expectations. It had voted supplies for the war with an intense and patriotic belief that the arms of England could accomplish whatever they were called upon to achieve, and in the reaction of disappointment it reflected the popular belief that treachery must have been at work to prevent its hopes from being realised. *Les malheureux ont toujours tort*, and instead of laying the blame where it was really due, on the system which had so long approved itself to our constitutional notions of government, Parliament was determined to visit its resentment on some human being connected with the Executive. The victim it had selected was once again the Prince Consort. When Mr. Roebuck had obtained his Committee of Inquiry, he told the Duke of Newcastle that he expected to discover but little, since 'in a high quarter there had been a determination that the expedition should not succeed, which had been suggested to head-quarters.' The Duke said that he supposed Mr. Roebuck was alluding to himself. 'Oh no!' said the other, 'I mean a much higher person than you; I mean Prince Albert.' When the chief mover of an inquiry, which was clearly of an unconstitutional nature, was on such a hopelessly false scent, there is little cause for surprise that the Committee should have laboured without result.

But the most curious effects of popular opinion on the foreign policy of England are to be traced in its influence on those who wield the force of the nation, the responsible Ministers of the Crown. So long as affairs were directed by a Ministry supported

ported by the whole power of the Crown, and answerable only to a House of Commons elected from the close boroughs, it was possible for men like Grenville and Castlereagh to hold a firm and consistent course. But, even before the Reform of Parliament, opinion had become so overwhelmingly strong that it threatened to carry with it the rulers who sought to control it, and its power was the more felt in proportion as the Foreign Minister was a man of spirit and imagination. In such men the desire to utilise and direct the force which they were unable to resist became almost a passion. Canning was the first great English statesman who was exposed to the full strength of popular impulse. 'Let us not deceive ourselves,' writes M. Marcellus to Chateaubriand, 'in regard to Mr. Canning. Still undecided, he is yet in suspense between the monarchical opinions, which have made his former renown, and the popular favour, which has recently borne him forwards to power; but as he attends above all to the echo of public opinion, and spreads his sails before the wind which blows it, it is easy to see to which side he will incline.' This criticism, it is true, does not strike us as quite just. Canning was far too great a man ever to bow meekly before the popular will, but his imagination and his patriotism were equally strong, and he felt how vast a force was public opinion if directed towards a national end. We have seen him before holding to the principle of non-intervention when pressed to resist the French invasion of Spain in 1823; there can be no doubt that it was the fervour of his English feeling which prompted his misapplication of the principle in the case of the Spanish colonies, and inspired his famous declaration that 'he had called a new world into existence *to redress the balance of the old.*'

His mantle fell upon Lord Palmerston, a statesman in most respects unlike him in character, but resembling him in the energy and intensity of his English feeling. Lord Palmerston first became Foreign Secretary during the agitation preceding the Reform Bill, and served in almost every Ministry from that date to the time of his death. Floated into power on the great wave of popular opinion, which was then overspreading Europe, he had to apply the policy of non-intervention at a time when almost every nation was seized with a passion for adopting constitutional government. Europe was in the midst of the long peace, and peace was not the condition of things best suited to Lord Palmerston's genius.

'A daring pilot in extremity,  
Pleas'd with the danger, when the waves went high  
He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,  
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.'

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Over and over again he brought the nation into danger, and the Crown into difficulties by the ardour with which he pushed his constitutional propaganda. In 1848 his lectures to the Spanish Government were rejected by those to whom they were addressed, as 'offensive to the dignity of a free and independent nation.' In the same year he sanctioned the withdrawal of guns from the Government stores for the purpose of sending them to the Sicilian insurgents. The insurrection failed, and 'the English Government' (we quote Mr. Martin) 'was charged, not without some show of justice, with having encouraged the Sicilians to resistance, and then deserting them in their extremity. Yet neither the Prime Minister, nor the Cabinet, nor of course the Crown, were aware of the proceedings by which the popular Foreign Secretary had jeopardised the honour of his country.' In 1850 the Queen addressed a memorandum to Lord John Russell, in which she explained what she required of the Foreign Secretary. Her conditions were two :

'1. That the Secretary shall distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction.

'2. Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister.'

The spirit of these rules was distinctly violated by Lord Palmerston in 1851, when in conversation with the French Ambassador in London he expressed his approbation of the *coup d'état* in Paris, after Lord Normanby, our ambassador in that city, had been instructed to do and say 'nothing which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France.' As is well known, this matter led to Lord Palmerston's dismissal from office. There can be no doubt that his system of constant interference in the affairs of foreign countries was not only a departure from our traditional policy, but a source of weakness to the country. Its effects are summed up in a remark of the late Emperor of the French on hearing of Lord Palmerston's removal:—'Autant qu'il était Ministre l'Angleterre n'avait point d'alliés.'

Unsuited as Lord Palmerston was to conduct the foreign affairs of England in time of peace, his energy, capacity and popularity made him just the man to take the helm in the presence of danger and excitement. His predecessor, Lord Aberdeen, forms a singular contrast to him in this respect, and offers another striking example of the effects of public opinion on the position of the Ministers of the Crown in regard to foreign affairs. Without any of Lord Palmerston's vigour, Lord Aberdeen had more caution ; he thoroughly understood the difficulties

of our situation on the eve of the Crimean war, but he wanted clearness of understanding for making those warlike preparations beforehand which would have enabled him to preserve peace. The consequence was, that by his weakness he deceived the Emperor Nicholas, and thus drifted into that war. He was altogether out of sympathy with the public; his feebleness and spirit of concession only aroused their indignation; they were utterly unable to appreciate the grounds of his caution, and he was equally incapable of understanding the source of their enthusiasm. On principle he allowed the necessity of the war, but he could never bring himself to share his countrymen's hostility to the nation which he regarded as an old friend and ally.

Lord Palmerston was able to bring the Crimean war to a triumphant conclusion because he had the confidence of the country, which was therefore disposed to leave him liberty of action. But before he assumed the lead, the winds and cross-currents of opinion had reduced the counsels of the nation to something like distraction. After the outburst of public indignation which followed the disclosure of the state of the army, just at the time when it was most necessary for the Cabinet to hold loyally together, for the sake of the public interest and the honour of the Sovereign, Lord John Russell chose to make himself the mouthpiece of popular discontent in the Ministry, and to demand the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle. When his demand was refused, he acquiesced in the decision, but on Mr. Roebuck's motion for a Select Committee of Inquiry he resigned, because, as he said, 'he did not see how the motion was to be resisted.' The motion was consequently carried by an enormous majority, and the spectacle was then presented to the world of the Queen of England vainly endeavouring to find a body of gentlemen who would uphold the honour of their Sovereign and the cause of their country in the hour of difficulty. Lord Derby failed to form a Ministry because he could not obtain the promise of sufficient support; Lord John Russell, because after his recent conduct his old colleagues refused to serve with him; Lord Lansdowne declined office on account of his age and infirmities; and even Lord Palmerston had the greatest difficulty in securing the co-operation of the Peelites. Nor were his troubles at an end after his Government had been formed, for the Peelites soon resigned, and he had presently to resist the attacks of one who, in his capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had proposed a War Budget, but who had now, in the moment of need and pressure, deserted into the ranks of the party for peace at any price. We quote Lord Palmerston's remarks on this occasion, not only because we consider them entirely just as directed

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against Mr. Gladstone, but also because they aptly illustrate the dangers to which constitutional governments are exposed from statesmen who leave the anchorage of principle to drift on the tides of opinion and circumstance.

'Sir, there must indeed be grave reasons which could induce a man who had been a party with Her Majesty's Government to that line of policy, who had assisted in conducting the war; who had, after full and perhaps unexampled deliberation, agreed to enter upon the war, who, having concurred after that full and mature deliberation in the commencement of the war, had also joined in calling upon the country for great sacrifices in order to continue it, and who had, to a very recent period, assented to all the measures proposed for its continuance; I say there must indeed be grave reasons which could induce a man who had been so far a party in the measures of the Government utterly to change his opinions; to declare this war unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic; to set before the country all the imaginary disasters with which his fancy could supply him, and to magnify and exaggerate the forces of the enemy and the difficulties of our position.'

If with such dissensions in Cabinets, jealousies between individual Ministers, confusion in Parliament, and ignorance among the masses, the direction of England's affairs abroad had been left, as 'Verax' wishes, altogether in the hands of men 'delegated by the people to do the work,' it is more than probable that we should have come out of the Crimean war defeated and dishonoured. Fortunately there was one part of the Constitution raised alike above the passions of party and the fluctuations of opinion, which was able to impress on our foreign policy the image of its own firmness and unity of purpose. History will record that many of the advantages secured to Europe, and much of the glory accruing to England from the Treaty of Paris, are due to the exertions of the English Crown. Though neither the Queen nor her husband appeared prominently before the public, there was scarcely an idea connected with the design and general scope of the campaign which did not originate in some royal suggestion. How clearly the Prince Consort understood the traditional principle of English policy which was involved in the war, may be seen from his 'Memorandum,' dated October 21st, 1853:—

'It will be said that England and Europe have a strong interest, setting aside all Turkish considerations, that Constantinople and Turkish territory should not fall into the hands of Russia, and that they should in the last extremity even go to war to prevent such an overthrow of the balance of power. This must be admitted, and such a war may be right and wise. But this would be a war *not for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire*, but merely for the interests of the European powers of civilisation. It ought to

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carried on unshackled by obligations to the Porte, and will probably lead in the peace, which must be the object of that war, to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty, and civilisation, than the re-imposition of the ignorant barbarian and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe.'

The double purpose implied in this memorandum, of restraining the ambition of Russia and securing the better government of the subject races of Turkey, did not commend itself to Lord Palmerston, whose nature always prompted him to a strong and one-sided policy. Nor was it effectually achieved by the Treaty of Paris, the course of events having made it almost necessary in pursuance of English policy to leave the Sultan independence of action within his own dominions. But the wisdom and foresight of the views thus expressed have been sufficiently proved by the too plausible pretexts which Russian craft has been able to weave out of the persistency of Turkish misgovernment.

From war in the last resort it would have been impolitic and dishonourable of England to have shrunk. But before committing her country to so bloody an arbitrament, the Queen used all her personal influence to prevail over the purpose of the Czar, and to bring the pressure of a European concert to compel him to relinquish his designs. He had appealed to her by letter against the policy of her Ministers, and she answered him firmly and courteously, upholding that policy. Austria and Prussia admitted the iniquity of the Russian aggression, but they were restrained by their mutual jealousies from opposing it. The King of Prussia wrote to the Queen a letter excusing his inaction, and advancing much the same plea for his 'industrious Rhinelanders' as has lately been employed on behalf of 'the Pomeranian ploughman.' The Queen's reply was worthy of the country that had stood the chief brunt of the war against Napoleon:—

'When your Majesty tells me that "you are now determined to assume an attitude of complete neutrality," . . . I do not understand you. Had such language fallen from the King of Hanover or of Saxony I could have understood it. But up to the present time I have regarded Prussia as one of the five great Powers which since the Peace of 1815 have been the guarantors of treaties, the guardians of civilisation, the champions of right and ultimate arbitrators of the nations; and I have for my part felt the holy duty to which they were thus divinely called, being at the same time perfectly alive to the obligations, various as these are and fraught with danger, which it imposes. Renounce these obligations, my dear brother, and in doing so you renounce for Prussia the status she has hitherto held. And if the example thus set should find imitators, European civilisation

tion is abandoned as a plaything for the winds; right will no longer find a champion, nor the oppressed an umpire to appeal to.'

On the other hand, Her Majesty displayed the most skilful tact in cementing our alliance with the *parvenu* Emperor of the French, who was himself rejoiced at being able to strengthen his position by his intimacy with the occupant of so old and venerable a throne as that of England. And when once war became inevitable, she endeavoured to compensate for the coldness of her First Minister by the heartiness with which she identified herself with the national sentiment. Lord Aberdeen, in a reply to Lord Lyndhurst's memorable speech of June 19, 1854, had been betrayed into what appeared like a defence of Russia, and the Queen, well understanding the unseasonableness of such an utterance, wrote to him in consequence as follows:—

'The qualities in Lord Aberdeen's character which the Queen values most highly, his candour and his courage in expressing opinions, even if opposed to general feelings at the moment, are in this instance dangerous to him, and the Queen hopes that in the vindication of his own conduct to-day—which ought to be triumphant, as it wants in fact no vindication—he will not undertake the ungrateful and injurious task of vindicating the Emperor of Russia from any of the exaggerated charges brought against him and his policy, at a time when there is enough in that policy to make us fight with all our might against it.'

Yet in the midst of the difficulties to which Lord Aberdeen was afterwards exposed from the indignation of the people and the defections of his colleagues, the Queen stood by him, and to testify her respect for his loyalty and sincerity, offered him the Order of the Garter, expressing to him at the same time 'how deeply she was impressed by the admirable temper, forbearance, and firmness with which Lord Aberdeen had conducted the whole of a very difficult and annoying transaction.'

To the Prince Consort's sagacity was due the plan of weekly reports from the Crimea by means of tabular returns, which did so much towards remedying the disasters caused by the first collapse of our military administration. The Prince also furnished a 'Memorandum' on army organisation, as to the merits of which it will be sufficient to quote the opinion of General Hamley, that 'it has been the aim of military reformers since, to embody all its suggestions, and that all have been put in practice with the exception of certain points of detail with which the "Memorandum" either does not deal at all, or only imperfectly.' Indeed, in every department connected with the army, the Prince's anxiety for the success of the expedition was visible.

'If,'

‘If,’ said the Duke of Newcastle, in reply to Mr. Roebuck’s insinuations, ‘during the time of my official duties I have received any suggestions which were more valuable to me than others, they did not come from your friends the Napiers, but from Prince Albert.’

Thus both in its capacity as Sovereign of the nation, as chief of the great Council of the Kingdom, and as the Commander of the Army, the personal influence of the Crown made itself beneficially felt. It was more touchingly manifested in the exercise of its functions as the fountain of honour. Let those who think that all feudal feeling is extinct in England read the following extract from a letter of the Queen to the King of the Belgians:—

‘Ernest will have told you what a beautiful and touching sight and ceremony (the first of the kind ever witnessed in England) the distribution of the medals was. From the highest prince of the blood to the lowest private, all received the same distinction for the bravest conduct in the severest actions, and the rough hand of the brave and honest private soldier came for the first time in contact with that of their Sovereign and their Queen. Noble fellows! I own I feel as if they were my own children—my heart beats for them as for my nearest and dearest! They were so touched, so pleased—many, I hear, cried; and they won’t hear of giving up their medals to have their names engraved upon them for fear that they should not receive the identical ones put into their hands by me!’

Mr. Martin’s third volume brings his biography of the Prince Consort down to within a few years of his death. Looking back over the exciting period of European history which has passed since that event, and reflecting on their own present circumstances, the people of England, when they close his book, will be conscious of two prevailing sentiments. They will, in the first place, feel a deep and respectful sympathy with their Sovereign who, for the last seventeen years, has had to meet the increasing perils and difficulties by which her Empire is surrounded, unassisted by the calm judgment which encouraged and advised her in the earlier portion of her reign. And in the second place, when they recal the suspicions and imputations to which the Prince was exposed from popular passion and prejudice, at the very moments when he was labouring most indefatigably for the good of his adopted country, they will be sensible of the irreparable loss they have incurred themselves.

‘Virtutem incolumem odimus,  
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.’

Since the death of the Prince Consort, the whole aspect of affairs on the Continent has altered, and strange modifications

have consequently been introduced into our foreign policy. Repressed for a moment in 1815, the great wave of democracy gathered fresh force during the long peace between that date and 1848, when it returned and dashed with irresistible force against every throne in Europe. That epoch may be said to have been the Carnival of Opinion. Doctrinaire statesmen, philosophical poets, scientific historians, and political economists, united their efforts against the powers of Catholicism and Feudalism. The principles of liberty and equality were assumed as axiomatic by all who desired a reputation for wisdom and virtue. Opinion was everywhere hailed as the great nostrum which was to liberate and purify mankind; and each saw in his own particular opinion the image of the Perfection towards which he asserted humanity to be travelling. All over Europe there was a passion for the establishment of equal rights and free institutions. But how was this ideal of liberty and equality, so passionately longed for, pursued? Not by means of opinion, but of force; not by legality, but by Revolution and War. To destroy the strongholds of Absolutism and to achieve national independence, all the local, traditional, and hereditary ties that gave variety and colour to the smaller societies of Europe were remorselessly swept away. The end may have been worth the price, but the price was great, nor was the state of things actually realised in the least like what had been dreamed by the philosophers. The individual equality secured by the demolition of ranks and traditions formed a basis, not for constitutional liberty, but for European war.

Scarcely had the mutual congratulations between the nations, occasioned by the Great Exhibition of 1851, ceased, when war broke out between Russia and England and France. The Treaty of Paris had only been signed three years when the battles of Solferino and Magenta deprived Austria of a large portion of her Italian dominions. Within almost an equally short period, Austria and Prussia made their joint attack on Denmark; and the very next year Austria was excluded from the German Confederation and was forced to surrender Venice in consequence of her disastrous defeat at Sadowa. In 1870 occurred the still more terrible conflict between France and Germany, since which time every great nation in Europe, with the exception of England, has been a vast armed camp. And this state of things, so far from being temporary, appears to us to be the natural consequence of the application of the principle of equality. Individual aspirations liberated by the destruction of local rights gravitated to a single centre, and the unity of each nation was represented solely by its military force. In-  
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stead of wars between rival monarchs, whose ambition was checked by personal fear or prudence, wars now arose between nation and nation, and race and race, and were liable to be as general in their extension as they were capricious in their cause.

But while force was thus reaping the fruits of opinion on the Continent, the power of opinion in England continued to expand and increase. After the Crimean war, the repeal of the duty on paper enormously increased the number and circulation of the daily journals; the influence of the moneyed classes, always the most powerful in forming opinion, was continually growing; and though during the lifetime of Lord Palmerston reform was practically shelved, his death was a signal to both parties to bid for power by a wide extension of the franchise. The influences of this vast collective mass of moving opinion were seen in the domestic legislation of the Gladstone Ministry in their term of power after 1868.

A passion for reform had seized upon the public mind. There was not an interest in the country that was not attacked, not an institution that was not put upon its trial, not an endowment that was not threatened by popular opinion. The love of analysis manifested itself in our art and letters. Poets and men of literary taste turned philosophers, and amused the imagination of the people with speculative and religious paradox. Meantime the wealth of the country was advancing, as Mr. Gladstone said, with 'leaps and bounds,' and this, being coincident with the great development of opinion and self-government, confirmed the nation in the belief that it was on the high-road to the Millennium. The genius of England had, in short, become completely introspective.

Such a state of things had of course a powerful influence on the course of our foreign policy. After the Revolutionary era closed in 1848, the just application of the principle of non-intervention became more difficult than ever. There was now no longer any temptation to interfere, as Lord Palmerston had so frequently done, on behalf of nations struggling for free institutions. The peoples had won the day against their rulers, in fact, if not in appearance: all government on the Continent had henceforth a basis more or less democratic, and all wars a more or less popular origin. The democratic motives of these wars took from them the appearance of aggression, and consequently prevented England, even where, as in the war of Denmark with the German Powers, her sympathies were strongly enlisted, from interfering in behalf of European right. Her policy of non-intervention grew, therefore, into a confirmed habit of abstention from Continental quarrels. Absorbed in domestic legislation, the  
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people of England began to regard all affairs outside their own island with a merely scenic interest. They read the foreign correspondence with which their daily press so ably supplied them, with the same kind of zest as they devoured the last new novel or rushed to look at the last new rope-dancer. Their attitude to the world was like that of the gods of Epicurus, so finely described by the poet:—

‘For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurled  
Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curled  
Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world;  
Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,  
Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps and fiery  
sands,  
Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and sinking ships, and praying  
hands.’

Wide as these lotus-bred notions had spread, there was something startling, even to those who indulged in them, in the uncompromising terms in which they were expressed, during the heat of the war between France and Germany, by the ‘Edinburgh Review’ of October 1870:—

‘Happy England!’ exclaimed the Reviewer in a patriotic transport. ‘Happy, not because any Immaculate Conception exempted her from that original sin of nations, the desire to erect Will into Right, and the last of territorial aggrandisement. Happy, not only because she is *felix prole virum*, because this united kingdom is peopled by a race unsurpassed as a whole in its energies and endowments; but happy, with a special reference to the present subject, in this, that the wise dispensation of Providence has cut her off by that streak of silver sea which passengers so often and so justly execrate, though in no way from the duties and honours, yet partly from the dangers, absolutely from the temptations, which attend upon the local neighbourhood of the Continental nations.’

And the conclusion of the whole matter was:—

‘One accomplishment yet remains needful to enable us to hold without envy our free and eminent position. It is that we should do as we should be done by; that we should seek to found a moral empire upon the confidence of the nations, not upon their fears, their passions, or their antipathies. Certain it is that a new law of nations is gradually taking hold of the mind, and coming to sway the practice of the world; a law which recognises independence, which frowns upon aggression, which favours the pacific, not the bloody settlement of disputes, which aims at permanent, not temporary, adjustments; above all, which recognises as a tribunal of paramount authority the general judgment of civilised mankind.’

Such, with the recollection of four bloody wars within his experience,

experience, with the spectacle of two of the greatest nations in Europe engaged in a struggle for life and death almost before his eyes, such was, in 1870, the view of England's foreign policy as expressed—so it is universally believed—by her Prime Minister! The force of opinion 'could no further go.' Nor was it long before Mr. Gladstone had an opportunity for reducing these opinions to practice. Scarcely had the siege of Paris ended, when a stern voice was heard from the North demanding the excision from the Treaty of 1856 of all the clauses relating to the neutralisation of the Black Sea. What followed is remembered by Englishmen too painfully to need repetition. But we had still another cheek to turn to the smiter. Our shrewd Transatlantic kinsfolk saw their opportunity of driving a good bargain with the nation which had propounded the new political morality. The Geneva Arbitration on the 'Alabama' claims was arranged, and by 'a tribunal of paramount authority representing the general judgment of the civilised world,' we were fined to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* for observing the conditions of our own municipal law.

These experiences of real life acted like the healthy shock of a shower-bath on the over-excited condition of public opinion, and the elections of 1874 showed very clearly that 'Philip had become sober.' But another and still more severe experience was required before the nation could be completely cured of the ideology which had so inveterately infected it. Of all questions of foreign policy the one with which public opinion was least qualified to deal was the Eastern Question, for this was essentially two-sided, and public opinion can never fix itself on more than one thing at a time. The Prince Consort had shown his sagacity by divining—as we have shown in our extract from his 'Memorandum'—that the object of the Crimean war was not primarily the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire, but the restriction of Russian ambition and the amelioration of the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey. Neither of these objects was completely attained by the Treaty of Paris. The former was indeed apparently secured by the Prince Consort's ingenious device of the diplomatic guarantee, and the latter by the Firman which the Porte granted to all its subjects, without distinction. And it may well be doubted, looking to the disposition of the German Powers, and to England's essential principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, if greater results were possible. But the diplomatic guarantee only bound the Powers to *collective* action in defence of Turkey; and the disclaimer of the right to interfere within the Sultan's dominions made it impossible to urge the execution of  
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the promised reforms by anything more effectual than diplomatic pressure.

In the summer of 1875 an insurrection, very obscure in its origin, broke out in the Herzegovina. It was followed at first with but languid interest by the English public; but the interest deepened when Servia joined the quarrel. Opinion became at once divided; the majority favouring the Turk for the sake of old associations, the Liberal minority siding, as usual, with the insurgent nationalities. But there was nothing like a stir of national sentiment till, in consequence of the request of Sir H. Elliott, the British fleet moved to Besika Bay. The object of the movement was suspected by both parties to be different from what it was asserted to be and what it really was. Even then, however, there was no passionate outburst of opinion from the Liberal party. This was reserved for the moment when the Bulgarian atrocities were first announced in the columns of a morning paper. Then was seen the enormous power which the telegraph and the press exert over all governments. Madened by the horrors emulously portrayed to their imagination by the vivid word-painting of the newspaper correspondents, the feelings of the people broke beyond all bounds. Henceforth men could think, dream, and speak of nothing but atrocities; the Bulgarian massacre absorbed their minds and appeared to them the only basis on which to found a foreign policy. The electric current passed over the kingdom. Mayor after mayor called public meetings, which in their proceedings bore a strong resemblance to that famous assembly of which 'the more part knew not wherefore they were come together,' and which 'cried out for the space of two hours, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"' And, as if it was the business of statesmen to add fuel to the popular flame, the ex-Premier, when the agitation had reached its height, wrote a pamphlet on 'Bulgarian Horrors,' in which the quondam apostle of complete 'abstention' proposed to turn the Mussulman Power 'bag and baggage' out of Europe. Throughout the country, poets, historians, professors, High Churchmen and Dissenters, appeared on public platforms, denouncing with equal vigour the 'unspeakable' Turk and the bloodthirsty Premier.

Meantime the great autocratic Power, representing Force in Europe, showed that it understood perfectly well how to take advantage of this paroxysm of opinion. Russia had avoided the error she had committed in 1853 of showing her hand too soon, and during the early stages of the insurrection had kept herself well in the background. More than suspected of having fomented the rising in the Slav provinces, and of having sug-  
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to the Porte the military arrangements which occasioned the Bulgarian massacre, she had observed a studious moderation: she perceived that she might safely appear in the character she had designed. Then, with the applause of a great section of the English public, and urged on, as she said, by the feeling of her own subjects, she stood forth, like another Ferdinand of Austria, as the Protector of the Christians against their Mussulman oppressors. Like a threatening cloud the vast armies she mobilised hung over the Conference at which the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers met to discuss the affairs of Turkey. The Conference broke up without result, in consequence of the refusal of the Turks to submit to what they considered a denial of their independence, Russia assumed the rôle of armed champion of Europe, and declared war against Turkey. Beaten first in Armenia, and checked by the gallant defence of Erzerum, the Russians held to their object with all their national vigour; Kars was taken; Plevna capitulated; and, while the English Liberals were still speaking of the 'divine figure from the North,' the English people were suddenly awakened to a sense of their situation by the rapid march of the Muscovite army across the Balkans, and by the appearance of the vanguard of the Russian army within the walls of Constantinople.

*hi, possidentes!* The success of Russia has been due to the mixture of astuteness, dissimulation, and daring with which, as the possessor of autocratic force, she has been able to direct her policy. We altogether dissent from those omniscient guides of public opinion, who have recently taken advantage of the strength of Russia to derive from having consistently opposed Russia, to pour out their most rancorous abuse on their own Government as the author of the difficulties in which we find ourselves. Let us at any rate be just, even if we are angry. Our difficulties are due not to the Ministry, but to ourselves. As a people taking pride in the strength of their own nation, the English nation has not thought fit to leave its foreign policy full liberty of choice in the direction of its foreign policy.

From the commencement of the insurrection down to the end of the Bulgarian massacres, the Ministry had guided its foreign policy by a strict observance of the Treaty of Paris, and the traditional principle of non-intervention. They had acceded to the demands of the Porte, and only at the request of the Porte, to the Andrassy Memorandum, and they refused to be parties to the Berlin Memorandum, because these measures appeared to them infringements of the Article of the Treaty, which prohibits any interference on the part of the guaranteeing Powers with the internal administration of Turkey. Up to this point their hands had been free, and had the Bulgarian episode not occurred, we do not doubt that

that any appearance of aggression on the part of Russia would have provoked the same kind of spirit in the country as has been lately manifested. In that case we should certainly not have gone to the Conference at Constantinople till Russia had demobilised her army. But after the outburst of popular passion following the massacres, after the refusal of the Turks to accept the proposals of the Conference, formed on the basis we had proposed ourselves, the only policy open to a Ministry acting on the principle of non-intervention was conditional neutrality. Such a policy was obviously attended with the gravest dangers; some of the incidents in its execution have borne an appearance of weakness and indecision; but, on the whole, we ought to admit that under conditions of unexampled difficulty the Ministry have done their duty steadily and manfully, and have deserved well of the country. The weaknesses of our policy are inseparable from our constitutional system, and if we are manly enough to understand the value of that system, instead of crying out against a Ministry whose action we have hampered, we shall try to learn the lesson that our present circumstances teach us.

This lesson will be by no means the one which 'Verax' is anxious to inculcate. We have dwelt at length on the principles underlying Constitutional government in general, and on the historical development of our own Constitution in particular, because we think that the evidence shows very conclusively that the English Constitution has nothing of the fixed character of, for instance, that of the United States. 'Verax,' it appears to us, is a political Rip van Winkle. His arguments are applicable to the state of things existing in the reign of George III., but not to the circumstances of the reign of Queen Victoria. When the nation in 1832 asserted its capacity to govern itself, it obviously occupied a very different position, relatively to the Crown, from the state of pupillage in which it existed when the Whig aristocracy was defending its rights against the encroachments of the Royal prerogative. What, then, does 'Verax' mean by saying that if the nation finds that the Sovereign plays any part more active than that of a Royal dummy, 'danger commences for one party though hardly for both?' If the danger is to the Crown, does he find that his countrymen generally are murmuring at the revelations of 'personal rule' made by the Life of the Prince Consort? But if he thinks it is the people whose security is imperilled, then 'Verax' must choose between one of two alternatives; either the nation, by asserting its qualifications to govern itself, has proclaimed its ability to protect itself against the Royal prerogative, or else it is so open to the influence of the disposal of the Crown that it is not qualified for self-govern-  
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ment. Now, we do not think that the latter of these conclusions is warranted. The course of our argument has gone to show that the centre of gravity in our Constitution has at different periods oscillated perilously between the opposing poles of force and opinion. We have seen it under the Stuarts travelling too far in the direction of force; we have seen it of late recoiling equally overmuch to the side of opinion. Is it not possible that now, when the Crown has been restored to its old unity with the people, we may be entering on a period when force and opinion will be able to resettle themselves in a just equilibrium?

To decide on this point, let us try to see distinctly how we stand; and first, with regard to the state of parties. 'Party,' says Burke, 'is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavour the national interest upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed.' How far is this condition fulfilled at the present moment by the party that calls itself Liberal? Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the principle of numerical representation is developed to its logical extreme by the passing of a Bill for the assimilation of the borough and county franchise. What would the party we are speaking of agree to do next. Mr. Chamberlain leads off glibly enough with a fine cry of 'Free Church! Free Schools! Free Land!' But he is met by a soft murmur of deprecation from Mr. Bright, 'Pray let us have no programme! The true Liberal frame of mind, manifested in speeches for peace at any price, and recollections of the Anti-Corn Law League, is what we want.' Mr. Goldwin Smith, however, dashes to the front, and, after administering some hearty cuffs to the 'Whig oligarchy,' suggests to them that they had better fall in with the earnest Radicals and pass the word for 'Liberty and Nonconformity!' But he is immediately reminded by Mr. Matthew Arnold, with his usual urbanity, that he is a 'political Puritan,' and that 'one of the great obstacles to our civilisation is British Nonconformity and the other British aristocracy.' Turning then to Lord Hartington, Mr. Arnold proposes to him to address his Scotch audience as follows: 'The cause of your being ill at ease is not what you suppose. The cause of your being ill at ease is the profound imperfectness of your social civilisation. Your social civilisation is indeed such as I forbear to characterise. But the remedy is not Disestablishment. The remedy is social equality. Let me turn your attention to a reform in the law of bequest and entail.\*' Such an address, he says, would doubtless be received with laughter; but he advises

\* 'Fortnightly Review' for March, 1878.

us to think over it. And for our part we should be exceedingly glad to know the character of Lord Hartington's reflections on the interesting suggestion which Mr. Arnold has put into his mouth.

We are disposed to make every allowance for the difficult position in which our Liberal friends are placed. They have to contrive some course of action which may preserve union among themselves, and please the imagination of the majority of their countrymen. And it is by no means easy to fascinate the fancy of Englishmen with any ideal which does not promise practical increase in the amount of well-being of which they know themselves to be possessed; nor, even if promises attract them, are they inclined to take them on trust. They know and value the benefits which they have derived from their ancient liberty, but they doubt if they will increase these by entering on a course of destruction with Mr. Smith and Mr. Chamberlain. No doubt the prospect of an increase of religious life in the nation is a desirable end to be achieved, but will it be achieved by Disestablishment? We suspect that the more serious-minded of the non-political Dissenters, who turn their eyes to the present condition of the Irish Church, will have some hesitation in affirming that all the spiritual results which were prophesied have followed the disestablishment and disendowment of that Institution. We doubt, too, whether High Churchmen, when they look to the same quarter, however much they may complain of the oppression of Courts of Law, will be inclined to support Mr. Chamberlain in his demand for a *free* Church. Nor will there be many to agree with our English Quesnay in his refined distaste for inequality. We are all of us 'ill at ease;' but most of us are shrewd enough to know that the cause of our being so is not 'the profound imperfectness of our social civilisation,' but the radical imperfection of our own nature. While we agree with Mr. Arnold in thinking that this will not be cured by Disestablishment, we are equally sure that the remedy is not to be found in 'social equality;' and we believe that most Englishmen who desire relief will seek it not in the maxims of Menander but in the consolations administered for more than eight hundred years by the religion which Mr. Arnold has lately taken under his special patronage and protection.

Now if new party lines cannot be constituted, it is certain that the old will be abused. Already we see attempts being made to disguise the absence of genuine party differences in the contingencies by the mechanical operations of the American 'caucuses.' Inside the House of Commons the measures of Government are exposed to the criticisms of half-a-dozen separate and irresponsible Oppositions. By one of these, consisting of some five or six

six members, the venerable forms of the House, the heritage of times when the Commons had good reasons for protecting the liberties of the minority, are used for the complete stoppage of public business. On the other side the irresponsible supporters of the Ministry, conscious of the strength which their leaders derive from their serried phalanx, seek to share in the enjoyment of power by bringing the Executive more and more under their influence. The whole House groans under the weight of the duties with which it has charged itself since it abandoned its old functions of control to take the initiative in legislation. At one time transformed into a debating-society, at another into a vestry, it becomes every year more incapable of accomplishing the tasks which its ambition has undertaken. Meantime the imperial business which calls for despatch is vast and various. At home the nation has to encounter great and increasing difficulties, connected with the population crowded in its ever-growing cities; it has to purify and ennoble the public taste, by making the architecture of the State worthy of the State's imperial character; to purge the rivers of the acids by which they are poisoned; and as far as possible to preserve the features of its once beautiful country from the plague of smoke by which they are disfigured. Greater still are its responsibilities abroad. For the first time in the history of the world a free nation finds itself the master of a mighty empire. It extends its sway over a hundred *self-governed* colonies. It has assumed directly the government of two hundred millions of men originally subdued by the private enterprise of its own sons. How can these great matters, in which the whole *unity* of the nation is involved, be settled by the distractions of Party government? What hope is there of Parliament dealing with them successfully, unless it falls into its proper place as part of the Grand Council of the Realm?

When the Romans had acquired empire, and found that their old constitutional machinery was inadequate to the administration of their affairs, they deliberately chose to retain empire at the cost of liberty. Such would not be the choice of the English, even if the choice were forced upon them. But if they are the true children of their fathers, Englishmen will show that they know how to maintain both liberty and empire by placing full confidence in their Sovereign. Our Empire rests upon Opinion, and the Crown is the centre to which all sound opinion, independently of party, should gravitate. Her Majesty and all the members of the Royal Family have shown how clearly they understand that the interests of the Crown and the nation are identical; and, in the opportunities of collecting, centralising, and directing opinion, it is plain that no influence can compare with



with that of the Monarch. We ought not to refuse to contemplate possibilities because they seem to be remote. Let us suppose that parties disappeared, and Parliament, once more deliberately confining itself to its old office of control, left all initiative in the hands of the Executive. What obstacle would be thereby opposed to rising energy and ambition? Honour and place would still be open to all who distinguished themselves in council. Ministers no doubt would be selected more at the discretion of the Sovereign, and, though they would still be responsible to the People, they would cease to be what they now tend to become, its creatures. If it be said that such a constitutional balance would be dangerous to freedom, we answer that, even if it were, it is the natural consequence of self-government under the English Constitution, and therefore a contingency that freedom must be prepared to face. But the supposed danger is a phantom, arising out of recollections of days when the Crown wielded almost absolute power, whereas the Crown has now no solid support but opinion; and if a Monarch should ever be blind enough to mistake his interest, and bold enough to encroach on his subjects' liberties by force, it is incredible that in a people accustomed to centuries of freedom, there should not be sufficient means of self-defence. Our true defence against over-centralisation lies in our habits of municipal independence. The policy of Conservatism is plain. It is to localise whatever of our interests is domestic, and to centralise whatever is imperial.

And this policy of Conservatism will be forced more and more on all who value the independence of their country, in consequence of the nature of our foreign relations. If England were the only country in the world, we might try experiments on our Constitution, without fear of any consequences but such as would arise from internal revolution. Or again, if the nations of Europe were all living like ourselves under free constitutions, we might trust to the amiability and good nature of our neighbours rather to pity our distractions than to take advantage of our weakness. But it is very evident that if 'that tribunal of paramount authority, the general judgment of civilised mankind,' ever had any jurisdiction, it is not disposed to exercise it at the present moment. We are living among nations who have resorted to 'the good old plan' of exacting territory from the conquered; among statesmen who have ratified the Bismarck-Benedetti compact; among autocrats who have scattered to the winds the fragments of the Treaty of Paris. If England is the 'sick woman' that Prince Bismarck is said to consider her, she will scarcely be able to maintain, by moral opinion alone, her own vast empire, much less the liberties of her allies, against her

her exceedingly unsentimental neighbours. All the clearness of head and all the force of arm that she can command will have to be employed in self-defence. 'Gentlemen,' as the Prince Consort said at a dinner at the Trinity House in 1856, 'Constitutional Government is under a heavy trial, and can only pass triumphantly through it if the country will grant its confidence to Her Majesty's Government. Without this all their labours must be in vain.'

But if Her Majesty's Government is to be trusted, it must show itself courageous and independent; it must show that it understands the English people too well to be afraid of them. About eighteen months ago Lord Derby, addressing one of the numerous deputations which beset him at the time of the great anti-Mussulman agitation, asked its leaders what policy they wished him to adopt, adding that he was most anxious to meet '*the wishes of his employers.*' We thought at the time, and we still think, that his Lordship considered that a body of Englishmen, coming to him in a state of mental exaltation, could be most appropriately received with a vein of pleasantry. But as we see that a great many people have taken his words seriously, we desire to record our hearty protest against the unconstitutional principle implied in the speech as reported. Lord Derby must be perfectly well aware that he is the servant, not of the people, but of the Crown. He is responsible to the people for his conduct of affairs; whereas, if his words were to be taken seriously, his responsibility would obviously cease. If he were what '*Verax*' wishes him to be, the mere delegate of popular opinion, appointed to carry out the policy which the public desires, whatever ruin or disgrace might result from that policy no single person could be made answerable for it. For our part we believe that had Lord Derby—knowing, as he did, the situation of affairs far more intimately than any one of his irresponsible advisers, and possessing, as he did, the alternative of resignation—consented to become the instrument of Mr. Gladstone's '*bag and baggage*' policy, he would have been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty.

If the Englishman, as reflected in his constitution, has a special weakness, it is, to speak metaphorically, this, that he has a little too much blood. From this fulness arise his vast animal spirits, and the vigour and vitality he shows in the pursuit of his objects; but to this also are due the suffusions of blood to his head, the vertigo and faintness which occasionally overpower him, and expose him to the attacks of his watchful enemies. At moments when it is of the most vital importance for him to keep his brain cool and his arm steady, he is apt to be carried away by a rush of opinion,

which deprives him of all sense of justice and wisdom. The impatience of the people, the suspicions of Parliament, and the dissensions of Ministries, bewildered our policy during the time of the Crimean war. A madness, that can only be paralleled by that of the Athenians after the revolt of Mitylene, paralysed our action at the outset of our present difficulties; and now that our eyes are again open, the wild projects that were started on the eve of the Crimean war for the reconstruction of Poland or the conquest of Finland, find a counterpart in schemes ranging through all degrees of protection or partition of Turkey; while the Government is as frantically abused for its caution by its supporters, as a short time ago it was assailed for its aggressiveness by its opponents. Words of true wisdom were addressed to the House of Commons during the debate on the Vote of Supply by the *Radical* member for Newcastle. Repudiating Mr. Gladstone's charge that he desired to let Government have 'exclusive and uncontrolled authority over foreign affairs,' Mr. Cowen said:—

'My declaration was that we might discuss domestic affairs; yet, when national interests are at stake and national existence might be in peril, we ought to bridge our differences, forget that we were Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, and remember only that we were Englishmen. We may settle the general principles of our action, whether, for instance, this country is to have a Monarchy in one State, whether we should overpower a Republic in another, whether we were to be active partisans in the strife or be neutral—these were questions which must be settled by the people and the nation; but, the principle being conceded and the policy being agreed on, *its execution must be left to the Executive.*'

We have endeavoured to indicate the main principles of the policy of 'non-intervention,' from the time of its enunciation by Lord Grenville down to the present day; we have shown the difficulty our statesmen have always found in applying those principles to our foreign relations generally, and we have illustrated the twofold difficulty they have experienced in applying them to the Eastern Question in particular. These principles are as binding on us now as ever, but what private person is in a position to say how they ought to be applied, to understand the exact point at which the interests of England are touched, either by aggression on English rights, or on the rights of others no less essential than our own to the maintenance of European Law? There is only one quarter in which the knowledge exists, in which the unity and continuity of England's policy is kept ever clearly in view apart from the illusions of party warfare. That quarter is the Crown, represented by the Ministry.

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There is only one member of the nation on whom the foreign relations of the country in respect of its Honour and Majesty bear with an immediate and personal effect. That member is the Queen.

Those who read this article attentively will not accuse us of undervaluing Constitutional Government. We love the Constitution because we believe that no form of government that has ever existed has given such scope to freedom, honour, and good manners. And we believe too in the people, so long as it fulfils its proper function of supplying the spirit and energy that support the head which thinks and the arm which strikes; we know the courage, the tenacity and the patriotism rising out of that fulness of blood which we have spoken of before, and which are alluded to in the following observations of the Prince Consort:—

‘In regard to the reproaches cast upon England from so many quarters for her narrowness of heart and short-sightedness—that it ought to have been foreseen that the Greeks would rise, that the Turkish supremacy cannot be upheld, and that the fanatic Osmanlis would rather come to terms with Russia than be forced to admit Christians to an equal footing with the Turks—that she should therefore have rather looked calmly on at the overthrow of the Turkish Empire by Russia, with the view of thereupon taking so energetic a part in the European solution of the hereditary question, that this overthrow could not have resulted to the advantage of Russia—I have merely to reply that we did foresee all this very distinctly, but that a popular government cannot carry on a policy which has apparent contradictions within itself, and one portion of which is to receive its complement from another at a distant stage. The overthrow of Turkey by Russia no English statesman could contemplate with equanimity; public opinion would have flung him to the winds like chaff, and no reliance could be placed on such far-seeing, long-calculated, two-sided policy, with changes of Ministry and parliamentary majorities at home, and more especially with combinations on the continent in which no confidence could be placed. We must live from day to day, *but while we cleave as best we can to the self-consistent and impregnable principle of justice, I feel confident that, whatever phases may present themselves, we shall not on the whole fail to deal with them wisely.*

There is a royal spirit in these last words. They show the complete understanding that the Queen and her husband possessed of the temper of the English people. The whole of the passage we have quoted might be applied to our present circumstances. It is true that by an outbreak of popular feeling, exactly opposite in character to that which prevailed during the Crimean war, we have been anomalously driven into the ‘far-

seeing, long-calculated, two-sided policy,' which cool observers said we ought to have adopted at that period. But now that the time has come for us to take 'an energetic part in the solution of the Hereditary Question,' the nation has shown that its spirit is precisely the same as it was in the Crimean war; unity of feeling prevails not only through the British Isles but through the British dominions; and the Queen may be assured that, should she be unfortunately called upon to exercise her prerogative of declaring war, her subjects will spare no sacrifices to maintain the safety of her Empire and the honour of her Crown.

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- ART. II.—1. *Charges delivered to the Clergy at his Triennial Visitation.* By Robert, Lord Bishop of Ripon, 1864, 1867, 1870, 1873, 1876.
2. *The Ripon Diocesan Calendar for 1877.*
3. *The York Diocesan Calendar for 1877.*
4. *Return to an Address of the House of Lords, showing the Number of Churches (including Cathedrals) in every Diocese in England, except Peterborough and Gloucester and Bristol, which have been built or restored at a cost exceeding 500l. since the year 1840, &c.* The Lord Hampton, 1875.
5. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales).* 1876-7.
6. *Thirty-seventh Report of the Society for Promoting the Increase of Church Accommodation, &c., and of the Ripon Diocesan Board of Education.* 1877.
7. *Reports of the Leeds Church Extension Society, 1866-1873, and First Report of the Leeds (New) Church Extension Society, 1877.*
8. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Leeds Church Institute and Sunday School Association, 1876.*
9. *The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bradford Church Institute, 1877.*
10. *Congregationalism in Yorkshire: a Chapter of Modern Church History.* By James G. Miall. London, 1868.
11. *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches, &c., assembled at Keighley, May 22nd and 23rd, 1877; with the Address of the President, Rev. J. Stock, LL.D.* 1877.
12. *The Yorkshire Congregational Year Book for 1877.*

THE West Riding of Yorkshire possesses greater natural advantages, as a manufacturing district, than any other part of England. Water, coal, and ironstone abound. The rivers have

have lent themselves readily to the formation of canals, and the development of trade has both fostered and been fostered by a network of railways. The character of the people corresponds in a striking degree with the physical features of the country. Beneath a somewhat rugged exterior there lie many admirable qualities which rarely fail for lack of strength. Indomitable in energy, strong in hatred as in love, tenacious of purpose to a fault,\* not readily committing himself to a stranger, but loving unreservedly when once his heart is gained, the average Yorkshireman will take high rank as a specimen of the Anglo-Saxon race. 'In such a spot and among such a people the worsted manufacture,' the staple trade of the district, 'has attained gigantic growth, and become one of the wonders of this progressive age.'

The unexampled rapidity of increase in the population of the West Riding engendered difficulties of the gravest kind. How could it be possible for the Church to furnish moral and religious teaching for masses so suddenly brought together, and under conditions often most unfavourable to her influence? If her machinery utterly broke down it would be little wonder, considering the tremendous strain thus put upon it. If, on the contrary, she has been able boldly to grapple with the task, and in some adequate degree to accomplish it, no thoughtful statesman would lightly damage an institution which can claim to be the most ancient in the kingdom, and the best adapted to meet the highest exigencies of modern times. No more trying test could be submitted than to investigate the question, whether the Church in the West Riding has largely fulfilled its overwhelming duties, and retained or recovered its hold over two millions of the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most independent of our fellow-countrymen. We are not without hope that the facts to be given in this article will furnish materials for a verdict in the Church's favour.

He would have been a rash man who had ventured a century ago to predict a bright future for the Church of England in

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\* This tenacity of purpose occasionally takes strange forms. A Yorkshire clergyman not long ago, for reasons only known to himself, steadily abstained from saying, *Let us pray*, at the places where it is enjoined in the daily prayers. The scrupulous abstinence of the vicar begat a like scrupulous wrath in a rich parishioner, who consulted a neighbouring clergyman. 'Isn't our parson bound to say, *Let us pray*?' 'I think so, but you had better ask his reason for not saying it.' 'So I have, but he says he shan't give way; and I want to know if I can make him.' 'I am afraid you could only do this by putting him into one of the ecclesiastical courts, and Church law is a very expensive thing.' 'I don't care what it costs, I'll make him say, *Let us pray*.' It required a strong appeal to his better nature, and to the injury which such a proceeding would occasion, before he could be diverted from his purpose.

the West Riding. The wilder features of the country, then so largely occupied by barren mountain and bleak moorland, harmonized but too well with the rude and rugged character of the people. Cut off from anything beyond the most occasional intercourse with the outer world, and secluded in the deep valleys which intersect the magnesian limestone and the millstone grit, their isolation was marked by the existence of numerous dialects,\* each of which was almost unintelligible to the immediate neighbours, and their prejudice against strangers took an unpleasantly active form. John Wesley, describing his journey from Manchester to Huddersfield, says, 'The people ran and shouted after the carriage, and I believe they are the wildest folk in all England.' Large numbers of the clergy were sunk in spiritual apathy, for which the condition of their livings afforded only too plausible an excuse. With incomes often sadly inadequate,† how was it possible for men of average calibre to cope with the necessities of such enormous parishes as Bradford, Halifax, or Dewsbury?‡ Outside the pale of the Established Church, the energy of the Puritans had been smothered under the cold morality of Unitarianism. Bright lights, indeed, arose occasionally, which showed that the flame of divine grace was not altogether extinct in the Church; but they only flashed like meteors and then died out, leaving the darkness as deep as ever.

A few names deserve longer notice than our space allows, as striking examples of the influence gained over this wild people by men who combined force of character and practical godliness of life.

John Crosse, Vicar of Bradford, a finished scholar and a perfect gentleman, had just completed the grand tour with a member of the Thornton family, when he was offered the livings of Cross Stones, in the parish of Halifax, and Todmorden, in that of Rochdale. The two together afforded a scant income

\* About forty years ago a clergyman was presented to a living in Craven, and on going to see the place, stayed at a farm-house, the only available place of lodging in the neighbourhood. There were two churches, one of them four miles distant, so he inquired on Sunday morning if he could have some conveyance in which to reach it. 'There's nobbut our stag,' was the reply, 'you can have that if you like, it's laking.' A vision of a horned quadruped swimming in some adjoining water rose to his mind; but, after much explanation, he learned that the sentence, being interpreted, meant, 'There is nothing but our young colt, which you can have, as it has nothing to do.' A West Riding factory hand who is out of work will, at the present day, reply to the question, 'What, are you not at the mill?' with the answer, 'No, I'm laking.'

† Slaithwaite was endowed with 4s. a year, and seat-rents barely made up the stipend to 20l. Huddersfield, when Venn came to it, was only worth 100l. per annum.

‡ The parish of Halifax is nearly twenty miles long by twelve broad. Dewsbury about twenty miles each way.

and double toil ; but he deemed it his duty to accept them, and at once set out for his charge. No road then existed through the beautiful valley of Todmorden, so he walked over the hills from Halifax, and inquired about the condition of the people from the landlord of a solitary public-house. 'Be you the chap that is coming to preach to us?' was the blunt reply that grated harshly on ears in which still lingered conversation at royal tables or with the pietists of Halle and the philosopher of Ferney. Yet the rough spokesman eventually proved an earnest Christian and a staunch ally. After six years' residence here, during which time he managed, whilst walking fifty miles a week on pastoral visitation, to read through the whole of Poole's 'Synopsis,' Crosse removed to the Vicarage of Bradford, where he remained until his death at a very advanced age. Possessed, through his wife, of an ample fortune, he lived and dressed in the meanest way, in order to spend his income on the poor and in advancing the cause of missions. On one occasion the vicarage was broken into whilst the family was at church, and some twenty guineas were carried off by the thieves. 'It serves me right,' was Crosse's remark on being told of it, 'I ought to have given them away to the poor.' Crowds flocked to his ministry, churchyard, as well as church, being often filled. When missionary sermons were preached, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Congregational ministers suspended their evening services and attended the parish church with their congregations. Broken in health, blind, and eighty years old, he got his death-blow through persisting that he would preach, although he was seriously indisposed ; his only reply to all remonstrance being, 'It's only a cold ; you know I always preach away a cold.' He left his entire fortune for charitable uses, and with part of it the well-known Crosse theological scholarships at Cambridge are endowed.

Hammond Roberson, Curate of Dewsbury, the original of Parson Yorke, was a man of sterner mould, and perhaps better fitted to deal with the rough and brutal manners of his flock. The operations of spinning and weaving were then carried on at the workmen's homes, and Sunday was the day commonly selected for scouring and milling the cloth, for hanging it on the tenters to dry, and for preparing the warps for the looms. Such work was varied with drunkenness, dog-fighting, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting. Against the latter Roberson made a determined stand, and summoned the ringleaders to Wakefield ; but the case was dismissed, as the magistrates sympathized with the sport ; and Roberson was followed home, a distance of some miles, by a mob who hooted and insulted him all the way with  
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the most disgraceful language. He was not to be daunted nor deterred from his purpose, so he indicted his opponents at the York Assizes, and obtained a verdict against them. He has the credit of having founded the first Sunday-school in Yorkshire (this was in 1783); and here the first four ordained English clergymen sent out by the Church Missionary Society had their early training. He also built and endowed the church at Liversedge in the year 1816.

Henry Venn of Huddersfield, and William Grimshaw of Haworth, are household names amongst the earlier Evangelical leaders. Both exercised a wide influence as preachers, many persons walking on Sunday ten and twelve miles each way to hear them. One good work started by Venn still flourishes—the Elland Society, established to assist candidates for holy orders, of good character and ability, but straitened means. It had the warm support of William Wilberforce, and numbers amongst the 250 clergy who have been aided by its funds the honoured names of Samuel Marsden, the apostle of New Zealand, Thomason of India, and Henry Kirke White. The popular estimate of Venn may be gathered from the inquiry of a workman to one of the congregation at Huddersfield Church, where Venn had been preaching some years after he resigned the living. 'What, hast been to hear 'toward (*i.e.* the old) trumpet again!'

Yet all these yield in rugged picturesqueness to William Grimshaw, for twenty years Perpetual Curate of Haworth, the home of the Brontes, amongst a population then described as 'very ignorant, brutish, and wicked.' By dint of unwearied self-denial, devotion and intrepidity, Grimshaw gained the hearts of this lawless people. Their keen West Riding estimate of money was enlisted on his side by his lofty refusal to exact his church dues by legal proceedings, and by his courageous determination to enlarge his church without the aid of a rate, a proceeding in that day almost without parallel; their strong love of equality and hospitality was captivated by the example of a gentleman who, without a word to his guests to intimate his purpose, would give up to them his own bed-chamber, and go himself to sleep in the hayloft, and who did not disdain himself to clean the boots of any strangers that had lodged under his roof; and their admiration for courage and hard work was extorted by his energy, which never flagged, and his boldness, which never blenched before a difficulty; until at length his authority over them was almost unbounded. Woe to the man whose demeanour was careless during the Church prayers! Grimshaw would stop to rebuke the offender, and would not proceed until the whole congregation were upon their knees. Woe to the  
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the skulkers who lingered during divine service at the public-house! whilst the psalm was being sung before the sermon, he would hurry out of church, and drive them in before him, to listen to a discourse two hours long. The village blacksmith did not venture on the Lord's day to replace a lost horseshoe for a passing stranger until the parson's leave had first been obtained; and the village races, a scene of profligacy and riot which had caused him much pain, were suppressed, as their supporters themselves asserted, by the parson's prayers. In idle weeks he preached twelve or fourteen times; in busy ones as much as thirty; often, it must be admitted, beyond his own parish boundaries and without permission for his intrusion; with what success may be learned from himself. 'When I first came into this country I could not in half a day's ride—north, south, east or west—hear of one serious person, and now I have at my sacraments, according to the weather, from 300 to 500 communicants, of the far greater part of whose spiritual condition I can give almost as particular an account as I can of my own.' Grimshaw died in his fifty-fifth year, of putrid fever, contracted in the discharge of his pastoral duty, leaving a reputation not yet forgotten in Haworth, thus pithily summed up by one who knew him well: 'He was an instrument that was never out of tune.'

It is mortifying to learn that men such as these, the very salt of the earth in their day and generation, produced results which were hardly of lasting benefit to the Church. Burning, as they were, with zeal, they either overlooked or disregarded the authority of the Church as a divine institution. Preaching was with them so pre-eminently the one purpose of all public worship, and conversion the one aim of all preaching, as to throw every other duty and object into deep shadow. The individual was everything, the society nothing. And so they scattered broadcast the seed from which Dissent reaped an abundant harvest. Crosse and Grimshaw avowedly sympathized with and encouraged Methodism. Venn subscribed to the erection of Independent Chapels. The Church—left without effectual supervision in the days of dignified Episcopal indifference; without efficient organization for grappling with the growing necessities of the district; without adequate consciousness either of her own capacity or of her responsibility—slumbered on.\* Hard times and bad harvests, from

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\* It would have been well if some of them had only slumbered. In remote districts strange irregularities prevailed unknown, and therefore unchecked, by those in authority. A Craven vicar a few years since was thus addressed by his parish clerk. 'Aye, sir, times are strangely altered since we used to chase the parson every Sunday afternoon, holding on by his pony's tail until his wig fell off.'  
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from 1810 to 1812, brought much suffering and consequent riot. Wheat was 9*l.* the quarter. Taxation was heavy. The Luddites rose and destroyed newly-introduced machinery; and at the special assize, held at York in January 1813, sixty-six men were tried, and seventeen hanged. The clergy, generally conspicuous on the side of order, were looked upon as the enemies of the people. Sedition was rampant; and popular feeling found expression in banners, carried in procession, with the motto, 'More pigs and less parsons.'

Meanwhile men, whose hearts were stirred at the sight of much spiritual destitution, threw themselves into the ranks of Dissent, as the only available channel for Christian work, with all the ardour of recent conviction, and all the crudity of untrained and uneducated minds. Strange expressions were employed, and stranger scenes enacted, amongst enthusiasts who had accepted the doctrines of the necessity for instantaneous conversion, and the futility of all good works. So dear to them was the conception of salvation by faith only, that St. James's exhortation to manifest faith by works was promptly rejected as a mistaken translation, or as a spurious insertion of the Papists. Rough men, deeply and sincerely moved, spoke in terms whose coarseness, though it may disgust politer ears, scarcely grated on the feelings of those who were accustomed to similar phraseology in daily life. Thus arose, unhappily, a sad irreverence, the fruit of imperfect teaching, want of innate sense of fitness, and the indiscriminate handling of sacred subjects in familiar language: an irreverence which survived to a very recent period, and broke forth in strange utterance at times.\* Yet he would fatally mistake the whole spirit of Dissent at this juncture who did not recognise the fervid though undisciplined piety, and the intense

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This final indignity, it was explained, always made the parson's wrath boil over, so that it could only be appeased by the present of a bottle of gin, wherewith the divine would ride home in restored good humour.

\* A Wesleyan local preacher, innocent alike of paradox and propriety, is said to have delivered the following gloss on 2 Cor. xii. 10: 'When I am weak, then am I strong.' 'Come, now, Mr. Paul, you mustn't think of gammoning us in that way either; its rather too barefaced a contradiction.' The following example of preaching, in what Grimshaw used to call 'market language,' is conceived and carried out much more happily. 'The Scripture says, "A little leaven leavens the whole lump;" the whole lump of what? Why, of wheat. The world is a great mighty cornfield; this cornfield must be sheared, and the wheat put in the garner of the Church, and it must be threshed by the Holy Spirit, and ground by repentance and kneaded by faith, and the balm put into it and made into loaves; and then baked in the oven of divine love and made into a kind of shewbread, showing forth the praises of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvellous light.' The text of this discourse was, 'Is there no balm in Gilead,' &c., and an early paragraph graphically described the preacher's wife, Sally, as vainly inquiring up and down the town for 'balm' or yeast, and obliged, in consequence, to defer her baking.

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Energy of even some of its most erratic prophets. Local biographies record with touching simplicity how the heart of a colliery superintendent was reached by the words of the Church Service at the reception of the Holy Communion; and that of a young sportsman by a pointed remark, an arrow shot at a venture, addressed to him, as he stalked with dogs and gun across the moor: both yearned to do some work for Christ; both had been brought up Churchmen, yet both joined the Methodists. The Million Fund and the Peel Act did something, and active godly clergymen were not wanting in many places; but, for a season, Dissent seemed likely to carry all before it. If a young woman were missed from her place in church or school, it was a common explanation, 'She has turned religious, and is gone to chapel.'

Two events contributed more than all else to stem the tide and turn it in the Church's favour. The first was the creation of the see of Ripon, and Dr. Longley's appointment to the new diocese, in 1836; the second was the election of Dr. Hook to the vicarage of Leeds in 1837.

It is not creditable to the Church at large that we possess no permanent record of Bishop Longley's lengthened and successful episcopate. His jurisdiction at Ripon extended over a large portion of the North Riding, and nearly the whole of the West Riding, and his loving zeal and earnestness in promoting Church extension were soon widely felt throughout the diocese. In his opening address as President of the Church Congress, held at Leeds in 1872, the present Bishop of Ripon gracefully acknowledged the obligations of the Church to his predecessor:—

'Bishop Longley gave the first impulse to Church extension in the West Riding, and his name is never mentioned in Yorkshire without awakening feelings of reverence and affection. . . . Within two years of his appointment to the see, Bishop Longley organised a Diocesan Society for Church extension. He proposed by its means to promote the increase of church accommodation, the erection of new churches and parsonage houses, and the better endowment of the poorer benefices. His proposals were liberally supported by all classes in the diocese.'—*Report of the Church Congress*, p. 20.

We reserve for the present the statistics of new churches built since 1836; but some estimate of the importance of the work thus inaugurated may be gathered from the fact that Dr. Longley consecrated, as Bishop of Ripon, no less than 119 churches, being an average of one in every two months, during his episcopate of twenty years, and that these churches, with their social and spiritual influences, have had districts assigned to them which now contain a population of more than 370,000 souls:—

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‘Another association, with the formation of which Bishop Longley’s name is connected, is the Diocesan Board of Education. By means of this society, established in 1841, a vast impulse was given to the extension of popular education according to the principles of the Established Church; and it was owing in great measure to the work of that institution that at the close of his episcopate, with only twelve exceptions, every parish in the diocese possessed the means of instruction in some Church school.’—*Report of the Church Congress*, p. 21.

The principle on which both these diocesan societies were administered was that they should provide a central fund, from which grants should be made to assist local effort throughout the diocese. The stimulus thus afforded was almost priceless. Yet this was not the whole benefit which they effected. Their grants not only encouraged the completion of many a building which, without such aid, would never have been commenced, but, by the conditions on which they insisted, the stability and suitability of the structures were secured. The larger towns, such as Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, and Huddersfield, in turn formed their own Church Extension Societies on the same system. Thus charity begat charity in ever-extending circles.

At what cost of pains and labour this work was effected, those only can appreciate who enjoyed the Bishop’s closest intimacy. Yet a few details kindly supplied by one who was the Bishop’s commissary and Dr. Hook’s curate, and the valued friend of both,\* may not be out of place. When he first came to the diocese, Dr. Longley found it necessary to awaken interest by his own personal application to those who could afford the necessary aid, and the correspondence thus entailed upon him was enormous. Frequently, on returning from visiting some part of his charge, which he was obliged at that time to do in his own carriage, he would find from 300 to 500 letters awaiting his reply. Popular feeling for a time ran high against him as the leader of the clergy; and when he attended to consecrate a church at Stanningley, he was surrounded by an angry mob, who saluted him with shouts of ‘Burke the bishop.’ Amidst all the difficulties attending Church extension in its earlier days, and the manifold anxieties arising from reasons of special trial (such as the Church crisis of 1848), he preserved his wonted dignified calmness; but beneath his singularly pure and refined exterior there beat a heart of peculiar tenderness, and when his commissary once came to him on urgent business, he divined from his expression that he brought evil tidings. ‘Bad news?’ he exclaimed, ‘I cannot bear it; let us first kneel and pray.’ He

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\* The Rev. Canon Jackson, the highly respected vicar of St. James’s, Leeds.

was filled with deep anxiety for the welfare of his diocese, and eagerly desired increased living agency for it. 'Although I can scarcely conceive anything more trying than an ordination in Ripon Cathedral' (there was no heating apparatus in it then, and he suffered terribly from the cold), 'yet were it twice as bad I would hold a special ordination at any time rather than lose a single candidate from a diocese which needs men so sorely.'

An amusing illustration of the influence exerted by his kindly sympathetic nature has been supplied by another correspondent.

Dean Goode's proposal to restore Ripon Cathedral met with the strongest opposition from some of the oldest and most influential people in Ripon, who were indignant at the prospect of losing their family pews; so, knowing how popular and beloved Archbishop Longley was (he had by this time been translated to York), the Dean begged his Grace to grapple with this knotty question at the public meeting with which the scheme was to be inaugurated. Accordingly the Archbishop began by saying he would enter into their feelings of regret at losing places which had been held by their fathers for generations before them. A change came over the stern faces, and the feathers in the old ladies' bonnets nodded benignly. 'But,' he proceeded to say, 'what is Christianity? Is it not a continual sacrifice of one's own feelings for the sake of others?' All opposition was disarmed, and the stoutest opponents were the first to give subscriptions. One fact will suffice to prove the reality and depth of Bishop Longley's sympathy and self-denial. He brought thirty thousand pounds with him to Ripon, and gave it all away, chiefly in aiding, in the most unostentatious way, the poorer clergy of his diocese.

Bishop Longley had only been a year at Ripon when, in 1837, Dr. Hook was elected to the vicarage of Leeds, and it soon became manifest that a master-spirit had been gained to the Church in the West Riding. The proposal to appoint him evoked a storm of remonstrance, and a vehement protest against it, signed by four hundred persons, was presented to the trustees of the living. A prominent organ of ultra-Evangelicism described him as 'professing a sort of modified Popery; a man who, in his fierce bigotry and intolerance, could be compared only with Laud; one who consigned all Dissenters to the uncovenanted mercies of God, and denied the right of private judgment.' Week after week the columns of the 'Leeds Mercury' contained virulent attacks upon him. With such a tempest of obloquy and misrepresentation was Hook welcomed to a charge, under the burden of which many a brave man might have sunk. Yet, in another sense, the circumstances were not altogether adverse,  
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if a man could wield a giant's strength wherewith to mould them. Hook's new position gave him wide command of a people, rich both in money and in intellectual gifts, if he could only inspire the confidence which should draw forth the first, and win over the second to support his views. The Oxford movement had elicited a warm feeling for distinctive Churchmanship, and Hook brought the friendships and the theories of a calm University to the practical needs of a bustling town; and the man himself, sound and firm, yet moderate in his grasp and assertion of Church principles, was endued not only with learning, eloquence, and energy, but with a largeness of heart that burst through many ordinary barriers, so that his very blunders often turned to good account.

Yet the prospect before him was one at which the stoutest heart might have quailed. The population of Leeds in 1831 was 123,393, and could not be far short of 140,000 when Dr. Hook came to the vicarage. The town churches had been increased between 1825 and 1835 from five to eight by the erection of three large Peel churches—total failures, without endowment, and with pew-rents producing next to nothing, the congregations being very small. One Peel church had also been built in the suburbs, raising the number in the out-townships to ten, of which Hunslet, with a population of 15,000, Holbeck, with 11,000, and Bramley, with 8000, had each one; at Stanningley, four miles off, but within the borough and with a population of 3000, there was no church at all. We have but meagre statistics of Church schools at this period; but the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' published in 1839, gives 4050 as the number of Church Sunday scholars. From the same authority we learn that there were then in Leeds thirty-two Dissenting chapels, including seventeen belonging to various branches of Wesleyanism; 'of which two were the largest and handsomest chapels in the kingdom, and each contained 3000 sittings.'

The religious life of the town was what might have been expected under such circumstances, and mainly resided in the Wesleyan community; indeed, what earnestness and piety there was in the Church was of the Wesleyan type. Dissenters frequently attended the parish church, and Churchmen went without scruple to Dissenting chapels. Over and over again, in his earlier letters from Leeds, Dr. Hook says: 'Methodism is the established religion in Leeds, and it is Methodism that pious Church people unconsciously talk. If you ask a man the ground of his hope, he will say immediately he *feels* that he is saved; however great a *miser* he may be.' In a letter describing his church services in 1837, he writes: 'The congregation is composed half of  
Methodists,

Methodists, and when you say anything which gives satisfaction, up comes to the pulpit a long, deep groan.' Two anecdotes of this period speak volumes as to the condition of the prevalent Church life and feeling. A parish churchwarden went one Sunday morning to St. John's, and meeting a friend as he came out, observed, 'We have been having a sermon and collection for a Christian Knowledge Society; can you tell me what the Society is for?' And a late Vicar of St. John's, on seeing a young man at Holy Communion, remarked, 'I have been Vicar for thirty years, but I never before saw a young man at the Lord's table.'

To the discouragement occasioned by such a state of things, there was added the anxiety caused by the depression of trade in Dr. Hook's early days in Leeds, and by the bitter political antagonism of Radicals and Chartists. For the first five years or more he had to fight a hard battle. It was customary to hold vestry meetings in the chancel of the parish church, and, at one of the first which Hook attended, some of those present sat upon the Holy Table (until he compelled them to move), and hats and coats were piled upon it. The election of the churchwardens, eight in number, was made the occasion of violent efforts by the Secularists and Dissenters to thwart the Vicar by putting in a majority of their adherents. One Eastertide several Chartists were elected, but they soon said, 'We loike the Vicar, and if he tells us our duties we will do them.' Hook continued on the best terms with them, and declared at the end of their term of office that he never met with a more honourable or trustworthy set of men. His charm of manner and power of sympathy were irresistible. Those who heard him preach, or even read prayers, were riveted by his earnestness, set-off by a voice unrivalled in sweetness and volume. The first Sunday he officiated in the parish church, he had not proceeded far in the prayers, when a godly old Dissenter in the congregation struck his hand upon one knee, and exclaimed aloud, 'He'll do, he'll do!' His genuine kindness and power of adaptation are illustrated by a dialogue between two old women, overheard by one of his curates, and repeated by Hook with intense amusement in after years:—*1st Old Woman*: 'Aye, but I loikes the Vicar to come and see me when I'm ill.' *2nd Old Woman*: 'Eh! and so does I; he talks so loike an old woman!' With the workpeople his popularity at last was immense; but old-fashioned notions of propriety were at times sorely scandalized at seeing the Vicar of Leeds walking arm-in-arm with some grimy operative.

Every means which the Church sanctions was employed to win back to the Church the alienated and teeming masses.

Hook



Hook was too large-hearted to tie others down to his own precise mode of thought or action. 'I let every man,' he said, 'ride his own hobby, and only try to keep him straight.' Soon after his incumbency began, a considerable number of Methodists, including three preachers, joined the Established Church, but expressed a wish to continue their custom of 'class-meetings.' 'By all means,' said Hook, 'and I will be your class-leader. The glorious strength and beauty of the West Riding gift of song—a gift in which the district excels every other part of England—was enlisted to render our marvellous Liturgy in all the 'beauty of holiness,' and to make the choral services at Leeds parish church, then as now, unequalled in many of our large cathedrals. By teaching and example, the pre-eminent importance of worship over the mere hearing of sermons was enforced, and when strangers inquired whether the Vicar was going to preach, the verger, no doubt duly instructed in his part, took delight in baffling their curiosity with the reply, that 'doubtless a minister would be provided.' Opportunities for divine worship were multiplied, and services and administrations of the sacraments were fixed at hours which would allow of the attendance of the factory workers.

'It has been reported,' said the Vicar, in a sermon preached in 1848, 'that in attention to the services of this church, preaching has been neglected; but I question much whether in any church in England more sermons have been delivered. Four times at least in every week are sermons preached from this pulpit, and very seldom so few as four; for sermons are delivered on every festival of the Church, while every day in Lent there has been a sermon; nine sermons in each Lenten week; and a similar course of daily preaching has been pursued before confirmations, and other special occasions.'—'*Our Holy and Beautiful House, the Church of England,*' a Sermon by W. F. Hook, D.D.

To remedy as far as possible the inevitable imperfectness of Sunday-school teaching, Hook was most assiduous in public catechizing. In 1841 he wrote, declining an invitation to spend a Sunday at Bishopsthorpe on this account: 'I catechize upwards of a thousand children every Sunday afternoon, and I have succeeded in making this duty interesting to a large congregation.' He held weekly services in the lowest parts of the town. Above all, in his vast parish church, rebuilt through his exertions at a cost of 30,000*l.*, every seat on the floor was free and unappropriated.

We rejoice to know that we shall shortly have a full account of Hook's work in Leeds, as his Memoir has been for some time in preparation by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, to whose kindness

ness we are indebted for some of the facts here brought forward ; but our rapid sketch of his work and influence in Leeds would be wholly incomplete without some notice of his two most marked characteristics, the first of which was his unreserved attachment to and affection for the Church of England.

In the words of one of Hook's successors, the Bishop of Ely, Hook 'believed with his whole soul in the divine constitution of the English Church, in her apostolic succession, in her continuity from the days of Augustine to his own day. He believed thoroughly in the *via media* of her Prayer Book ; and so he stood firm upon ground which he knew, and standing there firmly, became a standard-bearer, and the head of a school of thorough Church of England men.' The position he assumed was clear and distinctive ; and whilst he lived on the most friendly terms with pious Dissenters and their ministers, he was never betrayed into flirting with Presbyterianism, on the one hand, or with Popery on the other. In the trying crisis of 1848, when some amongst his personal friends at Oxford, who had aided his work in Leeds, went over to the Church of Rome, Hook's loving heart swelled not only with sorrow for the perversion of those who were gone, but with burning indignation at the half-hearted apologetic tone adopted by some who remained behind. Modern Ritualists would do well to ponder the strong, stirring words in which this staunchest of Churchmen denounced all hankering after Romanism. In the sermon already quoted, we find him speaking as follows :—

'In this church no attempt has been made to ape the services of that apostate Church, the Church of Rome, but the Prayer Book has been our guide, not more and not less.'

And again :—

'They do not serve the Church dutifully, they are not her true and faithful children, whose hearts go a whoring after the abominations of other lands, and who with alienated affections are ever dwelling on what they call the "miserable deficiencies" of the Church of England ; who, if they dare not as yet declare our house to be unholy, still hesitate to pronounce it beautiful, and sigh for the garish ornaments, if not for the images and idols, with which foreign temples are adorned.'—  
'*Our Holy and Beautiful House, the Church of England,*' a Sermon by W. F. Hook, D.D., p. 10.

On the 25th of April, 1848, he wrote to Canon Jackson :—

'I think of preaching a sermon, on the love we ought to bear to the sanctuary in which we assemble, to our own congregation, and the Church of England as such, as the purest and best Reformed Church in the world. We should love her Prayer Book, we should love her

Articles, we should love her Reformation, we should love her Catholicism, we should love her Protestantism, we should love even her insulation, when there is so much corruption around us. . . . As we are only good Christians by our love to Christ, so we are only good Churchmen by our love to the Church of England.'

The second characteristic of Hook was his singular and entire disinterestedness. A striking example of this was afforded by the sacrifice he volunteered and effected through the Leeds Vicarage Act, designed by himself, and passed in 1844. Its main provisions were as follows:—

1. The old parish of Leeds was to be divided into several parishes, under the direction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with the sanction of the Bishop.

2. Each of the existing churches was to be constituted a parish church, with a suitable district annexed to it.

3. Such parts of the parish as were not thus attached to existing churches were to be formed into new districts.

4. Churches erected in these districts were to become vicarages, and their incumbents vicars.

5. The floors of all such churches were to be free.

6. Parsonages were to be built or obtained for all such churches; and

7. No church (old or new) was to be constituted a parish church, until the floor of it was free and a parsonage was provided.

8. The patronage of the churches was to be transferred from the Vicar (with one exception) to the Bishop and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

By this Act, which, it will be seen, anticipated some important principles of subsequent enactments, and contained others still requiring to be enforced, Hook incurred a sacrifice of 600*l.* a year, about half the income of his living. His private means were small, and he had a large family as well as seven curates to maintain. Yet it was not simply a great pecuniary sacrifice. The old parish churches of the large West Riding towns enjoy a peculiar prestige, the fruit of ancient and hallowed associations, as the scene of holy services performed at seasons of the deepest joy or sorrow for the forefathers of widely scattered populations. The parishioners, not merely of new town districts, but of many a district chapelry and outlying hamlet, like to come for baptism or marriage to the old mother church, and still to look upon the Vicar (*par excellence*) as their own spiritual head.

Such a feeling must necessarily have had special attraction for so warm-hearted a man as Hook. And it must have been at the cost of a cruel wrench that he cut himself off from an influence, an unwillingness

unwillingness to part with which seems to be the last infirmity of noble-minded vicars. The effect produced by this self-denying act was prodigious, and the Church reaped unspeakable advantage from it. The men of the West Riding have been described as 'sleuth-hounds after wealth,'\* and they recognised the power of convictions which could produce such results.

It would be manifestly unfair to claim for Dr. Hook all the work of Church extension accomplished in Leeds during his vicariate. The Evangelicals also worked hard and well, but the Vicar was the leading spirit. By a curious coincidence, exactly twenty-two churches, parsonages, and schools, namely, that number of each, were built in Leeds in the twenty-two years during which Hook remained there. In a letter to a friend, bearing date November 14, 1854, he says:—

'Last week two churches were consecrated, making the number built during my incumbency amount to twenty. We laid the foundation of the twenty-first church the week before, and now we shall have done with church building for a time. We shall have one church for every six thousand of the population, and, considering the number of Dissenters in each district, this is sufficient for the present. We must now turn our thoughts to multiply the clergy. I shall endeavour to prevail on men of fortune to support, for a certain period, additional curates in each district. We have one instance already: the munificent manager of Price's candle factory supports a curate in one of our districts for three years.'

Hook's last act in Leeds was in harmony with his persistent large-hearted generosity. He was presented with a testimonial, in the shape of a casket containing a large sum of money. He gave away the money to Church purposes, before he left the town, and took the empty box with him to Chichester. Thus fitly closed a pastorate which, in Bishop Woodford's emphatic words, 'raised the whole ideal of a great town parish priest throughout the entire Church of England.'

Dr. Hook became Dean of Chichester in 1859, and for a few years Church work in Leeds took the form of consolidation rather than extension; but the year 1864 saw the commencement of the Leeds Church Extension Society, under the presidency of

\* The district abounds in stories illustrative of the prevalent fondness for money, of which the following may serve as a quaint specimen. A young man, who had been for some time paying his addresses to a young woman, told his intended father-in-law that he and Mary thought of 'getting wed.' 'I think it's time you did,' was the reply. 'Aye, but how much will you gie her?' 'I shall give her 1000L.' 'Nay, you'll gie her more than that.' 'No I shall not; her sisters had a thousand each, and she'll have the same.' 'Ah, but,' rejoined the ardent lover, 'you forget that Mary's the foulest of the lot.' He had deliberately chosen the plainest of the family, in the expectation that her father would give her a larger dowry to get her off his hands.

Dr. Atlay. At its first meeting 25,000*l.* was subscribed in the room, and a vote was taken immediately afterwards that none of the promised money should be drawn unless the amount were doubled within six months; at the end of that period the subscription list exceeded 52,000*l.* What this society effected is best told in the words of the Report for 1875 :—

‘ During the past ten years the Board has received 49,131*l.* out of the 54,000*l.* promised in 1864, and a few further instalments of subscriptions, when received, will bring up the total to 50,000*l.* Its expenditure has reached the sum of 46,000*l.*, and its engagements will absorb about 4000*l.* more. This expenditure has elicited upwards of 50,000*l.* from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for endowment, and about 40,000*l.* from other sources in aid of the work of the society, making an aggregate of about 140,000*l.*\* expended for Church purposes within the parish of Leeds within the last ten years. By these means the staff of the parochial clergy had been increased from sixty-nine to eighty-four, nine additional churches have been built and endowed with (including St. Chad’s, built and endowed by the late Sir E. Beckett and the present baronet at a cost of 15,000*l.*) an addition of 6848 sittings, while seven parsonages have been provided. Two iron churches and one mission room are licensed for divine service, the Board having expended in connection therewith about 2850*l.* Upwards of 3000*l.* has been paid as provisional stipends to the clergy working in these and other conventional districts, and sites for two new churches have been secured.’—*Tenth Report of the Leeds Church Extension Society*, pp. 7, 8.

Yet, considerable as was the increase both of living agency and of Church accommodation thus afforded, the spiritual necessities of the town had grown far more rapidly. The proportion of church sittings to the population, which was 14·7 per cent. in 1851, had fallen to 13·3 per cent. in 1874. The Board of the Church Extension Society reported that even the effort of 1864, if repeated, would at the end of another decennium leave greater arrears than ever to be provided for. Once more the Churchmen of Leeds girded themselves to the work. The recent death of Dr. Hook brought out strongly the old feeling of regard for him, and the bishop of the diocese, ever prompt in action and deservedly confident of the generosity to which he appealed, boldly asked for 100,000*l.* We do not forget that the Church in Leeds has been signally favoured in Dr. Hook’s successors. ‘*Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim.*’ But it reflects no slight credit both on their influence and on the noble spirit

\* This is exclusive of the cost of St. Chad’s, at Headingley, and of 3000*l.* for two Mission Chapels in Bramley.

of the Church laity of Leeds, that the first Report of the Leeds (new) Church Extension Society, issued in 1877, could announce that 56,868*l.* had been already promised; whilst one whose name figured in the subscription list for 2500*l.* undertook to double his offering, if the full sum asked for by the Bishop were obtained.

Before Dr. Hook had completed his work of showing how the great manufacturing populations of the north of England might be won back to the Church, a vigorous effort for Church extension was started in the neighbouring town of Bradford. No place in England, except Middlesborough, had grown so rapidly, and the Lords' Committee on Spiritual Destitution in 1858 had reported that in none was there such deficiency of means of spiritual instruction.

'Of all the cases brought before us in evidence, the strongest is that of Bradford in Yorkshire. The borough of Bradford has a population of 130,000, increasing at the rate of 2000 annually. It has within it the parish church and nine district churches; the population connected with the parish church is about 78,332, having no other church whatever; in the parish church are about 1400 sittings, perhaps not 200 of which, at the very outside, are free, and those sittings are in the aisles.'—*Report from Select Committee, &c.*, p. xi.

The Report further states that licensed schoolrooms supplied 600 more sittings for adult worshippers, and that the Vicar and four curates had the whole pastoral care of this vast population, besides all the occasional and regular Church Services and very heavy *quasi*-secular work.

Such a revelation startled the laity of Bradford to efforts which have been continuous to the present day. A society was formed to erect ten new churches within five years, and it carried through the work of building nine of them, and a school chapel in the district assigned to the tenth. In this effort the Hardy family, whose name has been associated with Church extension in Bradford in and since the time of Dr. Crosse, took the lead. Mr. C. Hardy offered to provide one church. Mr. F. S. Powell promised another. Nor does the addition of 6817 sittings thus at once added to the Church accommodation by any means exhaust the advantages directly flowing from the movement. In every instance endowments have been secured. In eight out of the ten, excellent parsonages and schools have been provided. Whilst the extent to which the Church opportunities thus supplied have been laid hold of by the population, is testified by the subsequent necessary enlargement of several of the churches and schools, as well as by the erection of mission-rooms in more than one of the new parishes. In consequence of the stimulus thus given,

new

new life has been infused into the Church in Bradford. The number of the parochial clergy has risen to forty-five. One large new church has been consecrated since the Ten-Church-building Society terminated; two more rapidly approach completion, and others are projected. How far the relief thus afforded will be adequate we cannot yet determine; but the 'Diocesan Calendar' for 1877 returns 39,606 souls as still attached to the parish church. Yet the progress we record is not a little remarkable for a town which not long since was regarded as the headquarters of Dissent.

Sheffield, scarcely inferior to Leeds in population, tells a similar story of considerable effort and of the need for renewed exertions. Shortly after his appointment to the see of York, Archbishop Thomson made an earnest appeal to the Churchmen of Sheffield, which led to the formation of the Sheffield Church Extension Society in 1865. This movement resulted in the erection of seven new churches, each now endowed with 200*l.* a year, including All Saints, built at the sole cost of Sir John Brown, and St. Silas at that of Mr. Henry Wilson; the latter being the second church built by its large-hearted founder. The labours of the first Sheffield Church Extension Society were brought to a conclusion in 1872, when the Committee, in handing over the farther prosecution of their task to the Sheffield Church Conference, recorded a total expenditure of 31,202*l.*, which had elicited further contributions of some 20,000*l.* more. So rapid, however, has been the growth of Sheffield, that, despite the work just described, the percentage of Church-sittings in relation to population had fallen from 14.25 per cent. in 1831 to 11.25 in 1872. Three new churches already finished, and further works in hand, prove that Churchmen in Sheffield are both conscious of the emergency and are prepared promptly to meet it.

It would require the iteration of a thrice-told tale to go through all the West Riding towns in order and recount the new churches raised in them during the past forty years. Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, Almondbury, Batley, Wakefield, and a host of other places, could in a greater or less degree repeat the story. Yet a little space must be devoted to a few offerings of exceptional importance and interest.

The first place must be assigned to Mr. Akroyd's magnificent church of All Saints, Haley Hill, Halifax, one of Sir Gilbert Scott's finest works, and unsurpassed by any modern church for its wondrous combination of dignity and beauty, its elaborate decoration, and its singular completeness and finish. Built in a commanding position near the old Roman road to Ilkley, its

its massive tower and graceful spire, rising to a height of 236 feet, are a landmark that may be discerned from the range that runs from Westmoreland to Derbyshire, on those rare occasions when the sky is free from the smoke of a thousand factories. All that stone carving, rich marble, stained glass and colour can do to render God's house a thing of beauty, has been lavished on this munificent offering, which is believed to have cost the donor 60,000*l.* Yet this sum by no means represents Mr. Akroyd's gifts to the Church in this neighbourhood. The church at Copley, where he has also large factories, mainly owes its existence to him, and hardly any effort for Church extension in the district has failed to receive from him most liberal support. A handy book, descriptive of the various institutions in Haley Hill and Copley, furnishes a remarkable example of the legitimate and faithful exercise of the appropriate influence within the reach of all large employers of labour, and describes, besides ordinary parochial institutions, a girls' school for cookery; a building society, on a system most favourable to such workmen as desire to become their own landlords; a rifle corps; and a working men's college, which has been unusually successful in qualifying young men, by a scientific training, for responsible and lucrative appointments.

The church of All Saints, Bradford, built by Mr. F. S. Powell, is another glorious example of the love for the Church of England which so largely prevails in the West Riding. The building, with its *entourage* of parsonage and schools, represents an offering of some 30,000*l.*, and its history will furnish a remarkable instance of Church progress. When its foundation stone was laid in 1862, there were five Dissenting chapels, but not a single day-school for the children of the 5600 souls then comprised within the district assigned to it, and no buildings for either Church Service or school. Before the church was consecrated, a large school was built and a day-school commenced. In a few years it was found necessary to treble the accommodation at first supplied, and since then two large mission rooms and infant-schools have also been erected. At the end of thirteen years a thousand scholars were in attendance in the Sunday-schools, and upwards of eight hundred in the day-schools. These results do not spring, as at Haley Hill, from the influence of any large employer of labour, but are the ready and spontaneous appropriation by the people of the means of grace and usefulness which are through the Church provided for them. The borough of Bradford is of much smaller area than that of Leeds, but a circle drawn with a radius of three miles from the Bradford Exchange would inclose a population almost equal, if not superior, to that of  
Leeds



Leeds in number, and it is hardly too much to say that throughout the whole of this circle Mr. Powell's support has been afforded to every form of Church extension.

The name of Church benefactors in the West Riding is legion. At Leeds the Becketts and Beckett Denisons, Marshalls and Gotts; at Sheffield the names of Sir John Brown and Mr. Henry Wilson, already mentioned; at Bradford, those of Hardy, Powell, Thompson, Hollings, and Taylor; at Huddersfield, the Earl of Dartmouth, Sir John Ramsden, the Brookes, the Starkies, and the Hirsts; at Halifax, Mr. Akroyd and Mr. Stocks; at Wakefield, Mrs. Disney Robinson; at Lightcliffe, Mr. Foster; at Skelton, Lady Mary Vyner. These are far from being an exhaustive list even of those who have given special offerings.

*πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ἐνομήνω  
οὐδ' εἰ μοι δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴεν.*

There is a large class of buildings, which occupy an intermediate position between the new churches and those which have been restored, and which are equally, with these, evidences and monuments of Church energy; we refer to the cases in which an entirely new structure has been substituted for an old parish church. Foremost in this category we place Doncaster parish church, perhaps the noblest work of Sir Gilbert Scott. Its rebuilding on so grand a scale was largely due to the unwearied energy of Sir E. Beckett, whose thorough mastery of Gothic details suggested some of the church's special and most striking features. The cost, 46,000*l.*, at which this church was finished, and that of St. James's, Doncaster, a most satisfactory building, also erected under Sir E. Beckett's superintendence, and completed for 5000*l.*, are a singular refutation of the prevalent prejudice that the Gothic style is exceptionally costly. It was here that Dr. Vaughan performed a unique service to the Church, by fulfilling single-handed all the most valuable offices of a theological training college, and thus raising up a body of earnest clergy, whose influence is now widely felt in Yorkshire and throughout England. At Mirfield the new parish church, another of Scott's churches, built by public subscription at a cost of 26,000*l.*, stands side by side with, and vastly overshadows, the simpler structure of earlier days.

To sum up the record of Church progress, as seen in the erection of new churches, we may state that since the year 1836 no less than 244 new churches have been consecrated in the diocese of Ripon, of which 44 were built to replace older structures which had become unsuitable, or had fallen into decay;

decay ; leaving a clear gain of 200 new churches, besides the additional accommodation almost invariably obtained when old churches were rebuilt. To this number must be added 59 more, built since 1840, in that part of the West Riding which lies within the diocese of York, so that the full tale reaches 259 in number.

The work of Church restoration throughout the West Riding has kept abreast of the erection of new churches. The staunch Protestantism of Dean Goode, the champion of Evangelicism, did not prevent his inaugurating the restoration of Ripon Cathedral on the true principle of strictly preserving its original features, and following it up with characteristic energy. He came to his deanery in 1860, and started the restoration in 1861. The work was committed to Sir Gilbert Scott, not a day too soon. This grand old structure, dedicated to St. Wilfred, with its singularly pure and beautiful Early English west front, was hastening to decay. The foundations of the western towers were gradually giving way, and they were rent by fissures of an alarming character ; the central tower was much cracked ; the pinnacles, flying buttresses, window-mullions, and ornamental work, were all extensively damaged. The roof of the choir, groined in 1829 with lath and plaster, was dangerously dilapidated ; pieces of it frequently fell during service, to the terror of the verger, who used to congratulate his patrons daily on their coming out safely. The taste of the previous restorers had placed under the transept roof a zigzag cornice made in *papier-mâché*, to imitate *Purbeck marble* ! It was found necessary to excavate under each tower to a great depth in order to make a solid foundation. The external roof of the choir was raised to its original elevation, and the plaster ceiling replaced by a roof of oak, and covered with lead. Chapter-house, crypt, library and choir were all thoroughly restored ; the condition of the last before Sir G. Scott took it in hand, with its unsightly galleries and dark closets, being almost indescribable. Unhappily, Dean Goode did not survive to see the completion of a work of which he had been the life and soul so long as his valuable life was spared. The restoration occupied ten years, and cost 40,000*l*.

It is impossible to dwell in detail on all the other important restorations effected in the West Riding during the last half-century. These witnesses, 'with silent but impressive eloquence,' as Bishop Bickersteth happily expresses it, 'to the piety, munificence and hearty attachment of Churchmen to the National Church,' abound in every direction. Wakefield parish church, with its beautiful spire, which dates from 1329, has been rendered, under Sir G. Scott's skilful handling, worthy of its original design,

design, at an outlay of 23,000*l.*; the last 600*l.* required being raised in a fortnight in 5*l.* subscriptions. The Abbey church at Selby, the parish churches of Bradford, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Keighley, and indeed of almost every large manufacturing town and village, stand out in fresh beauty, and the country districts have not lagged behind the towns. Lord Hampton's return gives 171,071*l.* as the amount expended upon Church restoration in that part of the West Riding which lies within the diocese of York, and 299,050*l.* more in the diocese of Ripon, making a total of 470,121*l.* Large as these figures are, they fall far short of the sum actually contributed. How universal the movement has been may be judged from the fact, that in the 472 parishes in the diocese of Ripon only eleven churches are now in urgent need of restoration. To the foregoing outlay we may now add the amount given in Lord Hampton's return, in order to complete this branch of our subject. We find that the estimated cost of the new churches in the West Riding within the diocese of York was 283,463*l.*, and within the diocese of Ripon, 703,241*l.*, making a grand total of nearly a million sterling. And if we take into consideration the facts, that actual expenditure almost invariably exceeds the actual estimate, that additional churches have been built and restored since the date of Lord Hampton's return, and that there are others which are not included in it, because less than 500*l.* has been expended on them, we shall be quite within the mark when we assert that a million and a half has been contributed during the last forty years to this one single element of Church extension.

It is more important and interesting to inquire how far the effort represented by such an outlay has been crowned with success. Spiritual results cannot indeed be measured by statistics, yet the degree in which the services of the Church are accepted, and especially the number of those who amongst so independent a race present themselves for confirmation, afford a fair measure of the spirit which the clergy throw into their work, and of their hold over their parishioners. The Bishop of Ripon's Charge in 1876 supplies the information we require.

'During the last three years I have held 142 confirmations. The whole number who have been confirmed is 19,207, or 1632 more than were confirmed in the former triennial period. . . . The whole clerical staff of the diocese is 708. The whole number of clergy when the see of Ripon was formed was 373. . . . The number of baptisms for the last three years is 83,866, being an increase of 5410 as compared with the number baptised in the three years preceding. The weekly offertory was established in 125 churches in 1870, and in 193 churches in 1876.'

**These**

These figures speak eloquently enough, and require no further comment.

The multiplication of new churches has not led merely to a large increase in the number of overworked and underpaid clergy. Contributions for the building of parsonage houses, and for the augmentation of endowments, have been poured forth in a stream of steadily increasing volume. For these objects there was raised in the diocese of Ripon 67,878*l.* in the three years ending with 1867; 55,716*l.* for the three ending 1873; and 82,944*l.* for those ending 1876. The total contributions for Church purposes during each triennium are too significant to be omitted.

In 1873 the Bishop of Ripon reminded his clergy,

‘This is the third time in succession that at my triennial visitation I have referred to what has been raised in the diocese for what may properly be called Church extension. In the three years terminating with 1866 the amount raised in the diocese for Church purposes was 308,565*l.* In the next three years it was 330,215*l.*, and now, so far from the liberality of the diocese being exhausted, the amount of contributions is larger than before, and reaches 345,067*l.*’

The Charge for 1876 gives a sum-total under the same headings of 394,676*l.* Some years of unusual commercial prosperity are included in the period thus brought under review, but the ‘Record of the Diocese’ contained in the ‘Ripon Diocesan Calendar’ for 1877 abundantly proves that the recent unparalleled depression of Yorkshire trade has not as yet checked the steady increase of benefactions to the Church.

A curiously perverted argument in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church has been based upon the magnitude of its voluntary efforts during the last half-century. A Church, it is argued, which can do so much for itself, can spare the endowments bequeathed to it by the past. It would be as reasonable to argue that a load which four strong horses can drag easily up-hill could therefore as well be drawn by two of them. It is the endowments of the past, together with the benefactions of the present, that have placed the Church in her high position. Without the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in supplying endowments for poor livings with large populations, and in liberally meeting benefactions in the cases where Church patronage is vested in private persons, the results of recent Church extension might have been far less satisfactory. That Churchmen are capable of large sacrifices to maintain their clergy, even when required to do so under circumstances which might afford a specious reason for refusal, was signally proved in their redemption last year of the Halifax Vicar’s rate at a cost of

of 12,000*l.*; when their liberality not only relieved the Vicar from all anxiety about his income, but made a present to every non-subscribing and Nonconformist landlord of the purchase value of the rate to which his property was liable. But the bare justice demands that the question should be shaped very differently, and that it should be asked, with respect to the property held in trust for the Church, whether the objects of the trust are legitimate, and whether the funds are being properly applied to them.

The Education Act of 1870 naturally came into immediate operation in the large West Riding towns, and it is with some anxiety that we inquire what position the Church still holds in elementary education. Unhappily the pressure is most felt in the poorest districts, the very places in which voluntary schools were most needed, and where they have been planted by the most self-denying exertions. It is satisfactory to learn from the ample statistics given in the Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1876-1877, that only fifteen schools which had obtained a building grant have been closed in consequence of the competition of School Boards. We are surprised to find that more than half of the 3500*l.* thus wasted was granted for school-buildings in Leeds and Halifax, where public spirit might be expected to sustain any efficient voluntary school.

But a deeper study of the authorised statistics reveals a condition of things which is positively startling, and more than justifies the complaints which have been made of the unfair pressure of Mr. Forster's Act upon the supporters of voluntary schools. At the date of the last annual return there was an average attendance of 39,338 scholars in the Board schools of the West Riding, and of 131,532 scholars in voluntary schools, of whom 89,459 attended Church of England schools, and 42,073 belonged to other communities.

The Board schools earned an annual grant upon inspection of 27,306*l.*; the Church schools 59,722*l.*; and the other voluntary schools 27,059: so that the Board schools obtained a grant of about 3½*d.* a head more than the scholars in Church schools, and had a greater advantage over voluntary schools not connected with the Church of England.

Such a result might be regarded with equanimity. The race seems hardly an unequal one when it is remembered that every little village church school has been entered into our estimate, and that it is much harder to meet known deficiencies in all such instances from voluntary subscriptions than from rates. If due allowance be made for such cases, it will be evident that the Church schools, as tested by results, supply an equally good secular

secular education with the Board schools. But it is most important to investigate the cost at which these equal results are obtained, and this the Report of the Education Department enables us to do.

The whole amount of building grants to Church schools, including sums granted by the Treasury before a Committee of Council was formed, was 116,143*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*, to which 25,822*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* should be added for other voluntary schools, making a total cost to the public purse of 141,966*l.* for the buildings, in which there was an average attendance last year of 131,532 scholars: whereas the loans raised by School Boards for less than a third of that number of scholars actually reached 1,134,115*l.*; in other words, the cost to the public of School Board school-buildings has been from twenty-five to twenty-six times that of voluntary school-buildings. Nor are the figures less astounding when we analyse them more closely. The debt incurred by the School Board of Bradford alone exceeds by 22,000*l.* the whole amount of building grants to all the voluntary schools in the West Riding. Sheffield surpasses Bradford by another 20,000*l.*, and the Leeds School Board has already incurred a liability of 238,240*l.* Doubtless some portion of this debt is due for schools still in course of erection, yet, with all allowance for such cases, we cannot acquit the School Boards of an expenditure often lavish and sometimes profligate. The absence of any practical control upon the expenditure of a School Board, only too often elected on a purely political basis, and animated by a determination not to carry out the spirit of the Act of 1870, but to supplant, if possible, existing Church schools, is causing a wide-spread discontent with their action in the West Riding; whilst the extravagant expenditure of those School Boards, in which Radicals and Liberationists have a majority, stands in disreputable contrast with the cuckoo cry of the same party for retrenchment, and bids fair to neutralise all the efforts of the Legislature to relieve the onerous pressure of local taxation.

The Sunday-school of Lancashire and the West Riding is altogether *sui generis*. Young men and women attend until they marry, and mothers with their babies are frequently seen on the forms of the select classes, as the upper division of the school is called. The largest Church Sunday-schools number from 600 to 1000 scholars; and their close orderly ranks, their well-clad and well-cared-for appearance, and the rich volume of music that bursts from them as they join in united prayer and praise, kindle feelings in the hearts of those who have known and loved them which do not soon fade away. Special children's

children's services in the church and school, with catechising and very simple addresses, have banished much of the church weariness that tried the children of the last generation so sorely. The weak point in the Sunday-school is commonly the quality of the instruction. Its strength lies in the attachment to the Church and the clergy, which it breeds and maintains. To remedy defects in teaching, associations of neighbouring parishes are now generally formed, which supply trained teachers to give model lessons, and to explain how the attention and understanding of the children may best be compassed. In prosperous times it is no uncommon thing for a Sunday-school to organise a special train for a day's trip to the sea-side or the Peak of Derbyshire, each one paying his own fare and providing his own refreshments. Whitsuntide and the anniversary (*i.e.* the Sunday on which the annual collections for the Sunday-school are made) are gala days. On the latter, especially, friends from a distance are invited; special hymns and a grand anthem, this last often marvellously florid, but executed in a style that astonishes South country folk, are prepared; the coldest churches are thronged; and the expenses of the year, varying from 50*l.* to 100*l.*, are, whether in church or chapel, almost always forthcoming.\* Strong as are the ties which bind the scholars to the church and school, which they may have attended for ten or fifteen years, the Church's hold on many seems to be lost just at the close of their connection with the Sunday-school, and the attention of thoughtful Churchmen is being anxiously engaged to supply the missing link. The prevailing tendency to secularise elementary education enhances immeasurably the importance of Church Sunday-schools, which in the diocese of Ripon alone number nearly 90,000 scholars.

One of the most successful means of retaining Church influence over those who are passing from youth to manhood has been found in the Church Institute, a kindred institution to the Mechanics' Institute, but with a distinctive Church character. A well-supplied library; a handsome reading-room, liberally furnished with newspapers and periodicals; classes for instruction in advanced and elementary branches of knowledge, including Music, Languages, and Religious Literature; a School of Art of a very high order; a Gymnasium fitted with every requisite; and a Lecture Hall, which furnishes a place for reli-

\* An amusing example of the quick wit of the West Riding occurred a short time ago at a village Sunday-school anniversary. The congregation, swelled by visitors from a distance, overflowed the church. When the collection was being counted in the vestry after service, a friend came in with a plate full of coins, amounting to several pounds—he had slipped out of church during the last hymn, and had collected from the people in the churchyard.

ious meetings and for gatherings which foster corporate feeling and lead to the united action of Churchmen; these are among the advantages afforded by the Bradford Church Institute, which is probably entitled to take the first place in the list, and which has enrolled 436 honorary and 1386 ordinary members. The Bradford building cost over 14,000*l*; that at Leeds, 8300*l*. Almost every large town and important village has now its Church Institute; and a Yorkshire Union of Church Institutes has been formed, to gather and disseminate the results of the experience of separate institutions, and to combine them, when necessary, for united action. The importance of this agency, as affording a new power for Church work, is already considerable, and it bids fair to furnish an effectual *tête de pont* against the assaults of foes from without.

What influence Church progress has had upon the spirit and power of political Dissent, is an interesting and intricate question, which at first it might seem hopeless to solve. There are so many elements to be taken into consideration, and the circumstances in different districts vary so widely, that 'waiters on Providence' are often sorely puzzled to determine with which side finally to cast in their lot. In some of the larger towns, such as Sheffield, Churchmen and Nonconformists generally abstain from mutual conflict, and keep at a respectful distance from one another. In other places, unhappily, where the agents of the Liberation Society make groundless and injurious charges which cannot be left unchallenged, the fiercest antagonism exists and breaks forth on all occasions, from the election of a parish officer to that of an M.P. If real political force could be measured by noisy agitation and boldness of utterance, no doubt the enemies of the Church would seem the stronger. The words of the Liberationists are fiercer than the words of the upholders of the Establishment. Churchmen have perhaps acted too exclusively on the principle, 'in quietness and confidence shall be your strength,' for days in which self-assertion counts for so much. The excesses of Ritualism and the insubordination of some of the Ritualistic clergy have served to repel many Nonconformists who were already half won over.\* A glance at the two strongest organisations opposed to the Church may help us to a correct conclusion.

We leave Methodism out of our calculation—not because it is not an item of immense religious importance, but because, as a

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\* It would, however, be a great mistake to give undue importance to this specious and oft-alleged excuse for hostility to the Church. Nowhere in the West Riding is Dissent more bitter than it is in some districts which are entirely free from Ritualism.



whole, it disclaims political action—and we inquire into the position held by the Congregational and Baptist communities.

The historian of Yorkshire Congregationalism affords unquestionable evidence that the spirit of Dissent has grown fiercer than formerly. At the time of the Declaration of Indulgence, the Yorkshire Presbyterian ministers passed a resolution—

‘That they would regard themselves, not as acting in opposition to the Established Church, but rather as attempting to promote its spiritual objects; that they would promote the payment to the Church of all wonted dues; that they would endeavour to keep clear of all needless controversy,’ &c.

‘Language like this,’ writes Mr. Miall, ‘appears crouching and spiritless to Dissenters of modern times.’ To ourselves, we confess, it sounds very much in harmony with the teaching of One who was ‘meek and lowly in heart.’ But a little further on we have yet stronger testimony to the prevailing spirit of Congregationalism:—

‘The lapse of time and the progress of events have removed much of the aversion at first borne to the proceedings of the Anti-State Church Society; and since its title was softened, though its avowed objects remained as distinct and decisive as before, “the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control” has been generally recognised by Congregational Dissenters as one of their own institutions, though embracing many other bodies in its range, and may now be regarded as expressing the sympathies and asserting the principles of the entire body.’—pp. 207, 8.

We rather fancy that the process here described is exactly that through which the mind commonly passes, when temptation prompts to that which the conscience disapproves, but the will determines to adopt. To give the ugly thing a specious name, and then to swallow it whole, is not indicative of very high moral tension. But it is worth while to inquire what *the entire body*, which aims to divert a vast income—the fruit of our forefathers’ piety—from religious to secular uses, has itself been able to effect. In this inquiry we must not forget that Congregationalism has had an immense field before it, and that vast pecuniary resources have been at its command. Its congregations have been amongst the wealthiest of the West Riding, and, in the words of the President of the Yorkshire Congregational Union for 1877, ‘the world now smiles, instead of frowning. It opens fair and easy paths before us, and heaps on us and our people wealth, honour, offices and dignities.’

Mr. Miall’s work contains a ‘Synoptical History of Yorkshire Congregational Churches,’ carried down to the date of its issue, 1868, and from this we have gathered the following statistics.

Out of a total of 232 churches, only 158 were supplied with a permanent minister; 9 were under the instruction of pupils at Independent academies. The actual position of 14 was doubtful; and as many more had lapsed to other communions, or had altogether disappeared, in addition to 13 which had become entirely Unitarian: in 24 the pulpit was vacant. We compare these figures with the returns given in the 'Yorkshire Congregational Year Book for 1877.' The number of churches has advanced to 276, but of these 38 are preaching stations or mission-rooms, under the charge of lay preachers or Evangelists. Of the remainder, 27 are vacant; 11 are ministered to by Evangelists; 15 more are 'supplied' (can this be a 'softened title' for the ministrations of collegiate pupils?); and finally—*horresco referens*—there are pluralists amongst the Independents, 11 chapels are held by 5 pastors. There are 178 settled ministers over 276 congregations, being a growth of 20 for the whole county of York during the last nine years.

We suppose no President of the Congregational Union would be regarded as fulfilling his duty if he did not introduce into his address the customary sneers at the State Church, and the wonted assertion that the day of disestablishment is coming. We are glad, however, to learn from so high an authority that Congregationalists 'can afford to wait.' But an observation (recorded in the 'Year Book,' p. 45) of the Rev. J. Sibree (Hull), ex-Chairman of the Union, must not be passed over:—'They were liberated, he thanked God, from all trammels, and the time was fast hastening on when the blessed hour of disestablishment would come, "when Judah would no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim vex Judah."' (P. 41.) Considering that the quarrel is exactly of that kind which justifies the Church in protesting—

'Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas ego vapulo tantum,'

the *naïveté* of this remark is inimitable.

The 'Annual Report of the Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches' contains ample and carefully prepared statistics of a denomination in avowed and energetic opposition to the union of Church and State. The association is governed by the pastors and two or three lay delegates from every Baptist church, so that it is thoroughly representative, and its president expresses the tone and feeling of the entire body. A few choice sentences culled from the president's address for 1877 will serve to illustrate the style which finds favour among the Baptists.

'Some few of our ministerial brethren have been terrified by a Church trouble or two, have in consequence lost heart, and gone  
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over to the peaceful asylum of the Establishment. . . . And what have such brethren gained by the change in their ecclesiastical position? Have they not sworn unfeigned assent and consent to antiquated and self-contradictory creeds and rubrics, from which Evangelicism and Ritualism may both be fairly evolved? Is not their religious faith now an affair of Acts of Parliament? Must they not pray by the book which is itself a schedule of the Act of 1662? Is not an earthly monarch, according to the 37th Article, their supreme head in all matters, both civil and ecclesiastical? Are not the very lessons which they read in public worship fixed for them by parliamentary lectionary Bills? . . . If we have lost our faith in Congregationalism we are in our wrong place in the Baptist ministry. If we are in search of what the world calls a quiet life, our best course will be to go over to the Establishment, in which, by paying 14s. 6d. quarterly, we may be kept duly supplied with ready-made sermons, high, low, or broad, and turn our brains out to grass.—*Address by Rev. J. Stock, LL.D.*, pp. 21, 22.

After such amenities, we are not surprised to find Confirmation described as a clumsy expedient, the preface to the Confirmation Service as a mass of absurdities, and the founders of the Reformed Anglican Church as men at their wits' end. Yet we can make much excuse for the president's ill humour. It must be hard for Baptist pastors, though claiming a monopoly of active brains, 'to see so many of their young people as they grow up pass into the ranks of other more fashionable Christian denominations' (Ib. p. 29). It must be yet more trying to have to make the despairing confession, 'the ingathering into our membership of people who have reached middle or advanced age seems to be becoming more and more difficult and hopeless' (p. 30).

It is only natural that much stress should be laid on the democratic polity of Baptist Congregationalism. 'It is for a holy, loving, Christian democracy that we plead, as the birthright of all who are born from above, and whose citizenship is in heaven. . . . Withered be the profane and sacrilegious hand that would do violence to any of the blood-bought liberties of the children of God!' (pp. 19, 20.)

It is with difficulty that we descend from such lofty theory to the practical working of the system, as seen in an example with which at least some of the president's hearers must have been well acquainted.

A discussion arose not long since in a large West Riding Baptist church as to whether the minister who was to fill the pulpit during the pastor's holiday should be paid by the congregation or by the pastor himself. The richest member of the church took one side, the larger number took the other, and finally a resolution was carried that the congregation would pay for

for 'the supply.' The great man left the chapel in high dudgeon. Presently funds began to run short, and he was entreated to return. 'I shall not come back,' was the reply, 'so long as that resolution remains upon the minute book.' The majority, a very large one, held out for some time against the blow aimed at their pastor; but the situation was an anxious one. There was wealth on one side, numbers on the other. At length the objectionable minister was got rid of; but in vain. A solemn church meeting rescinded the objectionable resolution, but to no purpose; until at last, starved into submission, it was determined that a clerk should be employed to rewrite the minute book from its commencement, omitting the offending resolution: whereupon the rich man's carriage rolled up to the chapel once more. It should be added that all this occurred in one of the largest churches of the association. Such a sacrifice of 'blood-bought liberties' to the vulgar power of the purse, in its coarsest form, is a telling commentary upon the boastful assumption of Dr. Stock—

'State churches annihilate the barrier which separates the kingdom of Christ from the kingdoms of this world, and thus incapacitate the churches for the high functions which the early churches were called to discharge. Such, however, is not our democracy.'—*Address by Rev. J. Stock, LL.D., p. 19.*

The Report of the association shows that there are sixty-nine Baptist churches in the West Riding, and these claim a clear increase for the year of 361 members. But of this total, 175 were dismissed by letter from South Parade Chapel, Leeds, to a new building in Bewlay Road, which was only formed into a separate church in the early part of 1877. The net gain of members, therefore, during the past twelve months has been 126, amongst a population of 2,000,000 souls.

We have no wish to identify every member of a religious community with the utterances of its fiercer spirits. There are many men of gentler nature amongst the Baptists and Independents, who recognise and value the spiritual work of the National Church. Such men as these, when Church Missions have been held in Leeds and elsewhere, have sent unsolicited subscriptions of money, and volunteered their personal service to promote the work. But a wide survey of the whole field leads to the conclusion that, whilst the antagonism of political Dissent is more embittered, its real force is less than formerly. We know that the Liberationist leaders look for division within the Church itself, and for the defection to their ranks of an extreme party, to afford the only available opportunity for disestablishment and disendowment.

Whatever the feelings amongst pronounced Dissenters, the influence of the Church in the West Riding is enormously increased amongst that vast mass of the working class who are indifferent to all merely religious disputes. Three causes have specially contributed to this result. 1. The active support afforded by the clergy to the Ten Hours' Bill. 2. The efforts made by the Church to provide elementary education. 3. The pastoral work of the clergy, who have for the most part observed no distinction of sect in house-to-house visitation and in the distribution of charitable offices. The favourable impression thus made has been immensely aided by the wide adoption of the free and open church system, which, fostered as it is by the prelates who govern the Church of the West Riding, is advancing rapidly, and promises, more than any other individual agency, to win back our working people to public worship.\*

We have no space to dwell upon one of the newest forms of Church extension by the erection of mission-rooms and temporary churches. At least a hundred of these are now forming the centres of future congregations, and preparing the way for more settled and stately services. We are constrained to dismiss, with a passing notice, the choral services which form so remarkable a feature of public worship in the West Riding, and which are so universal in town parishes, that a surpliced choir and full cathedral service is the rule, not the exception, and is no longer distinctive of a party. We can only allude to the combined efforts made at intervals, through a Church Mission, to reach, if only for a season, the entire population even of the most populous towns, and which, when carefully prepared beforehand and efficiently carried out, as at the Leeds Church Mission in 1875, arrest the attention of every class, and, after all allowance made for mere excitement, leave the Church a substantial gain. But beyond and in some degree including all these, the most noteworthy feature of recent Church progress in Yorkshire is the growing desire for increased corporate life and action. If union be strength, associated action must further and assist individual effort, and the tendency to such development is everywhere manifest. Church parochial councils, Sunday-school associations, Church Institutes, Church conferences, are but

\* A few figures will show how liberal a response is made when the maintenance of the Church Services and of parochial institutions is left under this system to the voluntary offerings of the congregation. The offertory at Leeds parish church last year amounted to over 1500*l.*, of which sum more than two-thirds was made up of silver and copper coins. St. John's, Leeds, shows a gradual and almost uninterrupted advance from 425*l.* in 1868 to 636*l.* in 1876. Wakefield parish church returns 1066*l.*; St. Jude's, Bradford, 855*l.*; and Holy Trinity, Bradford, a very poor and populous district, 363*l.*

varying forms which spring from the same motive. Most wisely is this feeling fostered by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ripon. The year 1878 will see the first Ripon Diocesan Conference, in which the laity in equal proportions with the clergy will take, as they are entitled, their full share in deliberation upon questions vitally affecting the welfare of the Church.

It is in no spirit of idle self-complacency that Churchmen contemplate the advance made during the last few years by the Church of the West Riding. If much has been done, much still remains to be done. Yet we may thankfully believe that the ground already occupied will afford a sufficient base of operations from whence to make renewed efforts. Experience has taught what means are the least costly, the speediest in results, and the most elastic in adaptation. A few years ago the position of the Church in this populous region might have seemed hopeless; now, it is not too much to say that, vast as is the task that lies before her, it is not beyond her power effectually to deal with it. But to accomplish so glorious a result the Church must be true to herself. We could sum up the action required of her by reversing Hubert's advice to King John, and could almost say:—

‘Fret not yourself against your other foes  
Only make peace between yourself and you.’

It is the solemn duty of all Churchmen at this season of great opportunity, and therefore of great responsibility, to encourage the united action of men of various shades of opinion; to continue and increase their self-denying efforts for Church extension; and to repress, even at the cost of strong personal feeling, any such development as can, by awakening prejudice, check the progress of the Church's hold upon the hearts of the people. Such a wise and generous policy would enable the Church in the West Riding to overtake the arrears of the past, to meet the wants of the present, and, by God's blessing, to insure a future of lasting and unspeakable benefit to the warm-hearted and intelligent people to whom it is her duty and her privilege to minister.

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- ART. III.—1. *Jordano Bruno*. Par Christian Bartolmèss. 2 vols.—Paris, 1846.
2. *Vita di Giordano Bruno da Nola*. Scritta da Domenico Berti. Firenze, 1868.
3. *Galilée, les Droits de la Science et la Méthode des Sciences Physiques*. Par Th. Henri Martin. Paris, 1868.
4. *Il Processo Originale di Galileo Galilei*. Pubblicato per la prima volta da Domenico Berti. Roma, 1876.
5. *Galileo Galilei und die Römische Curie. Nach den authentischen Quellen*. Von Karl von Gebler. Stuttgart, 1876.
6. *Les Pièces du Procès de Galilée. Précédées d'un Avant-propos*. Par Henri de l'Épinois. Rome—Paris, 1877.
7. *Die Acten des Galilei'schen Processes. Nach der Vaticanischen Handschrift herausgegeben*. Von Karl von Gebler. Stuttgart, 1877.

NO two characters in history invite a Plutarchian comparison and contrast more naturally than those of Giordano Bruno, the 'knight-errant of philosophy,' as he was nicknamed in his own time, and Galileo Galilei, the genuine martyr of exact science.

Bruno and Galileo were the first conspicuous champions of the Copernican or Modern Astronomy, and the former first awakened towards it the ominous attention of the Holy Roman Inquisition. The Nolan philosopher-errant had unluckily preceded the Pisan professor in the popular exposition of the Copernican system, and he purposely placed that system in the light necessarily most obnoxious to ecclesiastical prejudices, by including in his view of it the unhesitating assumption of a plurality of inhabited worlds, peopled similarly to our earth. From that assumption he explicitly drew those heretical inferences which were afterwards fastened gratuitously on Galileo. Neither Copernicus before him, nor Galileo after him, hazarded any such speculations as to the manner in which the other planets of our system, or of other systems, might or might not be peopled. But Bruno revelled in them, and made them the main ground of his argument against the creed of Christendom and for the necessity of a new religion, harmonising with the new astronomy. It was much as if Voltaire had preceded Newton, and had so treated astronomical questions as to create an inseparable association in the clerical and common mind between a revolution in science and a revolution in religion and morals.

Galileo has been accused by all the apologists of his ecclesiastical persecutors of having gratuitously mixed up questions of science-

science with questions of religion; and his imputed invasion of a province, which he had no legitimate motive to meddle with, has been described as having provoked that papal crusade against modern astronomy which has damned Urban VIII. and his Holy Office to everlasting fame.

Not a word of all this is true of Galileo. Every word of it is true of Giordano Bruno. Unlike as were the characters and careers of Bruno and Galileo—in every respect but irrepressible intellectual activity, however differently directed—it is difficult to avoid the impression that the destinies of the former may have very considerably and unhappily influenced those of the latter. The Roman Inquisition successively pounced on both, though not, it must be admitted, with equal excess of severity. It burned Bruno, and never certainly had it lighted on human fuel more manifestly predestined, in that age, to burning. It only intimidated Galileo into solemn and deliberate perjury, into abjuration of truths he had clearly demonstrated and continued to hold, which his persecutors perfectly well knew that he continued to hold, and therefore, by extorting verbal abjuration of them from a harassed and infirm old man, made themselves mainly responsible for the hollow and hypocritical performance of what can only be designated as a most impious and sacrilegious farce.

Giordano Bruno's is one of those names which, in the course of centuries, have gathered round them a sort of darkened glory. If he had fallen upon another age and another country—instead of being burnt at Rome, he might have shone brightly, as a professor of philosophy, at Berlin or Munich. He might have lectured, like Schelling, on 'The Absolute,' and 'The point of indifference between extremes,'—a position identical with the *coincidentia oppositorum* of Bruno—or, like Hegel, on 'the Unity of Existence and Thought,' and 'the Perpetual Evolution of the Idea.'

It is mentioned amongst the multifarious mental occupations of the late Baron Bunsen, that he had studied Giordano Bruno with peculiar interest and with deep sympathy. 'The work of Bartolmèss of Strasburg,' he said, 'gave me occasion of becoming more nearly acquainted with that strange, erratic, comet-like spirit, marked by genius, but a Neapolitan, whose life was but a fiery fragment.'\*

A fiery fragment, literally consumed in fire at last. Not the less characteristic of that unparalleled era of intellectual renaissance in Italy, which commenced in classicism, was closed

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\* 'Memoirs of Baron Bunsen,' vol. ii. p. 254.



by Jesuitism; which was cradled in the Platonic academy founded at Florence by the first illustrious chiefs of the Medicean line, and was entombed in the Holy Office instituted at Rome by Pope Paul III.; which had for its first martyr of modern philosophy Giordano Bruno, for its second confessor Galileo.

The character and career of Giordano Bruno furnish the most signal example of all that was irregular and anarchical in that immense intellectual as well as æsthetic movement, the transitory glory of the sixteenth century in Italy. The character and career of Galileo exemplify all that was genuinely scientific, and really religious, in that movement. We should be disposed to regard the unbridled license on all subjects, which so singularly and strangely distinguished Bruno, as a natural reaction, on the one hand, against the complete self-prostration of intellect dogmatically demanded by the Church of Rome, and, on the other, as a natural product of the entire emancipation of intellect practically encouraged by the universities, in those free disputations *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, which were thrown open by time-honoured usage to all academic speakers and all hearers. It was only on submissive minds that monastic discipline produced its designed effects: the reaction therefrom, in restless and inquisitive spirits like Bruno's, could scarcely fail to drive them from implicit acceptance of unreasoned rule to indiscriminate revolt from all rule. What the Church had afterwards to condemn she may seem to have herself generated. Bruno was the natural child of Dominicanism, as Voltaire of Jesuitism. He may be said to have anticipated the most 'advanced' solutions of all questions which he chose to consider open. And he chose to consider all questions open. He may be looked upon as the last of those stray philosophers, in quest of fame and of bread, who had formed, in the Middle Ages, a sort of international republic of letters, whereof all the universities of Europe were recognised as component parts, graduation in one of which opened all the rest to lectures and disputations *de omni re scibili* by their itinerant members.

But let us begin at the beginning of the wayward and erratic career of the first of those representatives of the nascent modern mind in Italy, whom M. Berti has made the subjects of his successive studies.

Whether Giordano Bruno, who was born about 1550 and baptized by the name of Philip—but, on entering a religious order, followed the usual ecclesiastical etiquette of giving himself a new name—was of high or low descent (he himself claimed the former) seems not very clearly ascertained. So much however is clear, that he was of rather poor parentage, and, during

during the whole course of his errant exercise of philosophy, he had to live upon his wits—on the money contributed by the auditors attracted to his disputations and lectures. He had donned the religious dress at the age of fifteen, in the Dominican convent at Naples, and before the expiration of his novitiate he had expressed himself slightly to a fellow-novice about a mystical manual, which he found him reading, on the subject of the seven beatitudes of the Virgin. ‘What!’ he asked, ‘would you not find the reading of the lives of the Holy Fathers more edifying?’ Young Bruno had, moreover, cleared out his cell, by giving away all the images it contained of saints, male and female, keeping only a crucifix. Upon these indications the ‘master of the novices’ commenced formal proceedings against the boy heretic, but had the good sense or good feeling to drop them. Bruno’s next outbreaking, however, in the like direction, was followed by more serious consequences. Before he was eighteen, says his biographer, he had begun to doubt of the principal dogmas which the Church imposes on the belief of the faithful. Finally, after taking orders, at twenty-three, he gave still fuller and more unbridled scope to his heterodox opinions. Thus, at each successive stage of outward ecclesiastical progression, he developed and disclosed an inward state of mind at variance with it. Proceedings were again taken against the young Giordano—this time by higher authority; and there could be no doubt about the peril of the position in which he had placed himself. He took flight from Naples, and found a temporary halting-place at the Dominican convent of the Minerva at Rome; but soon, finding that the charges brought against him at Naples had been duly forwarded to Rome, he took flight from thence also, throwing off his monastic habit, and went forth into the world, as the fairy tales say, to seek his fortune.

On escaping from Rome, our philosopher-errant had resumed his baptismal name of Philip, and, as we have already stated, had cast off his garb of Dominican monk. With his usual inconsistency of conduct, he very soon resumed that garb, but without any further attempt to re-enter the Order. In those times this was nothing new or unusual. Botta, the historian of Italy, states that there were then some forty thousand Italian monks living outside the walls and rules of their convents. On his arrival at Geneva, after experiments of living in Italy, which seem to have all failed, Bruno was counselled by a distinguished Italian refugee once more to divest himself of his monastic habits, these being quite out of fashion in the city of Calvin. Accordingly, he converted portions of them into hose, and his

his Italian fellow-refugees gave him a hat and cloak. Those refugees had, some years previously, espoused the creed of the Evangelical Church; and their recognised leader, who had first accosted Bruno on his arrival at Geneva, bore one of the highest patrician names of Naples. This was Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico and nephew of Pope Paul IV., who, to the deep disgust of his family, had embraced the creed of Calvin.

But Bruno had shot far past Calvin and Beza in his views of a new theology. And, as he avowed afterwards, in his examinations before the Inquisitions of Venice and Rome, he could neither adopt a religion, the basis of which was faith without works, nor reconcile to his mind a scheme of Church-government, which empowered the State to punish with the sword all who dared to avow dissent from its doctrines. Formularies and confessions of faith were then the prevailing fashion, whether at Rome or Geneva. The Italian refugees had been compelled (much against their philosophical conscience, their leanings having been commonly Arian) to subscribe a rigidly Calvinistic confession. There was no rest or place for religious revolters from Rome, who would not restrict themselves within the rigid bounds of the theology of Geneva; and revolters, like Bruno, from one theocracy could not bring themselves to acquiesce in another. 'Lutheranism,' observes our biographer, 'was, in this respect, more to their minds than Calvinism.' Bruno, in particular, very soon found that there was as much wood for burning heretics at Geneva as at Rome and Naples.

At Geneva our philosopher-errant was treading on ground which had shortly before been strewn with the ashes of Servetus. At Toulouse—where he obtained a Professorship, notwithstanding his antecedents (which were perhaps unknown), and lectured on Aristotle's three books 'On the Soul'—he was again treading on ground shortly afterwards to be strewn with the ashes of Vanini. During two years and a half (for him an unusual interval of repose) there must have been either a lull in the intolerant spirit of his audiences, or a pause in the indulgence of his own heretical impulses. It was during that interval that he held some conferences, which came to nothing, like those he afterwards held with the papal nuncio at Paris, as to what means could be used to enable him to re-enter the Order he had quitted. But it was fated that poor Bruno's Dominican frock never should be put on again, save to be stripped off, as preliminary to its wearer being burned at the stake.

'Our Giordano,' says M. Berti, in relating his first sojourn and lectures in Paris, 'was the true type and ideal of the free Professor of those times. In Toulouse, in Paris, in London, in Oxford, in  
Wittenberg,

**Wittenberg**, in Prague, in Zurich, in Frankfort, he took the **Professor's chair**, and gave lectures, without seeking protection or favour in any quarter. He migrates from University to University, opens school against school, and when he encounters any opposition or obstacle he turns his steps elsewhere.' In his examination before the Venetian Inquisition, Bruno says of himself, 'I went to Paris, where I set to work lecturing to make myself known.' The substance of his teaching seems to have had for a main ingredient the Lullian art of memory, mixed up with the physical, metaphysical, and astronomical novelties, which he never failed of introducing in all his lectures, and which never failed to produce scandal and to create a disturbance. On every subject his powers of improvisation carried his hearers by storm. 'He promised,' says his biographer, 'great things in vague and mysterious language, well calculated to excite curiosity and attention in his audience. Whatever in his utterances was not purposely obscure, was clear, fluent, and impassioned. Whatever the intrinsic value of his lectures, they gained him great fame in delivery.' Everyone would like to be shown a royal road to knowledge; and royalty itself, in the person of Henry III. of France, showed a desire, which seems to have been not less fleeting than his other caprices, to make acquaintance with this all-promising Professor of occult science. Bruno, as he was seldom sparing of invectives on opponents, so failed not to repay in flattery the capricious favours of a patron so far from respectable as the French King of the minions, by extolling him to the skies as 'the magnanimous, great, and potent prince, the echoes of whose fame extended to the ends of the earth.'

The first, and it might be said the last, real and substantial patronage (except that of the worthy Frankfort booksellers) ever obtained by poor Bruno, was that which he enjoyed in the family of the French ambassador in London, Castelnau de Mauvissière, whose military and political Memoirs have made him known to posterity. About 1583 Bruno had brought royal letters of introduction to that important personage, whose house furnished him, for the first time, an easy and tranquil resting-place, after all the troublous storms which had tossed his private state, and had rendered literary leisure unattainable, if not 'life unsweet'—for he seems to have rather liked living in hot water. All Bruno's best works were written on the banks of the Thames, under the hospitable roof and liberal protection of the French ambassador—the more truly liberal, as M. de Mauvissière was a devout Roman Catholic, and had no sort of sympathy with Bruno's free-thinking and heretical proclivities. There must have

have been, after all, something that attracted personal regard to our poor philosopher-errant, or he could not have made himself an acceptable inmate in the house of an experienced soldier and statesman, with an accomplished wife and a cultivated and amiable family. Bruno was excused from attending daily mass in the Ambassador's house, on the plea that, for the present, he regarded himself as excommunicated; and he must certainly have restrained his polemical and profane sallies in the house of a man who emphatically disapproved the theological Conferences held about that time, in France and elsewhere, with the forlorn hope of putting an end to religious differences. Religion, said M. de Mauvissière, 'ne se peut bien entendre que par la foy et par humilité,' and it was therefore not likely to be learned by disputation.

Bruno liked London little, with its mud, mobs, and 'prentices—Oxford less. If he presented himself to the notice of the Heads of that royally endowed University in his hose, already commemorated, stitched together out of his old Dominican habits, and in the charitably contributed hat and cloak which completed his outfit at Geneva, he must have made a figure anything rather than recommendatory to an honorary degree in the eyes of the magnificent Dons of that day, whom he describes as follows:—

'Men arrayed in long robes, attired in velvet, with hands most precious for the number of rings on their fingers, which look as if they could belong only to the richest of jewellers, and with manners as void of courtesy as a cowherd's.'

To these maligned magnates, however, Bruno addressed a letter, through their Vice-Chancellor, in which he announced himself as teacher of 'a theology more exquisite, and a philosophy more refined, than any that had commonly been professed or delivered.' He added, in language not less vainglorious, that he was 'the awakener of the slumbering, and the effectual tamer of stubborn and presumptuous ignorance.' He attained his object of getting the gates of the sanctuary of science on the banks of the Isis thrown open to him for the delivery of a course of lectures on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' and the 'Quintuple Sphere.' His lectures had their usual report of scandal, and soon had to be closed. Bruno's report of Oxford students (*lucus a non lucendo*) was not more favourable than of the Oxford Dons of his day.

'The scholars,' he says, 'were idle, ignorant, unmannered, undevout, occupied in no studies but drinking and duelling, *toasting* in alehouses and country inns, or graduating in the noble science of defence.'

Defence. In short, they took their ease everywhere, whether in lecture-rooms or in taverns.'

The Oxford masters and scholars, whom Bruno encountered on the banks of the Isis, are contrasted with the English gentlemen he met on the banks of the Thames:—

'Men loyal, frank, well-mannered, well versed in liberal studies, men who may bear comparison for *gentilezza* with the flower of the best educated Italians [of course, according to Bruno, the natives of his beloved Naples] reared under the softest skies, amidst the most smiling scenery, and richest nature of the world.'

The ladies of England came in for their share of honour from the Nolan philosopher; though not for that ardent homage which had lately been lavished on their gracious attractions by Erasmus. Such fervours were reserved by Bruno for Copernicus, Raymond Lully, and Albertus Magnus. Though he sometimes boasted of his *bonnes fortunes*, as of most other things, he had not much of the troubadour or votary of the Court of Love in his composition, and he betrayed some scorn of the Tuscan poet, languishing for his Laura on the banks of the Sorgue. Yet he had lyrical tributes for some of those English ladies, 'the honour of the female sex, all-compact of celestial substance.' By Erasmus those *nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles*, had been much more warmly extolled, especially for a fashion now only observed on extraordinary and solemn occasions, or under the mistletoe.

'Always and everywhere,' wrote Erasmus, 'they receive you with kisses. They kiss you when you meet them, when you part with them, when you return. If you come back, the sweet kisses begin again; if they leave you, there is a fresh distribution of kisses. Whichever way you turn, you will find everything embellished by their tender commerce. O Faustus, if you had once tasted the delicate perfume of their presence, you would wish to travel—I do not say ten years, as Solon did—but all your life, and to travel always in England!'

Bruno's 'Wander-jahre' may be said to have comprised all the years of his active life—if a life can be called active which was passed wholly in talking and writing—in teaching Raymond Lully's boasted science of discoursing on all subjects without having studied any. It was the science of the old Athenian sophists all over again. Such a situation, with his natural independence of spirit and fiery temper, threw him only too frequently on the dire necessities of quackery. He had to blow his own trumpet wherever he went, mysteriously to adumbrate arcana to be more fully imparted only to the  
initiated,

initiated, and to start paradoxes chiefly aimed at astonishing the ears of the groundlings. The worst fate that could have befallen his paradoxes would have been to have scandalised nobody. 'What did the learned world say to your paradoxes?' asked the Vicar of Wakefield of George Primrose. 'Sir, the learned world said nothing to my paradoxes—nothing at all, Sir!' The learned world were less unkind to Giordano Bruno. The University-world especially said a good deal to his paradoxes, though not much to their advantage. Wherever he lectured, or wherever he challenged disputations, he could always boast at least of a success of scandal. He made successively Geneva, Paris, London, Oxford, Wittemberg, Helmstadt, Prague, Padua, and Venice, too hot to hold him.

Poor Giordano courted the favour of certainly a curious succession of patrons: Henry III. of France, who asked him whether the art of memory professed by him was an art practised by the aid of nature or of magic; Queen Elizabeth of England; Sir Philip Sidney; the Catholic University of Prague; the Protestant University of Wittemberg; the booksellers of Frankfort-on-the-Main, a city which he found friendly and hospitable, and where he would have done well to have stayed, had he been capable of staying quietly anywhere; and, finally, a young patrician of Venice, Giovanni Mocenigo, who seems to have combined strong intellectual ambition with weak intellectual capacity, and with moral ability still weaker. Having read one of Bruno's mysterious treatises on his occult science, this idle young nobleman could not be content without luring to his palace in Venice the possessor of all those boasted secrets of the Lullian art of memory, which formed the charlatan part of poor Bruno's philosophical stock in trade. Teacher and pupil soon got tired of each other: the former failed to teach, and the latter to learn, an universal science which had little else than a merely chimerical existence. Bruno, besides, while he made a great mystery of his occult science, made no mystery at all of his open and scoffing heterodoxy. Mocenigo's conscience became alarmed by his confessor, when he exhorted his penitent—who was ready enough to obey the injunction—to denounce the teacher, of whom he was tired, to the Inquisition.

'Even independently of his heresy of inhabited worlds innumerable,' observes M. Berti, 'sentence of death would have been passed upon Giordano Bruno. He came before the Holy Office charged with far graver crimes than Paleario, who was strangled and burned for denying the doctrine of Purgatory, disapproving burial in churches, satirising his fellow monks, and attributing justification to faith alone. Giordano Bruno was condemned as an *apostate*, having deserted

deserted the order in which he had been consecrated priest—as *relapsed*, having been the subject of repeated procedures, without having been thereby reclaimed to a religious life. The relapsed, even when they had shown signs of repentance, were nevertheless delivered over to the secular arm, and were almost always sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: even such of them as had performed acts of penitence were sometimes condemned capitally. Bruno besides was chargeable with the heaviest of all crimes—that of impenitence—almost always punished with fire. The obstinate heretic, whom no office of Christian charity has availed to lead to conversion, shall not only [say the text-books on the subject] be given over to the secular arm, but burnt alive. It was added “*Quando isti pertinaces vivo igne cremantur, eorum lingua alliganda est, ne, si libere loqui possint, astantes impiis blasphemis offendant.*” \*

Everything conspired with Bruno's audacity of temper and recklessness of that conduct in life, which could alone have enabled him to steer safely through the seas of religious discord, to prepare for him the fate which he had voluntarily returned to his country to meet. He was an enthusiastic Platonist, at a period when Aristotelianism was the sole saving faith, in the eyes alike of dogmatic orthodoxy and alarmed sacerdotalism. ‘A Platonist in an Aristotelian atmosphere,’ as Mr. Leslie Stephen says of William Law, ‘can no more flourish than an Alpine plant transplanted to the Lowlands.’ † The rampant Aristotelians of Bruno's days would have no Platonic plants in their Lowlands; or, if any such came there, were presently minded to make fire-wood of them. ‘It will be remembered,’ says M. Bartolmèss, ‘under what circumstances Bruno's death took place. It was in the midst of an epoch of reaction against Plato and Copernicus—an epoch when Cardinal Bellarmine supplicated Clement VIII. not to tolerate the teaching of Platonic philosophy in the Church.’ ‘That philosophy,’ said the learned Cardinal, ‘has too much analogy with Christianity, not to excite fear lest some minds may be alienated from our religion, and attach themselves to Platonism.’

The sixteenth century in Italy may be divided pretty equally into two halves; the first of which preserved the Platonic traditions of the Florentine Academy, and the second stiffened into exclusive Aristotelianism and intolerant orthodoxy. In the latter there was an ecclesiastical retrogression into medieval Scholasticism, under the double influence of the new zeal for internal reform in the Church of Rome, and of the external pressure of Spanish preponderance over the Italian Govern-

\* ‘Arsenale o Pratica del Sant' Offizio.’

† ‘English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,’ vol. i. p. 158.



ments, which, as in Spain itself, worked mainly through the established ecclesiastical machinery. At the opening of the century, the cultivated mind of Italy, in the highest places of Church and State, had become all philosophic, and more than half heathen. Cardinals wrote plays, and patronised pictorial and poetic art on any rather than sacred subjects. Nay, Clement VII. and his Court sat out the performance of Machiavelli's 'Mandragola,' the last scene of which (the midnight soliloquy of a priestly pander) is the keenest and bitterest satire ever penned by the wit of man on sacerdotal hypocrisy, or self-delusion, at its highest and most comic pitch. All that was changed, however, as far, at least, as appearances went, when the Church had to set her house in order against Luther and Calvin.

'The anger of the elder Cato against the Greek philosophers was even exceeded,' says M. Bartolmèss, 'by the exasperation of the new censors against free thought. The degree of independence, which had been enjoyed by Cusa and Pomponatio, was refused to Campanella and Vanini. Cosmo III. of Florence prohibited the printing of the fine translation of Lucretius by Alexander Marchetti, as an impure manual of Epicureanism. What science demanded was to march unshackled, to live and speak unconstrained. The Church, on the other hand, dreading lest dogma should be sapped by science, naturally strove to suppress it. Thus arose a combat à outrance between two interests alike dear to man, but equally exasperated against each other. But for that fatal conflict, to what an elevation might not Italian philosophy have attained! Accordingly, these two half centuries exhibit a complete contrast. In the career of Bruno that contrast manifests itself from the most various sides. That imprudent speaker and writer carried on to the close of the century those traditions of free utterance, which had enjoyed tolerance, and even protection, at its commencement.'

It must be admitted that Bruno used and abused to the utmost a 'liberty of prophesying,' the most moderate exercise of which had ceased to be safe in Italy. What Voltaire wrote of Vanini was equally true of Bruno: 'Il voyagea pour faire fortune et pour disputer; mais malheureusement la dispute est le chemin opposé à la fortune; on se fait autant d'ennemis irréconciliables qu'on trouve de savans ou de pédants contre lesquels on argumente.'\*

But Bruno's crowning imprudence was his habit of satire and invective on the Church to which he still considered himself as in some shape belonging, and which, unfortunately, still considered him as belonging to it, at least for penal animadversion.

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\* 'Dictionnaire Philosophique,' article 'Athéisme,' sect. iii.

Bruno had not only been baptized a Catholic, but ordained a priest; and he was thus doubly amenable to Church discipline, when, in his comedy 'Il Candelaio,' he indulged his ribald humour on the most cherished objects of Italian popular veneration: '*Chi vuole agnus Dei, chi vuol granelli benedetti?*' &c. &c., together with a burlesque catalogue of Catholic relics of saints, which our Protestant decorum forbids our reprinting.

'Bruno,' says M. Bartolmèss, 'at Wittenberg could not but make his obeisance to the statue of Luther. But did he forget that Catholic Ingolstadt was but a few miles distant? His panegyric on Luther was meant for publication, and, without reflecting on the consequences, he seems to have striven to surpass, in expressions of contempt and hatred for the Papacy, the most passionate and the most unmeasured utterances of Luther himself. "Who is he," demanded Bruno, "whose name I have hitherto passed in silence? The vicar of the tyrant of hell, at once fox and lion, armed with keys and sword, with fraud and force, hypocrisy and ferocity—infecting the universe with a superstitious worship, and an ignorance worse than brutal? None dared oppose themselves to that devouring beast, when a new Alcides arose to restore this fallen age, this degraded Europe, to a purer and happier state."

And it was this same Bruno who, in the last years of his life which he spent at liberty, proposed to lay his revised and corrected works at the feet of his Holiness Clement the Eighth, who, as he says, he has heard loves *li virtuosi*: to lay before him his case, and seek to obtain absolution at his hands for his past excesses, and permission to resume his clerical habits, without returning under regular religious discipline!

It would be unjust to the memory of the unfortunate Nolan precursor of Galileo to leave the impression on those who have not read his writings (and who in England has?) of a mere itinerant, esurient, and irreverent, not to say scurrilous and blasphemous sophist. Such injustice (since Bayle) Giordano Bruno has not suffered from continental critics. Germany has given him no undistinguished place in her voluminous histories of philosophy, and German philosophy itself has owed some of its rapidly and incessantly dissolving views to his writings. Bruno's distinguishing faculty, as a child of the southern Italian sun, was imagination. That faculty, in the sixteenth century, in Italy, had matter to work upon unequalled in after times; but which, in Bruno's time, proved perilous stuff for philosophic handling. And Bruno's imagination was rather that of a poet than of a philosopher. He carried all sail and no ballast: little wonder if he made shipwreck. His sympathetic but dis-

criminating biographer, M. Bartolmèss, draws his character in very impartial traits as follows :—

‘Endowed with a talent essentially spontaneous, Bruno seems to lose his power and be thrown off his balance, on all occasions where patient and silent meditation is indispensable; where the main point is to ascertain, to verify, to demonstrate—not merely to affirm confidently, and conclude precipitately. Though highly instructed, he was audacious rather than studious, speculative rather than observant; prone rather to draw on his own ideal stock and deal in *à priori* reasonings, than to collect data for well-grounded conclusions from experience, and from these, with due circumspection, deduce rules and principles. He did not always care to confront the results of his speculations with the observable phenomena which compose the history of nature and society. He dreaded, or rather disdained, to apply to his own speculations that severe criticism, that unsparring revision, without which the most prolific brains produce in philosophy only ephemeral opinions. Science profits by the lights struck out—the sallies hazarded—by geniuses of that kind, but cannot be said to owe to them its substantial and permanent acquisitions. The most solid and real service such a genius as Bruno can render, is to inflame the soul with a generous ardour for ideal truth.’

It is a noticeable coincidence, that the same Doge of Venice, Pasquale Cicogna, who signed the decree, on the part of the Venetian Government, for the extradition of Giordano Bruno to that of Rome, had signed, a few months before, the appointment of Galileo Galilei as Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua. Neither signature, at the time it was affixed, might seem of much moment; but the proceedings which were taken against Bruno by the Roman Inquisition paved the way for those afterwards taken by the same tribunal against Galileo. One and the same principle was involved in both cases: that principle was the assumed right of the Church to control the march of Science. And certainly never was science laid more open to censure by its imperfectly qualified representative than in the case of Bruno. So far as burning Bruno went, the Church proved its power. Rome proved her power a second time by condemning the Copernican doctrine in the unexceptionable shape in which that doctrine was presented by Galileo. But by so doing, she discredited for ever her authority in the domain of intellect by the despotic abuse of that authority at the dawn of an era which would no longer confound articles of faith with laws of science.

Giordano Bruno had been burnt at Rome in the sight of the multitude flocking to the Eternal City from all parts of Europe to celebrate the jubilee year 1600. Thirty-two years afterwards  
Galileo

Galileo was forced from under the feeble protection of the young Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany before the Roman Holy Office, to answer for his stubborn adherence to the discoveries of modern Astronomy, by which that tribunal told him he had made himself vehemently suspected of heresy. The treatment of Bruno, as we have already seen, had been, in a manner, provoked (if that could have justified it) by the multiplied indiscretions of the Nolan knight-errant of philosophy. Of the treatment of Galileo Rome herself has become ashamed.

For more than two centuries 'the starry Galileo, with his woes,' has engaged the world's sympathies; yet it is only within the last few years that proper pains have been taken to place before general readers the plain tale of his trials.

The most impartial review of the relations of Galileo with Rome is found in the pages of his thoroughly conscientious and liberal Roman Catholic biographer, Henri Martin, to whom we are also indebted for the fullest estimate of the scientific labours of his life. 'If Bacon,' says Sir David Brewster,\* 'had never lived, the student of nature would have found in the writings and labours of Galileo, not only the boasted principles of the inductive philosophy, but also their practical application to the highest efforts of invention and discovery.'

Galileo's great glory was his resolute rebellion from time-honoured tradition, and his signal inauguration of the spirit and methods of modern science.

'Galileo,' says M. Henri Martin, 'laid it down as a principle always to ascend from exact and mathematically precise observation of effects to positive knowledge of causes and laws. Long before 1637 [the date of Descartes' 'Discours de la Méthode'], long before 1620 [the date of Bacon's 'Novum Organon Scientiarum'], Galileo had introduced by precept and example this complete and definitive method of the physical sciences. He had, in so doing, to struggle against the modern Peripatetics, against the *à priori* method, handed down from Aristotle, in the study of nature. In his "Saggiatore" [Assayer], in his "Dialogues on the Two Principal Systems of the World," and more especially in his "Dialogues on the New Sciences"—his last and most finished work—Galileo, in demonstrating the legitimacy and efficacy of his method, lays special stress on that part of it which Bacon had neglected, and without which that method would have been impotent to regenerate the study of physical science. This indispensable part of the experimental observation of physical facts is the *measure of quantities*.

Galileo knew that all physical objects are *extended*, and consequently by their nature and essence *measurable*, though they may

\* 'Martyrs of Science.'

not always be measurable by the methods and instruments we possess;—that all physical phenomena take place in periods susceptible of measure—that physical phenomena must be reducible to movements, some perceptible, others inappreciable by our senses. As regarded all these phenomena, he held that the right method was to measure all that was measurable, and to endeavour to render measurable all that was not already directly so. All who have proceeded *à priori*, from Aristotle to Descartes downward, have arrived at results the falsity of which suffices to condemn their method. Neither ancients, indeed, nor moderns made any mistake about the first principles of pure mathematics, since those first principles, being necessary and evident of themselves, have nothing to fear from any correction in application. But those who have sought to arrive at the first truths of mechanics by the *à priori*, instead of the inductive method, have always deceived themselves with regard to many of those truths.'

In a letter addressed, but not sent, to the Peripatetic professor, Fortunio Liceti, dictated by Galileo, at the age of seventy-seven, the year before his death, he observed (and the observation comprises the whole substance of his own scientific teaching):—

'If the true philosophy were that which is contained in the books of Aristotle, you would, in my mind, be the first philosopher in the world, since you seem to have every passage of that author at your fingers' ends. But I verily think that the book of philosophy is the book of Nature, a book which always lies open before our eyes.'

The real cause of quarrel between Galileo and the authorities of his age was, that the latter sought their philosophy in books, while he sought his in facts. A blind faith in Aristotle deprived men of the use of their own eyes. Certain ultra-Aristotelians went the length of affirming that Galileo's telescopes were so constructed as to show things which in reality had no existence. He offered a reward of 10,000 scudi to any one who could make such clever glasses as those. Some stubbornly refused to look through his telescopes at all, assured as they were beforehand that they never, by their aid, should see anything that Aristotle had said a word about. And it was not only a few Peripatetic philosophers, unversed in astronomy, who talked in this way. Such language was repeated by the able astronomer Magini, Professor at Bologna, and at first, also, by the learned Father Clavio, who died at Rome in 1610, but died converted to the faith (by sight) of Jupiter's satellites, the phases of Venus, and the inequalities of the moon's surface. Cremonini at Padua, and Libri at Pisa, refused all credence to Galileo's discoveries, demonstrated as those discoveries were by his telescopes. Libri died at Pisa without having ceased to protest against Galileo's absurdities, or deigned to look through  
Galileo's

Galileo's telescopes : upon which the latter wrote (10th December, 1610) that, as the deceased Professor would not look at Jupiter's satellites here, he might, perhaps, take a view of them in his way to heaven.

It has often been asked—it was asked, indeed, by Galileo himself—how it happened that a storm of imputations of constructive heresy burst on his head, after having left unvisited that of the first great founder of modern astronomy, Copernicus. Galileo could not, as he said, anticipate that it would be believed at Rome—as it seemed to be believed by Monsignor Gherardini, Bishop of Fiesole—that the doctrine of the earth's motion had been first started by a living Florentine, not by a Polish canon who had been dead seventy years, whose book had been published by special desire of Cardinal Schomburg, and dedicated by express permission to Pope Paul III. But it is not difficult to discern the causes of the different reception, by the reigning philosophical and ecclesiastical authorities at successive epochs, of identically the same scientific truths. Copernicus lay already paralysed on his death-bed when his work was intrusted to Osiander for publication, and he was therefore in no condition to overrule the timid precautions which his above-named pupil thought requisite in order to avert the wrath of the orthodox theologians and Peripatetic philosophers of the day. Osiander's anonymous preface in no manner expressed the mind of his master, who was convinced as firmly, as was afterwards his illustrious Florentine successor, of the solid foundation of his system in the facts of the natural universe, and who would probably have been no more disposed than Galileo was to handle it as a mere working hypothesis, which need not be received as true, or even probable, but as framed solely to facilitate the calculation of astronomical phenomena. The subterfuge was a childish one, but it passed muster with those childish minds of mature growth, then occupying papal or professorial chairs and pulpits. Had Copernicus lived to wield the powers of Galileo's telescope, he, instead of Galileo, might have stood forth the protagonist, and have suffered as the protomartyr, of modern astronomy. The conflict with the spiritual power, which Galileo did not court, but found forced on him, was the 'unshunned consequence' of the scientific revolution effected by aid of his telescopic discoveries. The question between the two world-systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican, as Herr von Gebler justly remarks, had hitherto been exclusively for the schools. Neither the less known precursors of Copernicus nor Copernicus himself had ever ventured openly to declare war against the Aristotelian philosophy, or to overthrow,

throw, by the unanswerable evidence of observed facts, the hollow fabric of physical science founded on that philosophy.

‘They had fought with the same weapons as the Ptolemaic doctors; those of the school-logic. They did not possess direct evidence of astronomical facts, as they did not yet possess the telescope. But Galileo, with his system of demonstration founded on ocular evidence of the actual facts of Nature, was too formidable an antagonist to obtain tolerance from the schoolmen. The Peripatetic philosophers had no armour of proof to parry the blows of arguments addressed to the understanding on the direct evidence of the senses; and their adherents accordingly, if they would not give up their cause as lost, must call in aid other allies than those of the schools. They caught accordingly at the readiest means within reach. To reinforce the tottering authority of Aristotle, they invoked the unassailable authority of Scripture.

‘We must not ascribe this mainly to mere party spirit, or mere personal malevolence. The bulk of the learned class, which still adhered to the old world-system, and had hitherto carelessly regarded Copernicus, with his new theory apparently unsupported by visible proofs, as a mere dreaming speculator, now stood aghast at Galileo’s telescopic discoveries, which apparently threatened to overthrow all that had hitherto been believed. The learned, and still more the half-learned, world of Italy felt the solid ground shaking beneath their feet, and the threatened downfall of Aristotle’s authority of three thousand years must, it seemed to them, draw after it the overthrow from the very foundation of all that had hitherto been held as truth in physics, mathematics, philosophy, and religion.’

If Galileo had been content with making a mere raree-show of his telescopes, or a mere lucrative trade in them, he might have been petted and patronised to the end of the chapter at Rome, as he had been at Venice and Florence. He need have incurred no risk of persecution for truths he might have forborne to enunciate. But he would have missed the main scope of his life, which was simply to demonstrate those truths. What Galileo’s critics really make matter of reproach is his manly frankness and sincerity. Having a plain tale to tell, he saw no reason why he should not plainly tell it. Having no ‘heretical pravity’ to conceal, he too sanguinely anticipated that he could engage the Roman hierarchy in the pure interest of scientific truth.

It was ecclesiastical rather than philosophical favour that Galileo felt he had most need to conciliate. It was the opinion which might be formed at Rome of his views of the Copernican system, about which he was most solicitous: for, should Rome prove hostile, he knew too well that it would be difficult or impossible

impossible for him to exercise with freedom the function of an expounder of those views in Italy.

'Belisario Vinta, secretary of the Grand Duke' [of Tuscany], says M. Berti, 'wrote to Galileo, that so soon as the truth of his speculations on the Medicean planets [the satellites of Jupiter, which Galileo had so named in compliment to his Tuscan patrons] should be confirmed at Rome, the new constitution of the universe might be said to be established for all the world, and would be assured of obtaining the concurrence of all mathematicians and all astrologers. This assent of Rome Galileo felt to be of such moment, that he was prepared to make every effort to obtain it. He assiduously cultivated friendly relations with the cardinals, the monsignori, the prelates. But the quarter where he chiefly aimed to conquer opinion was the Collegio Romano, as well because there were amongst its members not a few men well versed in science, as because it constituted a sort of theologico-philosophical tribunal.'

The prospects of success for the new science at the metropolis of Latin Christendom seemed at first promising.

'Would we form an idea,' says M. Berti, 'how Galileo was appreciated and courted at Rome, we must figure him to ourselves in the vigour of life, at the age of forty-seven, with ample forehead, grave countenance, expressive of profound thought, fine figure and very distinguished manners, clear, elegant, and pleasing, and at times imaginative and vivid in discourse. The letters of the time superabound in his praise. Cardinals, patricians, and other persons in authority, vied with each other for the honour of having him in their houses, and hearing him discourse. A choice society of men, eminent for learning or high public office, were in the habit of assembling round Cardinal Bandini in the palace of the Quirinal. In the gardens of that palace, which commanded a great part of the city of Rome, and the view from which extends over a vast horizon, Galileo, in the fine evenings of April, exhibited through his telescope the satellites of Jupiter, and discoursed on the subject of his discoveries. It seems that some of the Fathers of the Collegio Romano came also to these meetings; and by day Galileo, in these and other places, directed observation to the spots in the sun. Federico Cesi, the young president of the Academy of the Lincei [lynx-eyed], lavished on him the most affectionate tokens of esteem and friendship. Contemporary writers relate with admiration the sumptuous dinner given by Cesi to Galileo at his villa of Malvasia, on the summit of the Janiculum, not far from the gate of St. Pancrazio, and at which the most distinguished persons in Rome were present. Towards the end of dinner, Galileo having pointed his telescope in the direction of St. John Lateran, the guests were enabled to read the inscription over the portico, three [Italian] miles off, and then, turning the telescope to heaven, they desisted to their full satisfaction the satellites of Jupiter, with other celestial marvels. On that occasion, Galileo, to satisfy the curiosity of



of the guests, took the telescope to pieces, and allowed every one at discretion to examine the construction, and to take the measure of the lenses.

‘A number of eminent men in learning and science used to assemble nightly at the Tuscan ambassador’s, where Galileo at that time resided, to look through his telescope at Venus, and the “tricornal” Saturn. One evening, when the clouds interrupted their view of the stars, they began disputing, as their nightly wont was, on the subject of light. Galileo said to Lagalla, that he would let himself be immersed in ever so dark a dungeon, and kept there ever so long a time on bread and water, if only, on coming out, it were granted him to understand the nature of light.’

This conversation, and others of the like description, are recorded in contemporary narratives of the first sojourn of Galileo in the Eternal City in 1611. He was to revisit it on four later occasions—in 1615, 1624, 1630, and 1633—the first three of these latter visits being voluntary, the last compulsory, on the peremptory and reiterated summons of Pope Urban VIII. to present himself in person for examination before the Holy Inquisition.

Amongst the figures which we find crossing the stage during Galileo’s first visit to Rome, was that of Cardinal Bellarmine, then full of years and honours. On the 19th of April, 1611, Bellarmine wrote to the Reverend Fathers of the Collegio Romano, to ask if in any manner there had been brought under their cognisance the celestial observations, which an able mathematician had been making by means of an instrument called *cannone* or *occhiale*, by which means he [Bellarmine] himself had seen some marvellous sights in the Moon and Venus. Clavio, a recent and zealous convert to Copernicanism, Griemberger, Oddo Malcotio, and Paolo Lembio, replied officially, on the 24th of the same month, that they had themselves verified all the celestial marvels to which his letter referred.

‘Although,’ says M. Berti, ‘we are ignorant for what reason Bellarmine addressed that question to the College, we shall probably not be far from the truth in supposing that the reply requested in such solemn form, and in writing, was not asked of the College solely for his own information, but for that of his colleagues of the Inquisition.’

What, we may ask on our part, had Galileo come to Rome for, but to get the stamp of authority put by the Collegio Romano on his virtual adhesion to the Copernican system in his *Nunzio Sidereo*? The ‘able mathematician’ had been desirous of bringing his new and strange views especially before that college, as containing other able mathematicians,  
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who could speak from chairs of authority. And this end, which Galileo had expressly aimed at, he fully attained. The favourable answer returned by the Collegio Romano to the demand thus made of them was no sooner published, than Galileo's friends at Rome hastened to make it known farther, exulting in the belief that the stamp of orthodoxy had now been set authentically upon the master's most startling astronomical innovations, and that they might henceforth freely discuss his discoveries and the questions raised by them. Monsignor Dini confidentially intimated to Cosimo Sasseti that the Jesuits were great friends of Galileo. The Tuscan 'Orator' [Ambassador] at Rome presented Galileo to the Pope [Paul V.] who received him most graciously, not suffering him to say a word before him in a kneeling posture. Encouraged by these favourable indications, and taking occasion from the opposition to his discoveries stirred up by some Perugian monks, Galileo addressed a letter to Monsignor Dini, not only exposing with all the force of logic, and all the keenness of sarcasm, the fallacy of the argumentations attempted by his monkish opponents, but putting in the clearest light the principles of criticism in their application to science. From Galileo's highly obnoxious proposition, that *the Earth was a planet*, his simple or subtle opponents sought to fasten on him the gratuitous inference that all the other planets must be inhabited by beings of our own species. It was then asked whether these had descended from Adam, and whether they had embarked with Noah.

The first open war on Galileo's astronomical innovations was declared by monkish ignorance. The irregular-regular monastic militia of Papacy were the first to beat the 'drum ecclesiastic,' and essay to rally round them the great army of blockheads in a new crusade against light and knowledge. On the fourth Sunday of Advent, 1614, Caccini, a Dominican monk, preached a sermon in the church of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence, on the astronomical miracle of Joshua, taking his text from the Vulgate—'*Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in cælum?*' This punning text was followed by a furious sermon against all mathematics, which the preacher declared were an invention of the devil, and against all mathematicians, who, he said, should be excluded from all Christian states. Father Maraffi, a Dominican friend and admirer of Galileo, immediately wrote to him to express his disgust at this abuse of the pulpit—the more so, he said, as its author was a brother of his own order, and he should have to share the responsibility of all the stupidities (*tutte le bestialità*) which might be, and were, committed by thirty or forty thousand monks.

Father

Father Caccini, instead of being censured or punished, was invited to Rome, as master and bachelor at the convent of Santa Maria della Minerva; and another brother of the same order, Father Lorini, secretly wrote to the Roman Holy Office, not expressly naming Galileo, but denouncing *the Galileists*, who affirm that the earth moves, and the sun stands still. Father Lorini declares that the Galileists therein assert an opinion visibly contrary on all points to Holy Scripture, that they trample under foot the entire philosophy of Aristotle, and vent a thousand impertinences only to show their wit. He concludes by quoting the sermon of Caccini against 'the Galilæans,' which was the sure way to get the Father summoned as a witness before the Holy Office—as he accordingly was, and added a quantity of second and third-hand hearsay, the greater part of which was too worthless to find favour even with an Inquisitorial tribunal, and the rest irrelevant to the charges in course of collection against Galileo by the underground agencies of the Holy Office of Rome.

M. Henri Martin here abruptly asks—'What was it these Cardinals of the Inquisition really meant?' Maffeo Barberino, Del Monte, Bellarmine, were well-wishers to Galileo personally. They meant, in a word, to spare the man, while stifling the system. This was not, however, what Galileo wanted, or would willingly submit to. In letters to Monsignor Dini, he avowed that the earth's double movement was for him, as it had been for Copernicus, a serious and positive doctrine, not a mere hypothesis, which might be regarded as false or indifferent. In a justification of himself, drawn up by Galileo at the period before us, not for publicity, but for communication 'to some wise and just persons,' he asks—

'What could be expected to be the consequence of an authoritative condemnation of the Copernican system? Such a condemnation would not convince men of learning and science, who do not feel themselves at liberty to believe the contrary of those truths of Nature, which observation and experiment enable them, in a manner, to see with their eyes, and touch with their hands. It would, therefore, be necessary to prohibit all study whatever of astronomical science—that is to say, all study of those works of Nature in which the power and wisdom of God display themselves with most magnificence.'

It has been assumed in some quarters, and the assumption is endorsed by M. Martin, that Galileo's second visit to Rome (at the close of 1615) was not quite voluntary, as had been his first in 1611. According to these reports, he had been secretly summoned to present himself before the Inquisition. Galileo's own account, given to the Inquisitors themselves in 1633, as well as  
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**i**n all his letters to his friends, was, that this second visit, like his first, was made by him entirely of his own accord. Now, setting aside for the moment all reliance on Galileo's habitual frankness and veracity, is it credible that he should make a false statement on such a point to his judges, who had immediate means of checking it by referring to the records of their own Office? It is not improbable, however, that he may have been invited by his friends in the congregation to come to Rome to defend his writings in person against the more serious of the charges which were brought against them. We may here remark that it was always on the provocation and challenge of his assailants, that Galileo meddled at all with theological controversy. What excited their anger was, not that he was heterodox in theology, but that he warned off theology from ground which was not properly her domain. His counsels to Theology to leave Science unmolested were precisely such as might be addressed, in our own age, by rational believers to irrational zealots. Unfortunately, the sincere or pretended zealots in the days of Galileo, when Aristotle was cited, with such grotesque audacity, in support of Scripture, were too strong for the small minority of enlightened students of nature, whose religion was scientific, and whose science was religious.

Galileo's second visit to Rome appeared afterwards to have been the crisis of his fate; the turning-point of all his after-life from prosperous to adverse fortunes. The great mistake he made did not consist, as Sir David Brewster would have it, in any wanton disregard or defiance of 'the laws of the Church,' nor 'bold and inconsiderate expression of his opinions' through the channel of the press (the two documents, addressed, the one to Father Castelli, the other to the Dowager Grand Duchess of Tuscany, which gave his enemies the first handle taken against him, were not printed at all);—his great mistake was his too sanguine persuasion that he could get those who wielded the highest powers of the Church at that epoch to see that neither her laws nor her honest interests were concerned in the question whether the sun moved round the earth, or the earth round the sun. Such was Galileo's own intimate and sincere conviction; and it was his sublime confidence in the force of truth that inspired his efforts to bring round Popes and Cardinals, who had other objects in view, to share that conviction. Sir David Brewster, following Mallet Du-Pan, and other such untrustworthy authorities, and taking no note of the facts, which were not then in their entirety before the world, affirms that Galileo, to be safe, needed but to have abstained from turning a philosophical into a theological question; and that, had he concluded his

his 'system of the world' with the sage peroration of his apologist Campanella, and dedicated it to the Pope, it might have stood in the library of the Vatican, beside the cherished, though equally heretical, volume of Copernicus.

'The cherished, though equally heretical, volume of Copernicus!' Why the volume of Copernicus was put on the Roman Index by a decree dated the 5th of March, 1616, and remained on the Index till the 16th of August, 1820! The doctrine contained in that work, of the sun being the centre, and the earth not being the centre of our system—the mobility of the latter and fixity of the former in that system—had been declared, in February, 1616, by the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition to be 'absurd, heretical, and contrary to Holy Scripture.' That was the position on which Rome took her stand at the epoch of Galileo's second visit. No other ground could be assigned for any admonitory (not to say penal) procedure against Galileo, than the ground laid in the secret passing of that decree of the Inquisition, since no other offence could be imputed to him than that he had founded his theory, in his recently published *Letters on the Spots in the Sun*, on that of Copernicus. With similar secrecy, the decree of the Inquisition condemning the Copernican doctrine was communicated to Galileo by Cardinal Bellarmine, and a promise was exacted from him that he would, in future, neither *hold* nor teach that doctrine in any shape. Bellarmine himself, and Maffeo Barberini, afterwards Pope Urban VIII., were personal friends of Galileo; they had no sympathy with the ignorant or hypocritical zealotry of the Caccinis and Lorinis; and, at the time we are speaking of, they inspired the Inquisition with their own friendly dispositions, so far as regarded the person of the philosopher who had alarmed their orthodoxy. Accordingly, Galileo's name was not even mentioned in its decree condemning Copernicus, and Cardinal Barberini afterwards, when Pope, in 1633, complained vehemently of ill-usage and ingratitude on the part of Galileo after he had helped him, as he said, out of his scrape in 1616. That Galileo could not be content to hold his tongue, petted and pensioned as he was both by a Pope and by a Grand Duke, was a mystery of iniquity and perversity that his too gracious Holiness could not have anticipated, and could not be expected to pardon.

Those who censure Galileo for failing to keep his secret promise to Bellarmine, seem to forget that, for sixteen or seventeen years, he kept as much of that promise as could well be expected—that is to say, he forbore, though it was pain and grief to him, from further publications on the obnoxious and tabooed subject. It was not till his friend, Maffeo Barberini, had

had climbed to the highest place in the Roman hierarchy with a diplomatic dexterity only equalled by his autocratical arrogance when he had once reached it, that Galileo, by a second sanguine mistake, supposed he might give himself license to evade the inhibition which had secretly been laid on him at so great a distance of time. He had hastened to Rome, on the urgent advice of his friend Prince Cesi, the President of the Lyncæan Academy, to congratulate Maffeo Barberini on his elevation to the papal chair, and was received by the new Pope with an eager cordiality which might well inspire confidence. The Florentine philosopher, in his single-minded devotion to his main object in life, had not sufficiently studied the character of the man he had now to deal with. Everything depended with Urban on hitting his humour or caprice of the moment. 'No Pope,' says Ranke,\* 'ever raised such arrogant claims to personal respect.' And nothing that he could deem disrespect to aught he had ever dictated was likely to be viewed by the new Pontiff in any other light than that of 'contempt of court'—and of himself as the supreme head of that court—to which, and to whom, were to be submitted with implicit deference all matters bearing on its sovereign spiritual authority, whether directly or indirectly. Pope Urban had said to Cardinal Hohenzoller—who repeated to Galileo—that *the Church* had not condemned this system (the Copernican system), and that it should not be condemned as heretical, but only as rash; and he added that 'there was no fear of any one undertaking to prove that it must necessarily be true.'

In half-a-dozen audiences, which his Holiness had vouchsafed to grant Galileo, this very subject of the Copernican system had been discussed between them with perfect freedom; and it was natural to infer from the Pope's expressions to Hohenzoller, that he would be disposed to tolerate the like freedom of discussion in print, provided it were pushed to no positive or decisive conclusion. Upon that hint Galileo wrote and printed. Papal vengeance pursued him to the last hour of his life.

If Galileo misunderstood his patron, it is only charitable to believe that Urban understood no better his protégé, soon to become his victim. How, indeed, should they have understood each other? The personal characters and aims were as widely different as the personal positions of the two men, who came thus suddenly and unexpectedly in collision. Galileo was solely intent on extending the empire of science—Urban on asserting the authority and enlarging the Estates of the Church. While

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\* Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' vol. ii. p. 559.

the former sought worldly means so far only as they were *à* dispensable to obtain leisure for his researches, the latter *mainly* (that we may not say solely) made use of his spiritual power *and* prestige to promote the temporal aggrandisement of his See *and* his family, which had indeed become the all but exclusive object of the Popes for two centuries.

It has been supposed that Urban took personal offence at the imagined application to himself of the name of *Simplicio*, which Galileo had given to the Ptolemaic champion in his Dialogues on 'The Two Principal Systems of the World.' The other two interlocutors bore real names—those of the Florentine Salviati and the Venetian Sangredo, friends of Galileo, the former of whom personates the true (*i.e.* Copernican) philosopher in the discussion, and the latter intervenes as an umpire between the combatants. The Pope had, indeed, sycophants enough about him, capable of suggesting the injurious idea that the third Ptolemaic interlocutor was meant for himself. But he would have well deserved the name of *Simplicio*, if he could really have believed this when he found leisure, which was probably not at first, to read the Dialogues. What was however true, and scarcely less calculated to exasperate his imperious Holiness, was that Galileo had put—and could not help putting—into the mouth of *Simplicio* arguments which Urban had held to himself in apology for the old astronomy. Galileo had, however, carefully guarded against seeming to give those arguments as *Simplicio's*, but made him cite them as those of 'a man of great learning and of high eminence.' Personal offence there was none in such a citation; but offence to papal infallibility, and to the rules of good courtiership there certainly was, in the fact that, instead of accepting Urban's arguments as unanswerable, Galileo made his *Salviati* answer them. *Hinc illæ iræ*. Urban VIII. was no stiff Aristotelian. A Pope who had 'forced the songs and apophthegms of the Old and the New Testament into Horatian metres, the song of praise of the aged Simeon into Sapphic strophes,'\* certainly was not chargeable with taking grave matters in too solemn earnest. And, it must be added, such matters, whether theological or philosophical, were those which formed the smallest portion of his mental concerns, either before or after his elevation to the papal chair. He was, while rising to power, above all an accomplished courtier and diplomatist: when he had reached its summit, he was the most imperious and unscrupulous of priestly princes. What was *true* he had little or no leisure to investigate:

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\* Ranke, 'History of the Popes,' vol. ii. p. 558.

what was expedient he regarded solely from a secular point of view. Maffeo Barberini's stepping-stone to papal sovereignty had been through the court of France; his policy as Pope was framed on the model of Richelieu's, and was no less cynically indifferent to Catholic interests than that of his great master. It is impossible to credit him with any other species or semblance of zeal for the Church than that which consisted in flaunting her banners and parading her cause, while fighting his own battles. 'His favourite notion,' says Ranke,\* 'was that the States of the Church must be secured by fortifications and become formidable by their own arms.' This was the man whom Galileo had hoped to interest in scientific star-gazing, and to find open to conviction on points he had once determined, not by thought, but by will.

The Pope, it is said, did not immediately get a copy of the new-published 'Dialogues,' which had been printed in Florence by a stroke of something like Machiavellic diplomacy, after the Roman censorship had been coaxed or cajoled into an *imprimatur*. It may be doubted whether he immediately found time to read them. But he saw at once, or was made to see by those round him, an affront to his authority in the attempt, in any shape, at any further discussion of a subject, on which he considered Galileo, by his promise to Bellarmine, as having, in a manner, been bound over to keep the peace. His indignation, says M. Berti, was aroused so strongly, 'that the book and its author would both have been brought without delay before the Holy Office, if the intercession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the urgent representations of his "Orator" at Rome, had not prevailed with Urban to nominate, in the first instance, a special commission to examine and report on the book before taking further proceedings.' But *le diable n'y perdait rien*. The Commission, of course carefully packed, made a report soon after to his Holiness, in which it accumulated all the matters of charge that could be brought against Galileo, as well for the act of publication of the obnoxious 'Dialogues,' as for the manner in which the questions broached therein were handled. On receiving this report, Urban lost no time in ordering the Inquisition of Florence to intimate his Holiness's command to Galileo to appear in person not later than the month of October (the rescript was issued in September), before the commissary-general of the Holy Office in Rome.

This imperious summons struck Galileo with consternation, and was highly displeasing to the young Grand Duke Ferdinand,

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\* 'History of the Popes,' vol. ii. p. 554.



who had just succeeded Galileo's old patron Cosmo. The Venetian Republic would have opposed a firm front to Rome on such a demand; but Ferdinand was young and irresolute, and the Duchess and Dowager Duchess had been thoroughly indoctrinated by their spiritual directors against all 'vain knowledge and false philosophy.' Galileo's infirm health had furnished excuse for delay in obeying the papal mandate; but that mandate was repeated in still more peremptory terms, and finally the Pope sent orders to the Inquisitor of Florence that, so soon as Galileo's physical condition permitted, he was to be brought in *irons* to Rome. Ferdinand wrote to him from Pisa on the 11th of January, 1633, that it had become necessary for him to obey the papal summons, but that he would place at his disposal one of the grand-ducal litters and a trustworthy guide, and would allow him to take up his residence at the Tuscan embassy in Rome. No Italian prince of that period, says Herr Gebler, would have acted otherwise. No one of them would have had the courage or independence to meet with a veto the Pope's demand for the extradition of an eminent subject. Venice alone would have acted on the axiom laid down by Paul Sarpi on the sovereign power of the State, and would have asserted that power against all sacerdotal pretensions to set that of the Church over it, and to execute ecclesiastical justice on the subject of an independent dominion.

There was a sad contrast between Galileo's first and last visit to Rome—the first a triumph, the last a torture, moral if not physical. There was a sad contrast, within a much briefer period, between the countenance turned towards him by Urban on his accession, and that of the same pontiff so soon averted in implacable wrath on the first umbrage given by the philosopher to the Pontiff's pride of power and of wisdom more than human.

The truth appears to be that Urban VIII., in the persistent animosity he showed against Galileo (while professing all the while to retain friendly sentiments towards him), was a good deal moved as well by the instigations of intolerant councillors as by the consciousness of having gone too far previously in the direction of tolerance. He had lavished his most ostentatious patronage on the Florentine philosopher. He had expressed his opinion that the Copernican system could not be condemned as heretical, but only as rash. And now he found the representative man of that rash system again rushing with redoubled rashness into print, substantially, though not avowedly, as its apologist.

In the mean time, those who had the Pope's ear had persuaded him that its propagation was in a high degree perilous to the Church. Urban VIII., like a priestly Louis XIV., was ready at  
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any moment to exclaim '*L'Église c'est moi!*' Ranke states that, 'if it was proposed to him to take counsel of the college, he replied that he understood more than all the cardinals put together.\*' He had, however, precluded himself from proceeding by direct means against Galileo as an offender against the laws of the Church. He had himself conceded that the Copernican system could not be condemned as heretical. The very work, which and whose author he had now resolved to crush, had received the *imprimatur* of his own censors of the Press at Rome. The only course open to him was to employ his *âmes damnées* of the Inquisition to say and do for him all that he deemed necessary to be said and done to intimidate Galileo and his Copernican sectaries into submission and silence. Accordingly, as we have seen, he summoned Galileo to appear before the Holy Office, but took care not to affix his papal signature to any of their proceedings, though he presided in person at several of their sittings. No wonder if, among the ten men selected to do this dirty work for him, three—amongst them the Pope's nephew, Francesco Barberini—withheld their signatures from the sentence. That sentence, as a specimen of the *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, is perhaps unparalleled even in Roman ecclesiastical Latin. It is given *in extenso* at page 143 of M. Berti's Appendix, and sums up as follows:—

'Dicimus, pronunciamus, judicamus et declaramus, te Galilæum supradictum, ob ea quæ deducta sunt in processu scripturæ, et quæ tu confessus es ut supra, te ipsum reddidisse huic Sancto Officio vehementer suspectum de hæresi, hoc est quod credideris et tenueris doctrinam falsam et contrariam Sacris ac Divinis Scripturis, Solem videlicet esse centrum orbis terræ, et eum non moveri ab Oriente ad Occidentem, et Terram moveri, nec esse centrum Mundi, et posse teneri ac defendi tanquam probabilem opinionem aliquam, postquam declarata ac definita fuerit contraria Sacræ Scripturæ; et consequenter te incurrisse omnes censuras et pœnas a Sacris Canonibus et aliis Constitutionibus generalibus et particularibus contra hujusmodi delinquentes statutas et promulgatas.'

It is characteristic of inquisitorial justice in all ages, that 'vehement suspicion of heresy' is here regarded as equivalent to proof of heresy; and that Galileo, having been stated to have come under that suspicion, should be assumed to have 'incurred all the censures and punishments appointed and proclaimed against such delinquents.' Without dwelling on that assumption—*by whom*, may we ask, had the Copernican theory been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture? By the Pope,

\* 'History of the Popes,' vol. ii. p. 556.

speaking *ex cathedrâ* for the Church Universal? No such thing; but by the Congregation of the Inquisition—a body incompetent to declare or define anything of the sort.

It was Pope Urban throughout that urged the Inquisition to exercise its utmost rigour against Galileo. He was not more intent on seizing with the secular arms of horse, foot, and artillery the territories of his neighbours to enrich his nephews, than on stretching his spiritual authority to the utmost to frighten or coerce a defenceless philosopher into restoring the sun's motion and arresting the earth's—so far as words could do it. Much has been said, with something less than justice, about the abjectness of Galileo's abjuration. His Roman Catholic biographer, M. Henri Martin, handles the matter, in our judgment, more equitably. We make no apology for rather a long extract:—

'The submissive language and attitude of Galileo before the Inquisition were enjoined upon him by his feeble protector, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and were likewise counselled by all his friends, of whom we have letters. Niccolini, the friendly Tuscan ambassador at Rome, relates in his correspondence with his court the prolonged and deep dejection in which Galileo was plunged, after reluctantly giving his promise to comply with these counsels. We may add that, in the submissive attitude he assumed throughout his trial, he conformed also to the counsels of the Venetian Fra Micanzio, the friend and successor of Fra Paolo Sarpi. Such was the pliability of the firmest characters in Italy of the seventeenth century.

'Far from imagining with *Sir Brewster* that the danger for Galileo lay in submission, we must not suppose that he yielded to a vain fear. He knew how two condemned heretics had been treated at Rome, the one only thirty-two years, the other only eight years before his trial. He must have had in recollection Giordano Bruno, burned alive at Rome under Clement VIII. in 1600, and Marco Antonio de Dominis, who died in imprisonment before trial in the Castle of St. Angelo, but was condemned after death, and whose exhumed body was burned with his writings at Rome under Urban VIII., in 1624. Galileo was no heretic like Bruno, an ex-Dominican monk, who had openly renounced Catholicism at Geneva, and had publicly taught not only the system of Copernicus and the plurality of worlds inhabited by men, but the doctrine of metempsychosis and a sort of pantheism. Galileo was not a relapsed heretic like the learned mathematician and physical philosopher Dominis, ex-Archbishop of Spalatro, and afterwards Protestant canon at Windsor, who returned to the Catholic Church, but was again accused of Protestant doctrine. Nevertheless, the sentence passed in 1633 against Galileo, without exactly giving him, as a ground of condemnation, the designation of a relapsed heretic, implied that designation in the preamble of the sentence and in the act of abjuration; so as, in effect, to stigmatise Galileo's doctrine as a  
heresy,

heresy, declared such in 1616, and Galileo himself by consequence as a heretic, who had received a secret personal warning in 1616, had relapsed afterwards into heresy in 1632, and was now pardoned solely on condition of abjuration and penance. If Galileo had refused to abjure a doctrine thus described as heretical, he would have had to fear that the designation of relapsed and impenitent heretic would have been applied in his case as in that of Bruno, drawing like consequences after it. I am convinced, indeed, that he would not have undergone the last punishment for his pretended crime; neither Urban VIII. nor his inquisitors would have gone quite that length. But he would have been shut up for all the rest of his life, as a dangerous and incorrigible innovator, in the prisons of the Holy Office.\*

The illusory pardon vouchsafed by Rome to Galileo, in consideration of his not less illusory abjuration, is described in all its detail of petty and minute vexations in the several works before us, each of which is, in its own way, worth study. What Rome did to Galileo is now before the world in its minutest circumstances. Let her have full credit for what, by special grace and favour, she left undone. An infirm old man of seventy, stricken with grievous maladies, whose labours and discoveries had done honour to Italy in every realm of Europe, was neither burned at the stake, nor thrown into the dungeons of the Holy Office, nor stretched on its rack. In other respects, the sentence of condemnation passed on Galileo formed no exception to the rule again laid down in principle by the Infallible Head of the Infallible Church in the age we live in,\* and is no longer carried into execution by its secular arm, because the secular arm is no longer at Rome's disposal.

The nine years of life, which remained for Galileo after his abjuration, were employed to good purpose in bringing out his 'Dialoghi delle Nuove Scienze,' which has been generally considered, as it was by himself, his *chef-d'œuvre*, though keeping entirely off the vexed question of his great astronomical discoveries. Watched as he was by all the eyes of papal espionage, till his own were closed in total blindness, Galileo contrived to effect the republication, in Holland and Germany, of those condemned discoveries which Rome had done her best, or worst, to suppress, but of which she only, for the moment, succeeded in robbing Italy of the full honour, though to Italy belonged the genius that made them. Galileo lived to his last hour a Martyr, that is to say, an unceasing and unresting Witness to Science; and Rome may

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\* The foregoing observations were written before the accession of the present Pope, and refer, of course, to the too notorious Encyclicals of his predecessor.

be thankful that he did not directly die her martyr. But she brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, pursued him to death, and after death, with the vindictive vigilance of her Inquisitorial emissaries; and only did not, because she could not arrest, while life remained, the workings of that indomitable and irrepressible intellect.

We cannot conclude without some brief notice of the two most recent transcripts of the Vatican MSS. containing the successive procedures in the case of Galileo, which have been published since the preceding pages were written. These transcripts were made in the course of last year, almost simultaneously, but without concert—apparently, indeed, without the one writer having distinct knowledge of what the other was doing—by M. Henri de l'Épinois, who was first in the field in the independent investigation of these documents, so far back as 1867, and by Herr von Gebler, to whose previous publication, entitled '*Galileo Galilei und die Römische Curie*,' we have been indebted for much valuable material on the subject of our present review.

The recent history of these Vatican MSS. is curious. Early in the present century, during the French occupation of Rome under the first Napoleon, they were abstracted from the secret archives of the Vatican, and brought to Paris, where they remained (to borrow M. Berti's ultra-classic style) 'for eight lustres and more'—that is to say, for nearly half a century. The French autocrat at first intended to print them, but he either changed his mind from some motive connected with the tangled web of his policy towards the Holy See, or else he adopted the opinion expressed by the historian Denina, that they contained nothing worth printing. After the Bourbon Restoration, Pius VII. commissioned the late Monsignor Marini to reclaim these MSS. as papal property; but he had to return to Rome empty-handed, and without having been even able to ascertain where the documents were deposited. Under Louis-Philippe, and just after the accession of Pius IX. to the papal chair, a more skilful or more successful diplomatist, Pellegrino Rossi, who enjoyed equally the favour of the courts of Rome and of France, and whose assassination, some two years afterwards, cast so deep a stain on the ephemeral Roman Republic of 1848, procured the restoration of the precious MSS. to the Vatican archives. The first use made of the restored documents in the way of publication (their publication having been promised to the French Government) was made by the late Monsignor Marini, their custodian, who produced, in 1850, a little brochure, entitled '*Galileo e l'Inquisizione Romana. Memorie*

Memorie storico-critiche.' This was a piece of mere *ex-parte* pleading, composed for the purpose of showing that the Holy Office had condemned—not the Copernican doctrine—but the theological notions which Galileo had mixed up with its exposition. Such an assertion was a rare specimen of effrontery; the documents being in their falsifier's hands, and staring him in the face. If Monsignor Marini supposed that the secret archives of the Vatican would never be opened to any one more studious of the truth of history than himself, he reckoned without his host. The Papal Government subsequently allowed access to those archives, first to a French author, M. Henri de l'Epinois, who published at Paris, in 1867, in the '*Revue des questions historiques*,' an essay entitled '*Galiléo, son procès, sa condamnation, d'après des documents inédits*,' secondly to M. Berti, whom Father Theiner, the learned and liberal archivist of the Vatican, allowed to consult and take copies of them. A third restorer of the text of the proceedings against Galileo is Herr von Gebler, who, like M. de l'Epinois and M. Berti, has been allowed free access to the MSS.

The three writers above cited, who have now placed before the public each his own transcript of the official records of this too famous procedure, have played the part of inquisitors over each other, in a sort of emulation of the Holy Office. M. Berti took the lead by criticising the first partial reproduction of the original documents which had been made in the earlier essay of M. de l'Epinois. M. de l'Epinois rejoined by acknowledging and accounting for the imperfections of his own previous publication, and supplying a fresh transcript of those documents, with critical comments on the errors and inaccuracies of M. Berti's edition. And Herr von Gebler brings out a third, with corrections of both the others. One result, at least, of the researches of all three critical inspectors and copyists, who have taken so much pains to be right, and to set their rivals right where wrong, will be to render impossible the exercise of any pious frauds for the future in disguising or distorting any of the main facts of the case. As to the manner in which those facts should be regarded, modern opinion has unanimously pronounced already, and M. de l'Epinois, who, following after M. Henri Martin, labours to reconcile the fair and full exposition of the case of Galileo with the vindication of the character of his Church against the '*attacks of ignorance*,' adduces no facts or arguments of any force to alter that opinion.

- ART. IV.—1. *Report of Admiralty Committee on the Higher Education of Naval Officers.* 1870.
2. *Report of Admiralty Committee on the System of Training on Board Her Majesty's Ship 'Britannia.'* Parliamentary Paper, No. 1154, of 1875.
3. *First Annual Report on Royal Naval College.* Parliamentary Paper, No. 1672, of 1877.
4. *Report of Admiralty Committee on the System of Education at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.* Parliamentary Paper, No. 1773, of 1877.

NO apology is needed for calling the attention of our readers to the education of the officers of the British Navy. Upon the efficiency and superiority of our Navy depends now more than at any other time, the very existence of this country as one of the great European Powers; and hence the proper education of our officers for the great responsibility placed in their hands ought to be a subject of general interest to the whole British nation. In spite of aristocratic tradition and Conservative association, the Navy has changed both rapidly and remarkably in the past quarter of a century. One by one old habits have had to be abandoned and old traditions forsaken, till the standard of superiority—if not in valour, at any rate in professional capacity—has been substantially altered. It is not, however, that the value of such a qualification as seamanship has diminished, so much as that seamanship, instead of being paramount in importance, has now to share its claims with other qualifications in a sailor. Seamanship, even in vessels like the 'Devastation' or 'Thunderer,' where sail-power is practically ignored, is still of immense importance; it is still imperatively demanded of every officer or man who lays any claim to professional skill; and it still opens the door, it may be in novel ways, but still opens it widely, for the exercise of readiness, daring and resource. And in addition to this, the fact can no longer be concealed, that science has laid a heavy hand on the Navy, and, compelled submission from every class of executive or combatant officer: what it has not done, is to diminish in any way the value of those moral qualities which go to make a dashing officer. Indeed, the complications of naval warfare, due to the introduction of armour, the enlargement of ordnance, the invention of torpedoes and their application, in no way affect the position hitherto claimed for pluck and ready resource—except, perhaps, to give a wider and freer scope for their exercise. Already, in the warlike operations on the

the Danube, the Russians have given a proof of this in the destruction by torpedoes of a Turkish gunboat.

These prefatory remarks are necessary, in discussing the question of Naval Education, if only to help, in some degree, to dissipate a suspicion which may be found lurking in certain quarters—by no means confined to civilians,—that science is ruining the Navy; that it has a tendency to paralyse the free action of naval officers, and destroy their confidence; that its claims tend to produce bookworms rather than smart officers; that, to be a successful officer and ensure rapid promotion, proficiency in mathematics is a better recommendation than the possession of courage; and that the old qualities, so highly valued in bygone days in our gallant sailors, are now unnoticed, if not regarded with reproach. No view can be more fatal at the present time to the best interests of the naval service, and to a proper perception of the requirements of naval education; or more help to screen from the eyes of naval officers what it is of the utmost importance for them to recognise—that high scientific instruction is indispensable to efficiency—and that mere animal courage, uninstructed and without scientific direction, is worthless. Of what use, is it supposed, would be the possession of the highest courage to an officer, in a gale of wind, if he were ignorant of the commonest rules of seamanship? The answer to this will be, probably, ‘True, but this involves professional, not scientific knowledge, and does not touch the question of scientific instruction.’ Our reply is that seamanship, in its highest sense, does involve scientific knowledge, though its instruction may have been conducted in a slipshod rule-of-thumb-way, and have been conveyed, deliberately, in the manner best adapted to conceal its scientific basis. So, in the same way, if an officer is ignorant, now, of what his engines can do, of the management of his guns, of the working of his steering apparatus, of the use that can be made of the vast steam-power at his command, would not his efficiency be seriously impaired, however unequivocally his courage had been proved? All these matters involve scientific knowledge; and it is only because, in the present day, the machinery of our men-of-war and the appliances of warfare are more complicated, that the necessity for scientific instruction has become more apparent than was formerly the case. To quote the opinion of a gallant and revered officer on this point, the late Commodore Goodenough:—

‘The warning,’ he says, ‘which I would give, and it contains the whole case, is this: that, while all other circumstances of life at sea have changed considerably in the last thirty years, the preliminary training of our officers has not changed in its main features. It is not



not merely that our *matériel*, whether in ships or guns, steam-engines or canvas, has changed; it is not only that our *matériel* has become far more complicated than of yore. If that alone were the case, the system of a former age might supply the wants of the day. Not the change, whose bearing we have failed to acknowledge, even though we may have perceived it, is this: that while formerly the conduct of ships at sea, their discipline, and the handling of their *matériel* generally, were based on the experience obtained in the practice of individual lives from early years, and on an acquaintance with external phenomena and internal details which were not reduced to laws or elevated into systems; now, we do possess rules and laws which greatly reduce the value if they do not quite supersede the practical experience, of a single life.'

The difference is not, in fact, as is sometimes assumed, that scientific instruction is a novelty of recent birth so far as the Navy is concerned; but that, while formerly its claims were light, they are now exacting. In neither case could it safely be ignored, while in both it had a direct tendency to promote efficiency. So this effort to represent science and courage in opposition is a dangerous delusion, and due, to put it most mildly, to misapprehension. Courage, we repeat, is still, as it ever has been, a vital element in the character of a fine or an efficient naval officer, and to one highly trained a most valuable attribute; but, to the ignorant or ill-trained, it is of doubtful value, if not absolutely dangerous. Because it is now hazardous to entrust our costly and powerful men-of-war to men not scientifically trained, what ground is there for supposing that, under any system, scientific or otherwise, they will ever be trusted to cowards or to men destitute of those moral and physical qualities which have always been the pride of our Navy and the source of its renown?

Commodore Goodenough condemned the old system and the old spirit on higher and more general grounds than we have ventured to suggest. He will not have the Navy standing still, scientifically, when science is spreading in every direction; and he protests against the maintenance of an unscientific mode of treating such a professional matter, even, as seamanship or navigation, on the simple ground that scientific instruction will substitute simple for cumbrous methods of work. We may dismiss, therefore, at once, as exploded fictions, those views which would place scientific instruction in antagonism to professional skill; and, assuming its absolute necessity in any course of naval training, proceed to show how it is practically applied in the Navy.

What then does naval education consist of at the present time?

time? In attempting to answer this question it will be best to deal first with the elementary and then with the advanced course of instruction. In both courses, the officers may, from an educational point of view, be divided into executive officers and engineers. We will first, then, take the elementary instruction of the executive or military branch, that is, of all officers who have entered the service as naval cadets. What they should previously learn, how they should enter the service, how they should be examined, and what course of training they should pass through, are questions that for more than a century have been a favourite battle-field with both professional and political authorities in the Navy. Crotchets, prejudices, fancies, and what may, possibly not without sarcasm, be termed ideas or even convictions, have, time after time, been trotted out, with varying success from a party point of view, but with very doubtful success in advancing the proposed object.

Whether a lad entering the Navy should pass an examination or not is, curious as it may seem, still regarded by some as a matter for discussion. If he is to be examined, it has only recently been determined that it must be without competition; and he would be bold who would venture to consider this a final decision, as it is a matter upon which Parliament is asked now, almost annually, to give an opinion. And, even after entry, the course of training—its nature and its length—are matters still warmly disputed.

On one point, most naval authorities are agreed; that education should be regarded strictly from one point of view—'the good of the service'—and that all other considerations should be discouraged. In fact, the difficulties which have surrounded this question have not arisen from any anxiety to convert naval officers into good students, or even to supply them with a good general education, but from the almost passionate desire to supply an education which, in the interests of the service, will be found desirable and acceptable and be at the same time genuine and sound. This, of course, narrows the field of discussion; excludes, in a very peremptory way, all those temptations to generalise which education holds out; and, for all practical purposes, confines argument within a limited area. But we are prepared to accept this limitation of the question, on the ground that such a view is reasonable; that it is intelligible to all who take any practical interest in the matter; and that it shuts out the chance of criticising the education of naval officers by a false standard, or at any rate, by a standard which is readily open to many objections.

In the case of combatant or executive officers the course of study

study commences at the early age of twelve. That is, it is applied to boys who have been taken from school at the very time when, from an educational point of view, it is undesirable to interfere with their studies. A schoolboy at that age is just beginning to feel his scholastic feet; to have a definite idea of preference for this or that subject of study, and, generally, to be beginning to assimilate the mental benefit given him; or, in some more vague way, to be receiving actual benefit, provided, of course, he is at a school of which the system is sound. To take a boy away, therefore, at such an age, from a good school and compel him to undergo a course of training for the naval service, must, almost unavoidably, be dangerous to his general education. The ground, however, on which we have already expressed our readiness to accept this practice is—the ‘good of the service.’ Without looking too narrowly, or for the present not looking at all, into the system of days gone by, we may note, and it is but fair to do so, that, for nearly ten years past, great and genuine efforts have been made to improve the course of elementary instruction in the Navy, not only in a professional but in a general direction. The late administration devoted considerable attention to this matter, and recognised the pressing necessity of ensuring soundness and thoroughness in whatever system should be adopted. They provided that, from the day a young officer entered the service, his mathematical course should be as sound as was possible; that his professional studies should be carefully watched; and, at the same time, that the study of general subjects, such as English Grammar, French, History and Geography, should be encouraged, so as to minimise, as far as possible, the injurious interruption to general education sustained by every lad on entering the service.

A modification of this system has, however, been recently adopted. An impression had gained ground that, in the endeavour to secure this double end, of attending simultaneously to general as well as to professional instruction, too great a pressure had been laid upon naval cadets; and that the bugbear of educational authorities, ‘cramming,’ had been directly fostered. To correct this the course of study has been altered. But the interests of general education have not been seriously meddled with. On the contrary they are, if anything, more carefully respected by the addition of Latin as a subject of study. This change, which was introduced two years ago, is due to the Committee appointed to inquire into the system of instruction on board the training-ship, ‘*Britannia*.’

In each year, two examinations are held for the entry of naval cadets.

**Cadets.** The candidates are selected by the Board of Admiralty, and are appointed to the Navy if they succeed in passing a test examination of an elementary character. The subjects are reading, dictation, arithmetic, elementary mathematics, French, Scripture, and Latin; and a minimum standard of forty per cent. of the marks assigned to each subject is exacted. After passing this examination, the candidate is appointed to Her Majesty's Ship 'Britannia,' as a cadet, where for the space of two years he is placed under naval discipline. His studies include arithmetic, elementary mathematics to spherical trigonometry, astronomy, physics, Latin, French, elementary navigation and the use of such instruments as the sextant. Seamanship is also a part of the course; and for the purpose of recreation boating exercise is employed. This system, good as it undoubtedly is, opens many questions for discussion. Is it better to enter young naval officers simply by nomination, tempered by an easy test examination, than by competition? Is it better to train them on board a ship under the severe discipline of a man-of-war, than on shore in a building under carefully-selected masters? And is it better to adhere to this system with its disadvantages, so far as general education is concerned, than to admit cadets later, after they have fairly completed their ordinary school course, but with the disadvantage of having had no special course of elementary training? An examination, however brief, of these three points, will go far to determine the character of elementary naval education; and answers, at all events full and clear, if not convincing, will be found in the Reports, the titles of which are placed at the head of the present article.

First, then, as to the system of entry into the service. In days gone by, indeed so far back as 1729, a Naval Academy was first established at Portsmouth for the training of young gentlemen who had already received admission into the Navy. Here they were educated from thirteen to sixteen years of age. In 1806, the title of Academy made way for the more pretentious name of College; and ten years later, the age of study was altered to the limits of twelve-and-a-half and fourteen years of age. In 1821 the age was again altered, and the period of study reduced by six months. In 1837 the College was closed, and the system of education which, like a dissolving view, had been gradually fading away, was finally abolished. There was at this time a test examination; but we believe we are correct in the assertion that it was merely nominal and in no way searching. When therefore the College was closed, there was an end to a definite course of educational training for young naval officers. Cadets or volunteers were drafted to sea directly after their entry, and began

began their professional training immediately after leaving school. An effort was however made to procure something like education for these youths, by the appointment of University graduates as naval instructors for service afloat. Their duties were confined to catching these youngsters when they could—that is, when free from their professional duties, or when the sweet will of the captain permitted,—and trying to teach them something. What such a system of education soon degenerated into, may readily be imagined. The little stock of learning with which a lad had been equipped at school, instead of being preserved, speedily evaporated or became mildewed through want of use: and it did not take many years to discover that, if naval officers were expected to retain anything better than the merest smattering of scientific knowledge, a more definite system of elementary instruction was absolutely necessary. The reopening of the Naval College at Portsmouth in 1839, for the benefit of older officers while they were enjoying the enforced luxury of half-pay, was found a poor substitute—in fact no substitute at all—for the old school; and the educational deficiency in officers which it disclosed year after year, induced the Admiralty, in 1857, to establish the ‘*Britannia*’ as a training-ship at Dartmouth for the instruction of naval cadets. Here, after passing a nominal entry examination, every cadet spent two years, from thirteen to fifteen years of age; and here at the present time the same course is pursued, substantially, with the difference that the examinations are stricter and the course more narrowly watched.

The late administration introduced the system of competition for entry into the Navy; but, after being tried for five years, it was abolished, on the recommendation of the Committee already referred to, as ‘hurtful to boys, and therefore injurious to the service.’ Indeed, it is now generally admitted, not only by the best naval officers, but also by civilians, who have given most attention to education, and whose right to express an opinion upon the subject is recognised by all, that competition among boys of such tender years as those who enter the Navy is an error, and that it is better to impose a test, severe and exacting if necessary, on boys who are nominated, than to endeavour to obtain the same result by competition on however restricted a scale. And the recognition of this fact has compelled the admission of another, that in the introduction of competition is involved the question of entry. If it be argued, as it is by many, that the present system is merely a convenient cloak for patronage, that patronage, however judiciously exercised, must be injurious, and that competition is the only remedy, then there

ere is one and only one way out of the difficulty, and that is, raise the age, and so to alter altogether the whole system of entry and elementary training for the Navy. Are we prepared for this? At all events, the sooner this alternative is realised the better; it will help to simplify future discussion, as it is now one of the most powerful arguments in favour of the present system. When it is understood that to introduce competition means unavoidably to raise the age of cadets, its value may sink a little into the shade. Although it is true that in most other navies officers are entered at a more advanced age than that of our cadets, we have in this country a feeling, very strong in the naval service, against such an alteration. Were this insufficient, there is yet the consideration that, in other countries, political exigencies may have had the effect of overruling, for political purposes, the views of experience; and that, in such a matter as this, the good of the service may have been postponed to the demands of politics. Do we, however, want any stronger argument in favour of the present system of juvenile entry than our present officers themselves? This, after all, is the sheet-anchor of the present system; and, unless the British naval officer deteriorates remarkably, this argument alone will be the greatest obstacle to any interference with the present system of entry. Reform may, perhaps, give as fine results. Will it give finer?

Having, however, entered cadets into the Navy, the next question we have to consider is the efficiency of the course of instruction provided for them, and the comparative value of instruction on board a ship, or at a school on shore. For twenty years a ship has been used, and its use as a matter of course has been accompanied by the regular routine and discipline on board a man-of-war. A cadet, on receiving his appointment, is, by though he be, a naval officer, wearing a naval uniform, and subject to the Queen's regulations. The value of using this machinery in the elementary training of a hundred and fifty boys, has been criticised and questioned. Dr. Woolley, for instance, whose experience of naval education is perhaps greater than that of any man living, has expressed the opinion that a ship is bad for boys. The 'Britannia,' he said, 'is a combination of a ship and a school; everything they (the cadets) is under discipline. They march to study under the superintendence of their lieutenant, and even speaking to one another, falling out of the ranks, or anything of that kind is a serious offence.' Again, 'I do not think that the strict discipline which inseparable from a ship, is at all well for boys,' and, 'no naval officer would allow the deck of his ship to be made into a playground.'

ground;’ in fact he considers it would be better if cadets were not looked upon as ‘future naval officers, but were treated as boys.’ Naval officers, on the other hand, attach great importance to this discipline, and contend that it fits boys for naval life better than a school on shore. There has been, however, a growing opinion that such a system of training as that of the ‘*Britannia*’ is too artificial and cumbrous for the purpose it was designed for; that it helps to spoil boys, and must act prejudicially on their education. At all events, the present administration, at the instigation of the late First Lord, has thought of substituting a Naval College or school for this training-ship, and extending the course from two to three years.

This idea of abolishing the ‘*Britannia*’ and building a College on shore, brings us to the last question which the elementary education of young naval officers raises; which is, What necessity there is for a college or school at all, and what reason there is for not letting boys complete their education at their own school, and enter the service at the age when they now leave the ‘*Britannia*’? A few words will suffice to deal with this question. It is a favourite one with civilians, who argue that there is no need to enter boys at such an early age, and that what they are taught on board the ‘*Britannia*,’ or would be taught in a naval college, would be infinitely better taught at ordinary schools. Mr. Childers, for instance, reminded the House of Commons that the term ‘college’ was misleading, and that, in being asked for money to build one in place of the ‘*Britannia*,’ they were being asked to vote, out of the pocket of the British tax-payer, money to build a public school for boys whose fathers could well afford to pay for their education. It is also argued that this system of early entry, and special provision for the study of subjects which are as easily learnt at any good school, has been abandoned by almost every country except Great Britain. The principal difference between our system and that of France, Russia, and the United States is that, with them, the age of entry is later, never less than fourteen, and as high as eighteen, whereas, with us, thirteen is the extreme age of entry. And another essential difference is that, whereas with us the educational course is distributed at various intervals over a young officer’s life, and is, in a measure, spasmodic, with these countries it is begun and completed without a break, so that an officer, on receiving his commission, has no further dread of examinations. On the other hand, our highest naval authorities urge that, to ensure a supply of valuable officers, it is an immense advantage to obtain boys as young as possible. Their plea is that the service is peculiar, the life unattractive and the discipline distasteful; and that,

that, unless a lad enters quite as a boy, he will with great difficulty acquire a real taste for the Navy. They argue that our system of entry 'ensures the obtaining a supply of young officers at a time when, their minds being docile and plastic, and their habits and modes of thought yet unformed, they can be more easily inured to the peculiar habits of a sea-life, be more accustomed to its unavoidable privations and occasional hardships, be trained up in attachment to their profession, and be induced to adopt it heartily as their vocation in life.' We have stated both sides of the argument; but we have no hesitation in saying that in our judgment the balance is in favour of beginning the special education of boys for our naval service at the present early age.

Widely different from the training of the 'Britannia' is that of engineer students undergoing instruction at the dockyard schools with the view of becoming engineer officers. As every cadet who enters the Navy has to pass a preliminary examination and elementary course of instruction in the 'Britannia,' so every engineer, previous to appointment, has to pass a preliminary examination and course of study at a dockyard. But with this difference—candidates for entry as engineer students must be between fourteen and sixteen years of age. The examination, which is held by the Civil Service Commissioners once a year, is competitive. The subjects include arithmetic, orthography, handwriting, grammar, English composition, geography, French, geometry, and algebra. Those who are successful are then appointed engineer students, and are required to study six years at one of the schools at the Royal dockyards, where their course is chiefly mathematical; but it includes such general subjects of study as French, grammar, and geography. In addition, moreover, to this school course, their last three years are spent, principally, in mechanical and professional work. At the end of this six years' course they are finally examined; if the result is satisfactory both as to school and professional work, they are entered at the College as assistant engineers, where they have to serve three years before being finally appointed to the Navy as engineer officers. Considering, then, that on an average there are 200 of these students annually under instruction, and that schools are provided for them at four places, namely, at Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, this branch of naval education is of no mean importance. It is larger than the 'Britannia,' its scope is wider, and its bearing on the efficiency of the Navy is most influential. Yet the provision for the instruction of these students seems to be of a scanty if not slipshod character. The course is high-sounding enough,



enough, and the period of instruction is ample; but there *is* reason to believe that the educational machinery for applying this course is poor and neglected. Any stranger visiting a dockyard would be surprised, even if he spent a week over his visit, to hear that there was such a thing as a school at all; indeed we can imagine it almost possible to reside in a dockyard for some time before being aware of its existence. The school-master holds a subordinate and nondescript sort of position which it is difficult exactly to describe; he is, in fact, to a considerable extent, what Mr. Reed says his *protégés* become in after life—snubbed and uncared for.

Besides the engineer students, about 350 shipwrights' apprentices are trained as shipwrights side by side with them. There are, therefore, in all, between 500 and 600 students annually under training in these schools. To instruct them, ten masters are considered sufficient. In other words, while the number of these students is four times as large as that of the cadets under training in the 'Britannia,' and the course far more extensive, the same staff in point of numbers is considered sufficient for both. The difference between the two establishments cannot be shown in a clearer form. The clearest insight into the exact character of these schools and of their treatment, is obtained from the pages of the Report of a Committee appointed last year to inquire into the working of the College at Greenwich. The Committee are naturally guarded in their expressions; but the following extract, which will bear a good deal of reading between the lines, gives abundant cause to doubt the efficiency of these schools:—

'Although,' they remark, 'the general condition of these schools is beyond the scope of this inquiry, we feel bound to call the attention of their Lordships to the necessity of their being maintained in a state of thorough efficiency. Considering the large number of students who attend them (at present about 500), the extensive range of subjects which they are expected to read, and the importance of the instruction being perfectly adequate to the requirements of the boys, we beg leave to submit that they should continue to be inspected by the Director of Studies at least twice a year, as we understand is now the case, and that their organisation, staff of teachers, and course of study, deserve the most careful attention and consideration.'

Previously, this same Committee had remarked, on a personal visit they had made to Portsmouth Dockyard during one of the examinations—'that the supervision was necessarily imperfect, that the boys were seated too near each other, and in many cases, had they wished to copy, either from their neighbours or from books, they might have done so without fear of detection.' Again,  
they

they remark 'that, without reference to age or ability or extent of reading, all the students are examined at the same time, by the same papers, and are classed together in a higgledy-piggledy way, which absolutely defies criticism. The consequence is, that the "class-lists represent heterogeneous medleys, from which it is impossible to unravel any tangible or useful conclusion."

This is strong language, but we doubt if it is too strong; especially when it is taken in connection with a letter from Mr. C. W. Merrifield, of the Education Department, who describes this class-list as 'simply a wholesale and unintelligent classification of all the students and apprentices, of all years of service, in one list, arranged purely by the number of marks assigned to the examination papers.' As to the examination itself he says, 'There was absolutely no security against copying either from books or from one another. I myself observed some of the examinees conversing with those near them, and signalling to others at a distance. I should judge that this part of the system requires not only whipping-up, but entire re-organisation.' Such an opinion as this, coming from such an authority as Mr. Merrifield, is little less than a condemnation of the existing system. Like many other systems, these dockyard schools have been allowed to take their chance without that criticism and development which all experiments require. It is, we fear, too often the case that an experimental remedy, applied to the cure of some admitted defect, is accepted without further question, and treated as of proved value. Right or wrong, it was the best, no doubt, that could be done at the time; but this gives no assurance that, because as an effort it was valuable, as a system it is satisfactory. Moreover, in applying a remedy for any educational defects, the effort required at first to dispel prejudice or to remove misconception, is far more laborious than the subsequent efforts which are necessary to convert an experiment into a satisfactory piece of machinery. So, these dockyard schools, started, apparently, as an experiment years ago and designed to remedy educational defects in the engineering and constructive branches of the Navy, have never gone beyond the experimental stage, and have had the greatest difficulty in attempting to keep pace with the scientific development of the branches for the benefit of which they are established. We should note here that one step of reform has already been adopted; which, though due to other causes than the defects we have pointed out, ought to have some effect in improving the dockyard school system. Owing to the unsatisfactory state of the engineer branch of the Navy, brought about to a great extent by the indifference which has been shown in the

mode of selecting officers for the service, and to the Report of a Committee presided over by Vice-Admiral Sir Cooper Key, the Government have recently decided on altering the conditions of entry. The principal alterations are, that parents and guardians of successful candidates are required to pay 25*l.* a year during the first three years of training, and the students to reside on board a training-ship under naval discipline. Proofs of respectability and character are also required. How far these alterations will succeed remains to be seen. If they lead, as is hoped, to inducing the sons of professional men and others of social position to enter the service, instead of, as has been hitherto the case, leaving engineer officers to be drawn from the sons of artificers, seamen, and marines, an important and beneficial change will have been effected. As it is undoubtedly desirable that officers should be highly educated to perform the duties of naval engineers and hold the rank of commissioned officers, it is, we agree with Admiral Key's Committee, equally desirable that they should be, in all respects, 'fitted to take their place with officers of corresponding rank in ward-room or gun-room messes.' What, however, we are now concerned with, is that, should this scheme be found to work fairly, it will, in all probability, lead to the removal of some of the worst defects in the dockyard school system. The separation of the students of engineering who are to become naval officers, from those of naval architecture who are to become professional constructors, is an important reform and should, both as regards schools and masters, remove the main objections urged by Mr. Gordon's Committee.

These, then, are the principal features in the elementary education of naval officers. The difference in the two systems is wide. In the entry of naval cadets there is no competition; the age is as young as can reasonably be fixed; the course of instruction is limited to two years in a training-ship; and an interval of five years elapses between the commencement of service afloat and of entry into the Naval College. On the other hand, in the entry of engineer officers, the examination is competitive; the limit of age is higher than with naval cadets; the course of instruction extends over six instead of two years; and is continuous and completed by immediate transfer from the Dockyard to the College, instead of being interrupted by an interval of sea-service. It is too early yet to say more of the proposed assimilation of the two systems by the recent reform than we have already said. It may, as it should, do something to break down the unfortunate and dangerous barrier of social position which separates the two classes of officers—a barrier which, in the eyes of many accomplished and distinguished naval men,  
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has proved injurious to some of the highest interests of the service. Educationally speaking, the difference is, at present, very great. In the case of midshipmen, the instruction given is very elementary; when they go to sea, they have been taught a little mathematics and navigation; and when they join the College, their time has to be spent, not in advancing beyond the limits of the 'Britannia' course, but in actually going through that course again. Admiral Key says, on this point, 'Nearly all we teach them (at the Naval College) they ought to have known when they left the "Britannia."' And his opinion is more than confirmed by one of the College-staff of instructors, who makes the startling admission that, 'speaking in a general way, they have forgotten everything nearly.' What, however, is the case with the engineer? His studies commence when those of many midshipmen leave off, and at the age when a midshipman may have completed his course of study and gone to sea. His studies, when the Dockyard course is ended, are not broken up by service afloat. On the contrary, if competent, he goes directly to the College, to spend, perhaps, three years in passing through a high course of instruction, and he is not appointed to sea-going duties till this course is completed. Startling as is this discrepancy from an educational point of view, we cannot, in deference to the standard we have already provisionally accepted—namely, the good of the service—venture to doubt its ample justification. Assimilation, indeed, is impracticable without either injury to the service, or refusing to listen to the deliberate opinions of some of its most distinguished members, or abruptly and radically altering the whole of the present system of entry. But a certain measure of reform has been already projected. It is proposed to build a College for naval cadets, and to train them on shore; and it is proposed to extend their course of study from two to three years. Still there will remain the gap which now exists between their first appointment to sea-service and their entry into the College; and this, whether from an educational or service point of view, is a serious drawback. This point we will, however, refer to again when we deal with the system of instruction in force at the Naval College. We have said enough at present to show that the system of elementary instruction is not free from fault. It is, we acknowledge, as it has been for years, the subject of thoughtful care, as is evidenced by the contemplated reforms to which we have directed attention.

In dealing with the higher or more advanced education in the Navy, the difficulty is to decide from what point to start. The Naval College, in its present form at Greenwich, is the centre of whatever advanced instruction is given to

naval officers; but the most striking feature is the variety and diversity of the interests it is apparently intended to serve. Officers, civilians, and foreigners study side by side. Among the officers, some are on half, others on full pay; the former are voluntary and the latter compulsory students. These, again, include engineer, executive, navigating, and marine officers, some of whom are striving to pass an arbitrary standard on which depends rank or commission, while others are applying themselves to study of the severest kind, in the hope of either winning a prize or proving their capacity in the eyes of their masters at the Admiralty. To an uninitiated critic, therefore, the apparent simplicity of confining his attention to the Naval College soon vanishes, and he finds his time consumed in endeavouring to understand clearly the various classes of officers for whom the College provides instruction, before he attempts to find out what they are all doing and why they do it.

At once, then, for the sake of clearness, we will endeavour to describe the routine of the Naval College, without stopping, at present, to deal with the historical or theoretical aspect of the question. We will assume, therefore, for the present, that this College supplies, fairly, all the legitimate wants of the Navy in the way of scientific instruction; how this is done we will at once proceed to show. Before us we have, as a guide, a copy of the First Annual Report on the College, by its President, Admiral Fanshawe. Though this is rather an analysis than a report, and is also rather meagre in the information it affords, we learn from it what classes of officers were admitted to study in 1876. It will be convenient if we divide these into compulsory and voluntary students. By compulsory, we mean those who are obliged by the regulations to pass some examination for some rank or appointment; by voluntary, those who are guided only by their own desire to study. Among the compulsory students, those for whom the highest course of instruction is provided include fifteen naval architects and thirty-two probationary engineers, who have, as we have already shown, been for six previous years under training at the Royal dockyards. It should, however, be noted that these are the *élite* of the dockyard schools, for of the shipwrights only the three who stand first each year on the list of all the apprentices at these schools at the annual examination, and of the engineer students only those who attain a certain standard at this examination, are allowed to go to the College at Greenwich. At the College they undergo an extensive course, which includes mathematics, applied mechanics, chemistry, physics, French, and certain special subjects connected with their respective professions. Though the standard is high and the course extensive,  
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the results have been fairly satisfactory. Yet, whether from the fact that the standard of examination has been steadily raised, or whether the examiners have been more severe, or the material supplied by the schools has deteriorated, the results during the first three sessions show a decline. While in 1874 fifteen of these students received first-class certificates, in 1875 only eleven received this distinction, next year seven only, but last year there were nine. What is the cause of this we are not told. Such a gradual but steady decline calls for an explanation, but we look in vain for any in the official Report.

The next class of compulsory students consists of lieutenants in the Navy who have passed all their ordinary examinations, and have entered with the view of qualifying themselves for gunnery appointments. This qualification is very severe, but it attracts a considerable number of officers, both on the grounds of prestige and emolument. The severity of this course is to be judged more in connection with the previous training of these officers than by its actual range or standard; and, thus judged, we are ready to admit that those officers who pass it successfully are entitled to be regarded as the 'picked men' of the service. Although, as may have been gathered from our previous remarks, the opportunity afforded to naval officers for pursuing mathematical study is not great, these gunnery lieutenants come to Greenwich prepared to undergo a course of pure and applied mathematics, inferior only in degree to that pursued by the probationary engineers and architects. Nine months, moreover, is all the time allowed them for study; but it is the opinion of University men who have been brought into contact with them, that for systematic, unflinching, intelligent work, and for the possession of a distinct power of utilising the opportunities afforded them, they are not surpassed, if indeed they are equalled, by any class of men at the Universities. Their endurance, resolution, self-denial, and general 'pluck' in pursuing their studies, have, indeed, in some instances fairly astonished both instructors and examiners. Take, for instance, the opinion of Mr. Lambert, one of the mathematical instructors at the College, who was examined by the Committee appointed last year to inquire into the College. He states that these officers 'make a progress which was to me quite as surprising as it is to you. I could never have predicted it. I ascribe it to the fact that nearly every man in my class works, on an average, eight or ten hours a day. They work with such energy as I have never seen exceeded, and seldom equalled, by an honours' man at Cambridge. As I have already stated, they are the best class I ever had in my ten years' experience, and better than the honours' men whom I lectured under the

the 'inter-collegiate system at Cambridge.' Dr. Hirst too, the Director of Studies at the College, whose opinion would necessarily carry considerable weight, observes that 'of all the students I have known in Colleges or Universities, I consider them to be the best, the most satisfactory, and the hardest workers.' He also refers to them as 'picked' men. As to the severity of the work, one officer stated that he did not find it extremely hard work, adding that 'I have been accustomed to much more work on board ship.' Nor does this experience seem exceptional. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the prizes or scholarships at the College, of which there are three, should generally go to these gunnery lieutenants, and that in their future career they should look forward to receive a large share of the prizes of the service.

Two other classes of compulsory students remain to be noticed, namely, probationary officers of the Royal Marines, and Acting Sub-lieutenants in the Royal Navy. The former, who are entered by competition by the Civil Service Commissioners, are required, before being actually commissioned, to undergo a course of mathematical and professional study at the Naval College, and to pass a certain examination; but this class is small, and calls for no special comment. Not so the other class. The Acting Sub-lieutenant has, so far as naval education is concerned, proved a difficulty to the Naval College and a stumbling-block to the service. For the Acting Sub-lieutenant is just a midshipman 'writ large,' and until he can pass the authorised examination for the rank of lieutenant at the Naval College, he cannot remove the term 'Acting' from his rank, nor is he secure of being finally appointed to the naval service. These officers come to the College after having served four or five years at sea, to go once more through the same course substantially as in the 'Britannia,' and to pass their final examination. The mere fact that at the College five-and-twenty of these young officers have failed to pass, and have consequently been discharged from the naval service, is sufficient to justify a suspicion either as to the severity of the standard, or the inefficiency of the means of instruction provided by the Admiralty. That such a suspicion has not unfairly arisen we need hardly say. But there is, we think, room for another suspicion, that the system of naval education is, at this point, painfully weak. It requires little perspicacity to see that a system which educates a boy for two years, sends him to sea for five more and at the end of that time calls upon him to apply himself to his books again, has an element of weakness in it. We are not surprised to find the authorities at the College surprised at the hopeless state of ignorance of some of these officers

officers when they join. They have only six months given for instruction, and what can be done in this limited period is little more than to recapitulate one by one the subjects which were learnt in the 'Britannia.' As to taking them farther, and endeavouring, with the help of the extensive machinery of the College, to attract them into higher paths of study, for this there is neither time nor opportunity. In some cases these unfortunate officers would seem to be as hopelessly ignorant as though they had never opened a book. We have already repeated the opinion of Admiral Key on this subject. But the Committee state, in defining the functions of the College in this branch of its work:—'The end proposed here is a modest one. They (these Acting Sub-lieutenants) are to recapitulate, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, what they learned before they were fifteen. But the expression is an inaccurate account of what they really have to do. They have not to recapitulate, but to "learn it again." And they go on to state that Sir Cooper Key's opinion is confirmed by Dr. Hirst, who, being questioned as to the difference between the papers set in the 'Britannia' to naval cadets, and at the College to the same officers five years afterwards, states, 'the algebra paper is virtually the same—the difference is not worth speaking of. The geometry is the same. The trigonometry—the practical part of it, at all events—is the same.' And so on through the several subjects. That a Committee should express dissatisfaction with such an unsatisfactory state of things, is not surprising. That naval officers should be provided by the State with an education on board a training-ship, that they should then be sent to sea, and after an interval of four or five years have to learn again at another establishment at Greenwich, more thoroughly it may be, the same course, points to what is neither more nor less than a flagrant scandal. But for one point, indeed, there would be no question about the matter. The Government, with the view of continuing their studies, places on board most of the ships to which midshipmen are appointed, instructors, whose duty it is to see that the 'Britannia' course is kept up and that these young officers are prepared to undergo the course at Greenwich. But this system, judged by its results, is evidently little else than an expensive and cumbrous method of securing a miserably inadequate result. We do not doubt the capabilities or the efforts of naval instructors, but we do doubt the practical value of any attempt to keep up education on board ship. In 1870 Admiral Shadwell's Committee reported that this system was very imperfect, and 'does little, if anything, towards keeping up, still less extending, the knowledge of young naval officers.' Professor Main, who, as the head of the Naval College,



College, had greater experience of naval education than any man, except perhaps the late Director of Education, Dr. Woolley, said to this Committee, 'I believe we are the only nation having naval instructors who teach youngsters on board ship;' and 'I do not wish boys to be schoolboys and officers too on board ship more than possible;' and, what is far more striking, 'I think they will make better officers *without a naval instructor than with one*, and that they will be as well instructed in the end.' This, we observe, was an official opinion given by the then head of the Naval College. It is true that by means of a periodical system of examination, the worst effects of this system are now neutralised. And it is also true that the opinion of the present head of the Naval College, Admiral Fanshawe, is that 'the system, as it now exists, if it is left to work, will produce a continuity of education which, he apprehends, will do away, to a great extent, with the extreme ignorance of some who come here, and who, whether they have been under a naval instructor or no naval instructor, have been idle at sea.' Moreover, all the authorities, including the late Mr. Ward Hunt, Dr. Hirst, and the instructors, agree that no Sub-lieutenant needs fail, or that, if failure is inevitable, it is an officer's own fault. 'The failures that have taken place may,' says Dr. Hirst, 'for the most part be accounted for by habits of intellectual indolence contracted afloat or elsewhere, the result of which is that they will not get to work promptly, and time—precious time to them—is wasted. You may count on your fingers those that have failed from lack of ability during all the time that the new regulations have been in force.' In the face of such evidence as this, we fear sympathy with failure is misplaced, but we note gladly that the recommendations of the Committee whose Report we have quoted are directed strongly to improving the system of instruction and examination both afloat and at the College. Whether these recommendations, if adopted, will prove more than superficial remedies, consisting as they do in the one case of an increase in the teaching-staff, and in the other of the application of a special stimulus in the form of prizes, we doubt. We fear the fault lies in an absolutely defective system, which can only be cured by reform of a searching and drastic character.

In leaving compulsory for voluntary study, we are at once confronted with another error in the present system. We have already shown what one class of lieutenants in the Navy can do in their efforts to obtain gunnery appointments. The other class consists of lieutenants on half-pay, who come to the College for voluntary study, in the hope of picking up some crumbs of knowledge, or of generally improving themselves one

or another. Complaints have been made in various quarters, which found during this session a mouthpiece in Mr. Brassey, that the course was too scientific, and the choice of subjects was too rigidly prescribed. That these complaints are worthy of notice is evident from the one fact that, whereas provision was made in founding the College for the instruction of a large number of half-pay voluntary students, it is shown that there is a difficulty in inducing such officers to go to Greenwich. Provision was made for five captains, twenty commanders, and fifty lieutenants; but nothing like that number have availed themselves of the privileges offered them. In 1876, as Admiral Fanshawe reports, only one captain, two commanders, and fifty-three lieutenants, passed the final examination. Of course over-optimistic expectations may have been formed, which were hardly warranted. If a great many men, who entered the Navy at a time when there was no such thing as systematic training, find a place like the College a little too serious in its views to be pleasant, there are some on whom its machinery is not so tried. Looking to the results of the first three sessions, some remarkable instances are given of the work done by voluntary students. Although they are naturally placed at a great disadvantage, and heavily handicapped in being examined at the end of a session with officers so highly trained as gunnery lieutenants, several of these voluntary students have taken high places on the class-list. This list includes gunnery lieutenants, captains, commanders, and lieutenants on half-pay, and officers of the marine corps. At the end of the first session, fifty-five officers of these ranks were examined. Of these, two gunnery officers naturally occupied the first two places; but a commander on half-pay took the third, a captain the fourth, and two more commanders the eleventh and twelfth places; while four lieutenants on half-pay were placed among the first twenty. At the end of the next session, two gunnery officers again took the first two places, and again a commander took the third place, and six lieutenants on half-pay were placed among the first twenty. At the end of the next session, a gunnery lieutenant took the first place, a captain of Marine Artillery (a voluntary student) took the second, and five lieutenants were placed among the first twenty. And, again, last year only one gunnery lieutenant, who took the first place, received a prize, the second and third prizes being taken by a commander and a lieutenant who were both on half-pay; while four officers on half-pay were placed among the first twenty. These results show clearly enough that voluntary students are able to hold their own at Greenwich, and occupy not only good places

places in an examination with their more highly-trained colleagues, but carry off, too, some of the prizes. It may be noted here that, at the present time, no less than seven post-captains have entered, and are undergoing a course of study at the College. Another point is worthy of notice in reference to the objection that the course at Greenwich is too severe. Every officer who obtains a certain number of marks at the final examination is entitled to have the letter 'G' placed against his name in the 'Navy List,' as a mark of distinction. In the first session nineteen succeeded, in the second thirty-three, in the third session forty-seven; and last year forty-three. The total number of officers was respectively, for each session, fifty-three, sixty-nine, eighty, and fifty. This, of course, can only be regarded as a rough test of success; but, rough as it is, it certainly points to the conclusion that the College course is not hopelessly beyond the reach of voluntary students; that there has been a steady and marked improvement each year; and that, so far as half-pay officers are concerned, even if relaxation or modification is from time to time found necessary, no grave interference with the present system is called for.

Two other classes of voluntary students remain to be noticed. A few engineer officers are allowed to join, and the result of their work, though not brilliant, is good. Foreigners have also been invited to attend, with the result that, since the opening of the College, five or six have availed themselves of the privilege. Denmark, Russia, Sweden, and Italy have contributed candidates; and in nearly every case, in spite of the inherent difficulties another language presents, especially in technical or scientific instruction, these students have given satisfaction; indeed, in one or two instances, we understand that the results are remarkable. During the last three months six Chinese have entered, who, in native costume, attend the lectures, and submit themselves to the College system.

We cannot leave the subject of the Naval College without a few general remarks on its organisation and its functions. In its present form it is impossible to discuss any branch of Naval Education without reference to it. Whereas, a few years ago, under the old form, it could only pretend to supply naval officers, in a fragmentary and disjointed way, with systematic instruction, it is now the centre of naval education generally, and exercises a careful watch, by means of inspection and examination, over every branch. In spite of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory character of some of these branches at the present time, one important reform has been accomplished in bringing all branches under the general supervision of the College. Even

as a temporary measure, it is impossible to overrate the value of this change. It is needless to say how much the success of such a step depends on those who are charged with its guidance and control. The Admiralty have, it is generally admitted, been exceptionally fortunate in their allies. In selecting Admiral Key as the First President of the new College, they handed over a delicate and difficult task to an officer who combined, in a rare degree, those opposite qualities which characterize, on the one hand, the zealous and capable officer, with his veneration for routine and mastery of detail, and, on the other, the man of science, with his broader and more sympathetic qualities. In his administration of the new College he brought to bear, not only administrative experience, but sympathetic tact; in dealing, therefore, with his distinguished scientific staff, and with the various classes of officers for whose welfare he was responsible, he was not only able to avoid friction, but to ensure success. How much this was due to the skilful co-operation of the distinguished Director of Studies, Dr. Hirst, we need not inquire. Without unremitting vigilance on his part, and that patient care which is indispensable to success in such a work, the difficulties we have just glanced at might easily have become formidable dangers, and would in all probability in the end have shipwrecked the College itself, if not have made real scientific instruction in the Navy an impossibility. But the staff, generally, at the present time, under such experienced presidency as that of Admiral Fanshawe, furnishes a guarantee that, with proper guidance and direction, the work will be genuine and sound.

A few words on the subject of Examinations are also necessary, especially in reference to the rather pungent criticisms of the Committee which sat last year, to which we have already referred. It has been the misfortune of the Naval College to conduct its own examinations, which are subject to no outside review nor to any independent criticism. Such an admission is unquestionably a blot; and, as a blot, it is fatal. It hardly required the sharp criticism of the Committee, who have unsparingly exposed it, to ensure its speedy condemnation. Many, who have watched the progress of Naval Education with interest, have not forgotten that one of the most impressive pleas advanced for the destruction of the old College at Portsmouth was this very fact, that it examined itself, and, in effect, passed judgment on its own conduct. Yet its successor has, in the short space of four years, contrived apparently to reproduce, on a more dangerous and inexcusable scale, this same dangerous defect. While the Universities and even most public schools are surely, if with  
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hesitation, introducing the principle of independent examination into use, as the best security for successful and satisfactory instruction, it would be discreditable in a public institution like the Royal Naval College to do the reverse. There is, however, some satisfaction in knowing that serious steps are in contemplation with the express object of remedying this evil, which cannot be too strongly condemned. At the same time, it may be observed that the department of the Director of Education furnished, when it existed, an undoubted guarantee against this evil; that the existence of this evil is due to its sudden and unintelligible abolition; and that its revival will perhaps prove the best and readiest remedy of what is, at present, an undoubted abuse.

Still it must not be forgotten that this College, like the whole system of Naval Education, can only be regarded as experimental, and as in a transitory stage. Faults exist, but they are not ineradicable; and the mere fact that Naval Education, although it is still to a large extent fragmentary, can now be treated as a whole, ought to ensure their speedy removal. In the instruction of executive naval officers, the short course of the 'Britannia' will no doubt soon be lengthened; but even then, the interval during which they will be at sea will be a source of danger. A solution will probably be found in lengthening both the elementary and the College course of instruction, and in abolishing the artificial system of naval instructors. In the education of engineers and shipwrights there seems room for independent and searching inquiry. Then it will probably be found that the machinery may be concentrated more thoroughly than at present, and that means may be found for relieving the Government of much of the work for which it is at present responsible. That there is room for consolidation and combination we firmly believe; and the step already taken by the Government to establish a central school for engineer students is a proof of this. But the most important consideration is, that the Naval College, which is now entrusted with the extensive responsibility of superintending naval education generally, should be itself elastic. How far the Admiralty can insure this need not be urged. But we may, in the interest of the naval service, plead the importance of recognising the special facilities which this College affords the Admiralty for discovering special qualities in naval officers, of importance to their professional career. Naval officers are not machines, ruled merely by Orders in Council, or Queen's Regulations. They are men, dependent for sustained effort, whether in study or at sea, on the material recognition of their efforts. Material recognition means professional advancement; and, looking to the valuable  
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aid the College has given in developing an *esprit de corps* and good feeling amongst classes of officers who, otherwise, rarely met or knew much of one another, our claim is neither visionary nor interested.

With Naval Education in its present state, nothing could be more fatal than its direction by a body which is governed by fixed rules, or has a tendency to work in a groove. The most powerful nations in the world are cultivating, wherever they can, naval power to the utmost. It is of the highest importance to note that in this effort the scientific instruction of officers has a large share. We may not want to go abroad for experience, but we cannot afford to stand still or shut our eyes to the inestimable importance of encouraging, stimulating, and urging naval officers in every way to scientific improvement. This is not a matter in which we have a choice; nor is it a matter for opinion. We may turn to the opinions expressed by such distinguished men as Admiral Sherard Osborn, Admiral Key, Admiral Ryder, or Commodore Goodenough, and we still find how deeply impressed they have been with this view. Nor, politically, is this a matter for argument. The interest shown by the late administration has not been withdrawn by the present. If Mr. Goschen founded, in a spirit of wisdom and liberality, a College for naval officers, the late Mr. Ward Hunt did his best to maintain the work. In endeavouring to found a Naval College at Dartmouth, another for torpedo instruction, and another for engineers at Portsmouth, he gave evidence of an earnestness in Naval Education which cannot be gainsaid and has not been surpassed. His work, unfinished it may be, has made its mark and been left to other hands to complete. In the care of the new First Lord, Mr. W. H. Smith, it cannot languish: on the contrary, we are justified in expecting that it will be continued and developed in a manner worthy of its value. We cannot hope that every naval officer shall be scientific, but, so far as it is 'for the good of the service,' we can give him every opportunity of becoming so. That this is done now intelligently and earnestly, in a large degree, is evident. But it is still of the highest importance that the opportunities already bestowed should be liberally promoted, and that every obstacle to the encouragement of what is undoubtedly a matter of Imperial interest should be promptly and unhesitatingly removed.

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ART. V.—1. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Surrenders relating to India and Neighbouring Countries.* Compiled by C. U. Aitchison, LL.D., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Second Edition, in Seven Volumes. Calcutta, 1876.

2. *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi.* Held on the 1st of January, 1877, to celebrate the Assumption of the Title of Empress of India by Her Majesty the Queen. By J. Talboys Wheeler. London.

AS history is written and studied now, on the basis of authentic documents and in the spirit of a severe criticism, these two works form by far the best History of British India. The careful research of the first of the Competition-wallas, who has since Sir Henry Durand's death guided the feudatory and foreign policy of the Government of India, supplies not only the documentary materials, but terse historical commentaries, which make them intelligible and interesting to the least experienced.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler's attractive quarto describes the completion of that imperial structure, of which Mr. Aitchison's 'Collection' shows the rapid growth, step by step and lustrum after lustrum, till the Emperor Shah Alum's three grants of the revenues of Bengal, the Deccan, and the Carnatic, to Lord Clive at Benares on the 12th of August, 1765, culminated in the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India on the 1st of January, 1877, on the plain of Delhi. Both books introduce a new chapter into the body of international law, no less than they record the brilliant results of an experiment in governing subjugated Dependencies, such as pagan Rome never knew, and Christian Spain and Portugal, Holland and France, hopelessly failed to carry out.

The growth of the Empire of British India in the century and a quarter since 1751, when the young Clive laid its foundation stone at the siege of Arcot, is marked by five well-defined stages, all of which give peculiar significance to the proclamation of the Empress last year. When the 'heaven-born General,' as Pitt called the hero of Arcot, became the conqueror of Plassy, it is surprising to many who are wise after the event that he did not at once march on Moorshedabad. Disregarding such tools as Omichund and such puppets as Jaffier Ali, he might have proclaimed the East India Company practically sovereign over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Thus, as we now know, he would have anticipated, and rendered unnecessary the campaigns of the next

next six years, alike in Bahar and in Northern Madras. Again, when soldiers like Lawrence and Munro, Coote and Adams, had made the English master of all the eastern half of India, Lord Clive during his third visit might, with impunity and advantage to the people, have added to Bengal proper the immediate and direct administration of Oudh and Hindostan. So prostrate were the Native Powers, and so hopelessly incompetent to give the people any other administration than such as that with which the Pashas have long been identified in Turkey, that, judging by the standard of our own day, it would seem to some to have been Clive's duty to make the Moghul and the Nawab of Oudh mere pensioners, like the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. Thus the exploits of Lake and the triumphs of Wellesley would have been unnecessary, and order, if not civilisation, would have been secured to the distracted country thirty years earlier. But even if the Company's purely trading finances could have borne the strain of a larger army of soldiers and officials for a few years, Clive himself was almost alarmed by the rapidity with which a historic empire came tottering down around him and his handful of white troops. He had the daring and the foresight to provide legal or constitutional means for the development of the new empire which he saw would come, and for its consolidation when it came. But even he had not gauged the depths of Mahomedan corruption, Mahratta oppression, and Hindoo timidity, while the man who had fought French and Dutch, at Arcot, at Chandernagore, and as the avenger of the massacre of Amboyna, dreaded the unknown influences of European interests and diplomacy to which his conquests might any day be sacrificed, as those of his successors were. Hence he leaves it as his parting counsel to the Court of Directors to do nothing in their own name, while daring much under the sanction of the puppet Viceroy of Bengal or Emperor of Delhi. 'This shadow,' he wrote in 1765, 'it is indispensably necessary that we should seem to venerate.' Thus 'every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign Powers can be effectually crushed without any apparent interposition of our own authority.' 'Be moderate,' he urged. 'Above all things, be assured that a march to Delhi would be not only a vain and fruitless project, but attended with certain destruction to your army.' Yet he who thus exaggerated, as it proved, the three dangers of the ambition of the Nawab of Oudh, the solicitations to other Powers of the Moghul, and the strength of the Mahrattas, had himself done—what? With an audacity which he might have been the first to impress on his successor, had he known of what stuff Warren Hastings was made, when he gave the young 'writer' his first appointment, Clive had in one day obtained  
from



from Shah Alum three imperial charters for the possessions he had won for the Company, not only in Bengal and the Carnatic, but in the Deccan. Mr. Aitchison's 'Collection' does not contain the last of these three 'firmauns,' because the document was treated with such secrecy that it was probably never brought on the official records, either in India or in this country. It will doubtless be found among the Clive papers, with much else that ought to see the light, for it was Clive's habit, at that early time, to retain confidential documents. The charter is thus alluded to for the first, and, so far as we know, only time in a secret despatch to the Madras Government, dated the 27th of April, 1768. 'The blank firmaun obtained from the King for the Soubaship of the Deccan shall, according to your desire, be kept with all possible privacy.' Should Sir Salar Jung be so ill advised as to persist in re-opening the long debated and now closed question of the administration of Berar, a curious question might be raised by the production of a deed which, had it been applied to the Nizam, would, a century ago, have reduced him and the ten millions of Her Majesty's subjects under his immediate sway, to the same position as his fellow-lieutenants of Bengal and the Carnatic. That position would have been as fortunate for the people of the Deccan as it long since proved to be for those of Bengal and Madras on either side. Alike in his action—which stopped short first at Moorshedabad and then at Allahabad, while he might have taken the whole delta of the Ganges, and then have ruled from Delhi—and in his counsel, when he warned his successors to keep up the shadow of a Mussulman Suzerain, Clive contented himself with the first stage of laying the foundation of our power in Southern Asia. But he took care to lay it on an imperial basis, such as would admit of the superstructure and of its crowning, which the first day of 1877 saw at Delhi.

Thirty years after, it was the task of the Irish Welleley to raise the second story on the good work of the English Clive. Warren Hastings had guarded well and had considerably enlarged that work. Lord Cornwallis, guided by the civilian Sir John Shore, had, in the reform of the civil institutions and, above all, in establishing the principle of permanence in tenure and land-tax—however unwisely the principle was applied—made Bengal still more what Clive had early seen that it was best fitted to be, the base, in a financial as well as military sense, of all future advance. But the Mussulman house of Hyder Ali in the south, and the Mahratta power in the west, had been allowed to grow after Clive's departure and the retirement of Warren Hastings, till it became a question whether the new rivals

als for the influence which had died with Aurungzeb might prove too strong for us, by the aid of the French alliance to which Napoleon Buonaparte had given prestige, and even of the Nizam whom we had still tolerated. Had 'the glorious little man,' as Metcalfe and the young school of civilian statesmen called him, proved to be other than he was, had he possessed less of Clive's spirit in diplomacy and war, Clive's work might have had to be done all over again. For, though compelled to check Hyder's son, Lord Cornwallis had been weak enough in his foreign policy to dream of establishing a balance of power among the native chiefs, which he hoped might render all interference on our part unnecessary. The result of this twelve years' abstinence, between Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley's arrival, was a political chaos in which might became right, and the whole people of India outside the Company's direct territories were the prey of the spoiler. Tippoo and the Nizam—with the French assisting them—the Mahratta Peishwa and Sindia, all intrigued and fought for the supremacy, which we had abandoned in such a fashion as to hold it out as a temptation to anarchy. Clive's counsel had been forgotten, or it was out of favour—to use the shadow of the Moghul as the easiest mode of keeping the peace among the conflicting natives, and warding off the interference of European rivals. Lord Wellesley revived and developed this policy, so as to make the British Government more really and extensively the paramount power than it had been even under Warren Hastings. He extinguished the Mussulman usurpation of Mysore. He expelled the French from Hyderabad, and rewarded the Nizam with territory, while saving him from extinction and making him feudatory. He took from the Nawab of the Carnatic the last relics of independence, that is, doing mischief. The Mahratta Peishwa was so controlled that he also could not make war without our permission. And India was chased out of Delhi, which saw the English flag waving on its walls forty years later than the time when Clive himself might have planted it there in Shah Alum's reign. So the regard had Lord Wellesley then for the shadow of Akbar, or the perils from which he had rescued all India and Southern India, that he was prevented from removing the old Emperor to Poonah only by the importunity of the sightless monarch. The second stage in the history of British India was completed when the fiction of an impossible balance of power gave place to the stern reality of subsidiary alliances, and when, without the aid of the East India Company, no armed force dared to move in the whole peninsula. Unhappily that reaction took place, which has always

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marked our administration of India by the double instrument of an experienced though sometimes headstrong ruler on the spot, and a cautious but often ignorant authority at home. Looking to their dividends in reality, but professing to fear ambition, the Court of Directors once more tried to abandon all that Wellesley had done, and for which their wiser successors thanked him many years later. Mahratta chiefs and Pindaree freebooters in India itself, and Nipalese and Burmese on the frontier, tested the vitality of a system which Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley had consolidated, and Lord Hastings once more riveted. The position reached by Lord Wellesley in the highest interests of peace and civilisation, and by no means of personal or national self-seeking, was more than retrieved by that Governor-General. Warren Hastings lived just long enough to see it before his death in 1819.

But while, politically or constitutionally, the Empire had thus been established, territorially it was still far from having reached those limits which would secure for it a stable and peaceful frontier. From Delhi to the Sutlej was but a step; but beyond that river, so long our boundary, Sikh and Afghan either threatened the general peace or demanded our interference. Once more, but on a far higher platform of statesmanship, and after the lessons of the Cabul disasters, it seemed as if Sir Henry Lawrence would successfully restore the 'balance of power' dream in a new form. The first Sikh war led him to believe it possible, and to convince Lord Hardinge that a purely native State like the military brotherhood organised by Runjeet Singh, could live its own life and keep to its own proper sphere without interfering with its neighbours or menacing the general peace. It might have been so under men like Henry Lawrence and his school, had the Sikhs been other than Prætorians and the boundary between us other than a river. But even Henry Lawrence, perhaps the greatest Englishman who ever went to India, could not save Sikh independence, or give triumph to a purely European principle among Asiatics who lack the very elements of constitutional government. The second Sikh war ended for ever the fiction of a balance of power, and with it the great wars of British India. Again, in the Scottish Lord Dalhousie, as in the Irish Wellesley and the English Clive, was the man found for the work, and the Empire entered on the fourth stage of its history. The Marquis of Dalhousie's unchallenged merit, is that he carried that Empire to its natural limits between the great hills of the north-west and the sea. From Arcot to Lahore, from Cape Comorin to Peshawur, the century's work was done. Internally also, the peace was strengthened by the application of that doctrine

line of lapse, under which native States became absorbed into the ordinary territory on the death of their chiefs without heirs, and after a persistent refusal to adopt. Undoubtedly Lord Dalhousie was radical enough to prefer the good of the people of such States to the claims of the mediatised families who often fattened upon them, while they were sources of discontent if not of danger to the general weal. But, common though the impression be, we have failed to find evidence to satisfy us that the fear of annexation created any risk at all equal to that removed by the reduction of native centres of intrigue and military resistance, or not balanced by the greater good of the numbers who came under British rule. That Lord Dalhousie was not determined to annex on every opportunity, is seen not only by his recommendation that the quasi-independence of Oudh should be maintained, subject to strict guarantees against the King's misrule, but by his treatment of the last Emperor of Delhi. Believing that the titular sovereignty of Bahadoor Shah could in no way injure the people, he recommended the Court of Directors to allow it to continue, but on condition that the next King should reside some six miles outside Delhi and should receive the Governor-General as an equal. So 'the shadow' continued to darken the land, from Clive's moderation at Benares, and Wellesley's at Delhi, down to the year 1857. Then the titular power and the historic claim became the symbol and the weapon of those who butchered our wives and children in the Palace itself. What these three representative statesmen had tolerated, first from policy and then from pity, the Mutiny swept away for ever. And not only the Mahomedan dynasty, but the only pretence made to a universal Hindoo sovereignty of the peninsula since the pre-Christian days of the Buddhist Asoka. For Nana Dhoondopunt undoubtedly nursed the ridiculous dream that, as the adopted son of the last of the Peishwas, he was the head of the Mahrattas. Nor were these two the only shadows which disappeared in the blood and smoke of 1857-1858. The East India Company, majestic *nominis umbra*, itself vanished with the Powers it had supplanted, but only to give place to that royal and national rule for which its gradually perfected system had proved the unique preparation. Well did Mr. John Stuart Mill write in the closing pages of his 'Considerations on Representative Government,'—'It has been the destiny of the government of the East India Company to suggest the true theory of the government of a semi-barbarous dependency by a civilised country, and, after having done this, to perish.'

Succeeding Dalhousie, Lord Canning found himself, for the

first time in our history, brought face to face with the prin-  
of India. The Company's last Governor-General became  
the first Viceroy of the Crown of England, which he *could*  
describe with accuracy as 'the unquestioned Ruler and Para-  
mount Power in all India.' With the proclamation of *this*  
fact, under Act of Parliament, on the first day of November,  
1858, in every station and cantonment, the Dependency, now  
become an Empire, entered on its fourth stage. The way *was*  
clear for a new order of things, the true meaning of which,  
however, only dawned dimly on the governing class, both in  
England and on the spot. The conquest of the Punjab had  
reduced the last anarchic power, and the non-regulation system  
had so civilised the Punjab as to make both Sikhs and Mahome-  
dans our trusty soldiers in the darkest hour of the Mutiny  
struggle. The annexation of the most ill-governed or Chiefless  
States had diminished the sources of discontent among the  
people and the possible centres of disaffection, and yet in such  
a way that Lord Canning declared the Company's orders in  
dealing with doubtful or lapsed successions in many instances  
to have been 'liberal and even generous.' Oudh pre-eminently,  
and all the experience of the disturbed districts of Northern and  
Central India, had shown that the time had come to write on the  
political statute-book of India, for the first time, such a law of  
adoption as would at once reward the faithful Hindoo and  
Mahomedan princes, and put them in their recognised position  
as feudatory nobles of the Empire. Gradually had the 'Powers'  
of Clive's and Wellesley's days ceased to be even nationalities.  
They had become States, sovereign in a sense, as we shall see,  
but subject to a very different imperial sway from that which the  
*fainéant* successor of Aurungzeb had pretended to wield for a  
century and a half, and more real, as well as kindly, than that  
which Akbar in all his glory had exercised.

The origin of what is called the 'aristocratic' policy of Lord  
Canning deserves somewhat more detailed investigation. For  
just as it could not have been possible, but for the natural bound-  
aries reached and the clear space created by Lord Dalhousie,  
and succeeded by a military mutiny due solely to the reduction  
of the European garrison in spite of that Governor-General's  
protests, so 1857 prepared the way for the Imperial Proclama-  
tion of 1877. So early as the 4th of March, 1858, when the  
late Mr. G. C. Barnes was Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States,  
he urged the bestowal on the Sikh chiefs of Putiala, Nabha,  
and Jheend, of certain rewards for their active loyalty, which  
rewards he detailed as lands, dresses of honour and salutes.  
The Governor-General, who was then absorbed in the work of  
reorganisation

reorganisation in the North-Western Provinces, merely passed on the recommendation to the Court of Directors, with his approval. But, in a despatch which crossed this, the Directors had asked for a list of all the princes deserving of honour, and had gone so far as to use this language :

‘ This will afford you a fitting opportunity of demonstrating to the princes and the people of India that the British Government does not seek occasions for extending its territories, but desires, in this great crisis, to avail itself of the power it has acquired to bestow the possessions deservedly forfeited by the treachery of its enemies upon those who have proved themselves to be worthy of dominion, and capable of its beneficial exercise.’

The words are of importance in the light of a subsequent attack upon Lord Canning’s lavish exercise of the power thus conferred, by Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice, in his place as a member of the old Legislative Council. This was written on the 28th of July, three days after the Act of Parliament abolishing the Company as a ruling power had passed. That Act came into effect on the 1st of November 1858, and with it a new Government for India, embodying even in details the scheme sketched out in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons by Lord Ellenborough, the Company’s most persistent antagonist. The Proclamation made on that day, ‘ By the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India,’ repeated a profession made almost year after year by the Court of Directors, from Clive to Dalhousie, but only now for the first time possible to be carried out sincerely and effectually, since the Empire had reached the confines fixed by nature. ‘ We desire no extension of our Indian territories. . . . We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own.’ When, on the last day of 1858, the present Earl of Derby, as her Majesty’s first Secretary of State for India, again reminded the somewhat slow and embarrassed Viceroy that there should be no delay in recognising the loyalty of the chiefs, there was no reference to other rewards than those mentioned by Mr. Barnes and usual in former times. Not till the 20th of May, 1859, five months after the last shot of the Mutiny campaigns had been fired on the Oudh frontier of Nipal, did the idea of a law of adoption to a principality in default of natural heirs recognised by the English Suzerain find expression. Then it was suggested by the three Sikh chiefs themselves, and it was opposed by the able and lamented civilian whom Lord Canning had meanwhile selected to be his next Foreign Secretary. On that date Mr.

Barnes

Barnes submitted a 'Paper of Requests' from the three chiefs of the Phoolkean clan, in which this passage occurs :—

'Trusting to the grace and liberality of the British Government, we request that, in default of a male survivor in the direct line, the reigning chief may be at liberty, during his lifetime, to select an heir from the descendants of the common ancestor of all the houses (viz. Baba Phool), and to adopt him as a son, to succeed, in himself, and in his direct lineal heirs, to all the honours, possessions, and privileges of the principality. The ancestors of the three houses have always proved themselves loyal and attached to British supremacy, and our services have always been appreciated by increased honours and gifts of territory, and we have been guaranteed in the possession of them, and of our own territory, by repeated edicts, proclamations, and treaties emanating from the British Government. In future we request that each of us may be favoured with a *sunnud* guaranteeing to us in perpetuity our hereditary possessions, and also the provinces graciously bestowed upon us by Government, under the hand and seal of the Sovereign of Great Britain.'

The late Maharaja of Putiala had formed this desire long before the Mutiny, for in 1854, though a Hindoo, he had sought to visit this country that he might solicit a patent of adoption from the Queen in person. Mr. Barnes was willing that a patent of nobility should be issued direct from the Crown, since the Delhi fountain of honour had disappeared with the last Mussulman emperor. But he opposed the full recognition of the principle of adoption, as excluding Government from all escheats. Not so the present Lord Lawrence, who, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, passed on the requests to the Viceroy. But Lord Canning, wisely for his own office, foresaw trouble both to his successors and to the Secretary of State if royal patents were given without the intervention of the Viceroy on the spot. Accordingly the present Lord Halifax, who had succeeded Lord Stanley, agreed that Royal *Sunnuds* should be applied for and conferred only through the Governor-General. Towards the close of the first year of the Queen's Government, Lord Canning began that series of triumphal progresses from Lucknow to Lahore, at which the concession of the uniform right of adoption exactly as requested by Putiala, Jheend, and Nabha, formed the most prominent, as it was the most prized, of all the royal rewards lavished on the faithful feudatories. The immediate descendants of the sovereigns, Hindoo and Mahomedan—who had kept the sightless Emperor in confinement at Delhi; who had robbed him of the Deccan; who had given his Punjab province a sovereign when Runjeet Singh died; who had contended not ignobly with soldiers like Wellesley, Lake, and Lord

Lord Hastings; who had made equal treaties with Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe—sought and treasured with gratitude the patent which secured to them and their heirs for ever the possession of their estates as nobles of the British Empire. Sindia and his court received the patent with what Lord Canning described officially as rejoicing very like that which would have marked the birth of an heir. The Rewah chief, a Rajpoot, declared that his family had exercised sovereign rights for eleven hundred years against Mahomedan viceroy, Mahratta spoiler and Pindaree freebooter, but never had he heard news like this. The value of the boon arose, not so much from the previous absence of the custom of recognising adoption to a principality on the default of natural heirs, as from the uncertainty which had characterised the preceding arbitrary governments, and the conflicting policies which had marked our own administration. Now for the first time in the history of the Peninsula, the British Government stood alone and without a rival from the Bolan and the Khyber, Nipal and Suddya, to the two seas. Now was the 'Pax Britannica' established in a sense never true of the Roman Empire at its best: Now was the sanction of political and public law given to a cherished but rarely recognised right, by a governing class whose truth and justice were admitted to be guarantees as unimpeachable as their strength and success had just proved to be irresistible. Akbar at his best, Aurungzeb at his strongest, had never possessed either the wisdom or the strength, and they certainly had never shown the benevolence or constitutional restraint, of the new Empire. For this was another of its cornerstones, inserted in the Proclamation, it is believed, by the Queen's own hand: 'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects.'

But who were the princes worthy of the royal patent, and what was to be the fate of the people over whom their subordinate but very real administration was thus riveted anew? By the time Lord Canning had thus stumbled on to the concession of the request of Putiala, so as to write it as a new chapter in international law, he had secured as his adviser, in the position of Foreign Secretary, the very ablest of the soldier-politicals whom the Mutiny had left, since Henry Lawrence had fallen. Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand had been his schoolfellow at Eton: had left his mark on the engineering and surveying works of the North-West; had kept Lord Ellenborough right, when that was possible; had learned political  
experience



experience in the native courts of Central India;\* had striven in vain to prevent the already regretted blunder of the abolition of the local army; and had settled down as Lord Stanley's most trusted adviser in the new Council of India. With the chivalry which ever marked his career, he resigned that seat to make way for Outram, who, though dying, had insisted on returning to his appointment as military member of the Calcutta Council. Denied that office, which he had been promised under Sir Charles Wood's régime, Colonel Durand, in a happy hour for India, became Foreign Secretary. At once the aristocratic policy of Lord Canning assumed a form which, while emphasizing the guarantees to the chiefs, and clothing these with ceremonial attractiveness, stimulated them to good government by preserving their peoples' rights. Without such preservation, the new policy might have proved the most intolerable curse ever inflicted on fifty millions of the Queen's subjects. The patent was conceded only to princes above the rank of Jagheerदार, who were actually in administration of their estates, and to them individually to the number of one hundred and fifty-three. But the perpetuation of the principalities was made conditional on loyalty to the Crown, and fidelity to treaties and engagements. Such loyalty and fidelity involved good or, at least, decent administration, the absence of gross mismanagement and oppression such as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy or disturbance. Under the patent, as drawn by Sir Henry Durand and dealt with by the Foreign Office ever since, it is not too much to say that the millions of the Native States have enjoyed a guarantee for tolerable and

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\* We are glad to learn that the biography of this distinguished Anglo-Indian statesman is now in preparation. If accompanied by the essays contributed to the 'Calcutta Review' during the editorship of the late Dr. Duff, and by a selection from the minutes on political, military, and financial affairs written in both the Secretary of State's and the Viceroy's Councils, the work will form the most interesting contribution to the literature of our Indian Empire since Sir John Malcolm's and Lord Metcalfe's papers appeared. Mr. Henry Mortimer Durand, the second son of Sir Henry, and a most promising Competition-wallah, has recently published a defence of his father in 'Central India in 1857,' so clear and convincing, that we anticipate a Memoir of much literary ability also. That defence, and 'The Evacuation of Indore, 1857,' by the gallant General Travers, C.B., V.C., were hardly required by those who were in India during the Mutiny campaigns, or who understand all that is implied in the fact that Sir John Kaye cites his 'friend, Sir Robert Hamilton,' as his authority for the gross misrepresentations of the action of Colonel Durand in the 'History of the Sepoy War.' But as that eloquent pamphlet in three volumes may possibly be accepted by the uninformed as something more than mere materials for the History of India since 1856, which has yet to be written, it is well that General Travers has accurately stated the case on its military merits, as Mr. Durand has most completely done on its political side. Both pamphlets are valuable contributions to the recent history of India.

even enlightened government quite as effectual as that which keeps their chiefs in power. Not only as between prince and prince, but as between princes and people, did the Empire, in its fourth stage, enter on the beneficent task of keeping the peace, of fostering kindly relations, of promoting a true civilisation and a real prosperity unknown since the Aryan tribes of Southern Asia ceased to govern themselves, if known even then.

When, all too soon for India and for the country, the first Viceroy passed away, and with him his slowly ripened experience, the foreign and feudatory policy which he had adopted was in good hands. Lord Elgin applied it well, even to the punishment clause, when in 1864 the principal Hindoo house of Oodeypore executed an offender by elephant-trampling. Lord Lawrence showed similar sternness when the Mahomedan Nawab of Tonk was guilty of the Lawa massacre. At that time Durand was in Council, and the able scholar and administrator, Sir William Muir, was Foreign Secretary. But in neither case was the perpetuation of the reigning house threatened for a moment. Oodeypore was a minor, and it was the members of the regency who suffered for what they knew that they were bound to prevent. The murderous Nawab gave place to another member of his house, and retired into comfortable captivity. Lord Mayo proved to be the most gracious and popular Viceroy with the princes, that ever governed a subject race. Yet even he had to put Ulwur and Joudhpore under pressure, and to let Holkar understand what was due to the Paramount Power, when jealousy of his Mahratta rival, Sindia, led the Lord of Malwa to refuse to attend the Viceroy's Durbar. Lord Northbrook had the most difficult case to deal with in the mad mal-administration of the Gaekwar of Baroda. But for the mistake which had always kept that State directly subject to the local government of Bombay, instead of to the central administration, like all the first-class principalities, the horrible crimes and atrocious misrule of the Gaekwar would never have arisen. But when the evil fruit came to be gathered, the Foreign Office, true to Durand's policy, was equal to the occasion. It was, strange to say, on the suggestion of Holkar, that for the first time the Government of India resorted to the appointment of a Commission or jury of six, composed half of native chiefs and statesmen and half of British officers. The confusion caused by the complication of the charge of attempting to poison the British Resident with that of hopeless misrule, and by the conflict of the India Office with the Foreign Office at Calcutta in the disposal of the case, does not detract from the value of these two facts. The Gaekwar Mulhar Rao was condemned to removal from Baroda for oppression

oppression of the people unrepented of, as an act of State, and with the high approval of the native nobles who served on the Commission; and it was expressly provided that he should be succeeded by an heir adopted by the widow of his loyal predecessor. The Government discharged the moral duty of protecting the people from oppression, while it carefully affirmed the policy of non-annexation. And this was done with the co-operation of other great Mahratta chiefs and the consent of the subordinate nobles of Baroda itself. In a conversation with Sir Henry Daly, the Governor-General's Agent, the Maharaja Holkar, who was well informed by his own correspondents of all that had been going on in Baroda, used this language, which is only representative of the opinions of all native chiefs. We have heard similar opinions from thoughtful native administrators, like Rajah Dinkur Rao, Prince Rama Vurmah of Travancore, and Sir Madava Rao (then Holkar's Minister and now Premier of Baroda), who used this remarkable expression of native States,—‘if left to themselves, they will wipe themselves out.’ This was Holkar's advice as to the Gaekwar, before the report of the accused's madness was made public, though the Indore chief knew its contents:—

‘I would depose him and appoint in his place the most worthy of the three members of the family who were in Khunde Rao's eye (the deceased Gaekwar) for adoption: I take for granted that there is no thought of annexation; that there will be no interference with treaty rights; that the Queen's proclamation will be upheld. This being so, it is the duty of the Paramount Power to save the State. The person for the time being is little. The State with its rights is the point for consideration. . . . The successor should not be suddenly let go as the present Gaekwar was, but with a patient, judicious Resident to guide and strengthen him for a time.’

Holkar added: ‘I presume this Gaekwar is mad and unfit. No doubt his acts are beyond defence.’ Now Holkar is the least satisfactory of our feudatories, and if he spoke thus months before the Government had given its decision, though not before he knew the facts of the oppression, he unconsciously bore the strongest possible testimony to the wisdom and the success of the native or feudatory policy of Canning and Durand, which, we may add, has found a most faithful and able expositor in Durand's successor, the author of the ‘Collection of Treaties, who has just been appointed Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

The twofold work aimed at by the Patent of 1862, in attaching the nobles of India to the English Crown by guaranteeing the permanence of their houses, and in securing for their

fifty.

fifty millions of tenantry such good administration as is possible under arbitrary rule, was further helped by one of the most important Acts ever passed by the Indian Legislature. Act II. of 1872 was the last of the measures carried through by Sir James F. Stephen before he was succeeded as Law Member of Council by Sir Arthur Hobhouse; but it was the carefully-studied draft of the Foreign Office. Under the title of 'An Act to provide for the Trial of Offences committed in Places beyond British India, and for the Extradition of Criminals,' the powers previously conferred by Parliament are judiciously applied, so as not merely to protect or punish European and native British subjects in Feudatory States, but in all places without and beyond the Indian territories under the dominion of Her Majesty. Keeping the peace in India, the British Government is thus enabled to act as international policeman, if we may use the expression, all over Southern Asia, and wherever, as in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and Eastern Africa, its Indian Viceroy is represented by a Political Agent. The extradition provisions do not, of course, affect those of any law or treaty in force for the time being. But they have an assimilative influence for the future. They have enabled us to deal with such iniquities as those of the African slave-trade to Asia; and they give us the power to apply an effectual check to the abuses of the so-called criminal procedure of native chiefs, when they would either treat our own subjects with barbarous cruelty, or insist on the extradition of their people who may have sought an asylum in our ordinary territory. The effect of the Act is and has been to apply the Imperial sovereignty to these States in a way most healthy for their chiefs and people alike, and legislatively to place their relations on a satisfactory footing with the European Government.

This done, but one thing was wanted to convince the princes and people of India of the reality of the tie which bound them to the Crown of Great Britain. The East India Company had gone, the House of Timour had committed suicide, the penal consequences of the Mutiny were beginning to be forgotten, save as facts of history belonging to a past generation. With a more than Oriental capacity of attachment to persons and symbols visible to their eyes, a capacity which the greatest of our soldiers and statesmen had used for the noblest ends in building up the Empire, they desired to see, if not the Queen, then the Shahzadas, her sons. The professional pursuits of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had rendered it easy to gratify them to some extent, and in the cold season of 1869-70, the Prince made a progress through the English settlements, and the Hindoo and Mahomedan principalities,

principalities, from Calcutta and Lahore to Agra and Bombay. In 1875-76 the Heir-Apparent carried out the intention of his great father, and what he himself declared to have been the dream of his life, as the guest of Lord Northbrook. The Indian tour of the Prince of Wales was perfect, whether we consider the effect of the gracious courtesy of the Queen's eldest son on nobles and on races to whom grace of this kind is a second nature, or the result of all he witnessed on himself and the governing classes of this country. Up to this hour only un-mixed good has flowed from it, if we except the one instance of the boy-Nizam, whose astute Wuzeer, Sir Salar Jung, soon after visited England, in the hope of reopening so delicate a political question as the sovereignty of Berar, the large surplus revenue of which is paid to the Hyderabad treasury.

The time had come for the fifth and final stage of the historic century, from Clive to Canning. When, in 1858, Parliament enacted and the Queen proclaimed that the trust vested in the East India Company should revert to the Crown thenceforth, there was an absence of ceremonial such as delights the Oriental; there was no change of, or addition to, the royal titles. India had just passed through a military revolt, the penalties for which were still being paid. The fear of their alien rulers lay on the nobles and the people. The loyal had not then been rewarded, the doubtful were still apprehensive; Lord Clyde and Sir Hope Grant were scouring the Oudh border; Lord Canning was weighed down at Allahabad with the burden of reorganising a system that had collapsed. Nothing could have been quieter than the one symbol by which Sir John Pender Grant, acting for the new Viceroy at the metropolis of Calcutta, marked the change, when, at a State supper in Government House, he simply proposed, 'The Queen.' The illuminations were for the Europeans. The salvos of artillery at every cannonment at noon on the 1st of November only convinced the people that the Queen's assumption of the government was another punishment for mutiny. That was not the time for proclaiming the Empress. Not only so, but the eighteen years since, as we have seen, have developed a policy, have worked out a constitutional system, and have witnessed royal visits and acts of grace, which have shown the final step to be as necessary, in a political and legal sense, as it has proved to be expedient. Accordingly, after some natural misunderstanding and discussion, from a party point of view, of what in itself had nothing to do with political parties, Parliament passed the Act, on the 27th of April, 1876, which empowered Her Majesty to make such an addition to the style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown

**Crown of the United Kingdom and its dependencies as would recognise the transfer of the Government of India. The title of 'India Imperatrix,' or Empress of India, was proclaimed the next day. When forwarding the Proclamation to the Government of India, Lord Salisbury declared the title to be 'a formal and emphatic expression, for which it seemed to the Queen that the opportunity was eminently suitable, of the favourable sentiments which she has always entertained towards the princes and people of India.' The request, that Lord Lytton would proclaim the title throughout Her Majesty's Indian dominions in a manner suitable to her gracious intentions, was carried out on the plain of Delhi on the 1st of January, 1877, with a spectacular effectiveness which Mr. Talboys Wheeler records and illustrates. His Excellency, in his speech which followed the announcement, declared the addition to the titles of the Crown to be the permanent symbol of its union with the interests, and its claim upon the loyal allegiance, of the princes and people of India. One half of all the protected sovereigns of the Empire were present—an unusual number—besides the representatives of the allied border Powers of Asia, His Excellency the Governor-General of the Portuguese settlements in India, the foreign Envoys and Consular Body, the English Governors and high officials, and crowds of the people. In a special message to all, despatched while yet the assemblage was being held, Her Majesty sent her royal and Imperial greeting, assuring all of her 'deep and earnest affection.' The words that follow deserve perpetual remembrance, as coming warm from the royal heart, and expressing the policy of the newly proclaimed Empire. After alluding to the loyalty and attachment to the throne shown by the reception of the Prince of Wales, the Queen and Empress said :—**

**'We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects; that, from the highest to the humblest, all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity, and justice, are secured to them; and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare, are the ever present aims and objects of our Empire.'**

**With the frank impetuosity of his soldier-like nature, the Maharaja of Gwalior burst forth in this apostrophe: 'Shah-in-Shah Padishah! May God bless you! The Princes of India bless you, and pray that your sovereignty (*hukoomut*)\* and power**

\* The 'Gazette of India, Extraordinary,' issued on the 1st of January, 1878, since the above was written, and notifying the appointment of the first fifty Companions of the Order of the Indian Empire, correctly defines this word as implying the power of giving to all persons absolute orders which must be obeyed.

may remain steadfast for ever!' In similar words spake *her* Highness, the Begum of Bhopal, and the chief of the Mahomedan nobles, the Nizam of Hyderabad, through Sir Salar Jung; while the lords of Rajpootana and Cashmere, and many other potentates, desired that a telegram might be sent offering their loyal and dutiful congratulations to Her Majesty. The day was marked among these princes by the obliteration of hereditary feuds, by a succession of fêtes, by gifts to the poor and the famine-stricken, by the initiation of badges and other means of perpetuating the memory of the event in their own estates. A revision of the table of salutes, a large addition to the lists of the Order of the Star of India, the announcement of a new Order of the Empire of India, and the bestowal of titles, met the Oriental desire for honorary and social distinctions most effectively. The most experienced Westerns know too little of the drift of the combined impulses and prejudices, called opinion, in Asia, and of the feelings of Hindoo and Mahomedan princes representing either ancient dynasties or modern potentates, to declare that anything short of independence, and the anarchy which flows from it, would give universal satisfaction to our new Empire in its present half-developed state. But short of that, and on the inevitable assumption that the 'Pax Britannica' is next best, even in the princes' eyes, we may declare that the crowning of the Imperial edifice, which was begun in Elizabeth's days, was well done in Victoria's, nearly three centuries after.

Never before, in historical times, has India had a reigning Empress over all its extent. Noor Jehan and Mumtaz Mahal were addressed as 'Padishah Begum,' but their husbands, Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, were each the 'Padishah.' Had either lady reigned in her own right, she too would have been called Padishah, as was Razujah, the daughter of Iltimish, who reigned during the three years before Baber assumed the title of 'Sultan,' the masculine form of the word. It was Baber who adopted the Imperial title of Padishah, or Badshah, as meaning, according to Abulfazl, in the preface to his eulogy of Akbar, 'the origin of stability and possession,' while a Sultan is only a delegate of the Khalif. The exclamation of Sindia, in which he addressed the newly proclaimed Empress as Padishah, prefacing it by Shah-in-Shah, shows how the Moghul title and ceremonial still regulate the thoughts of Hindoos, and even of the *parvenu* Mahratta houses, in this matter. If the Delhi precedent were one to be followed, this term used by Sindia should have been adopted as the best paraphrase of Empress. But the English Crown does not derive its Indian Empire, nor should it borrow any of its

its titles, from the Delhi Moghuls, whose power really passed away with Aurungzeb, in the days of our own Queen Anne. Its Empire exists as a fact, and must be so treated. Hence, if the English word 'Empress' or 'Emperor' were not itself to be used in every Indian vernacular as well as in the courtly Persian, as so many other English words are transliterated, the title actually adopted, 'Kaisar-i-Hind,' will do as well as any other. It is new, it marks peculiarly the Queen's assumption of the direct and Imperial government, and that is enough—for practical as well as constitutional ends.

It has now become more than ever important that, in all thinking or writing about our Eastern Empire, a clear distinction should be drawn between the India of the people and the India of the princes. We have seen how, under Clive and Wellesley, Dalhousie and Canning, the Empire has grown, but its growth has been in two parallel lines. The 'ordinary' territory, as it is sometimes called, which Shah Alum granted to Clive by firmaun, in Bengal and Madras, and which the Portuguese presented as a dowry to Charles II. in Bombay, has grown by conquest and annexation into the ten Provinces—counting Berar and Mysore—of the British India of the present day, with their area of 909,834 square miles and population of 191,000,000. All that vast territory is influenced by a somewhat uniform and centralised English system, directed by British officials, and it alone pays the taxation of 50,000,000*l.* sterling a year, from which the whole of India is kept in peace, and a large portion of Southern Asia besides. But the feudatory territory is no less under the sovereignty of the Empress, while it is marked off from the other by a now hard-and-fast line, which keeps it sacred to its hereditary or adopted nobles for ever, if they remain loyal and ordinarily fair in their treatment of their tenantry. This India of the princes contains a population of 50,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects, or a fifth of the whole, and covers an area of 573,000 square miles, or above a third of the great peninsula. It is divided into more than 800 States, large and small, but the only important Principalities are the 153 in which the Chiefs, by patent, govern the people without our detailed interference, but subject to our general control and to our continual civilising or humanising influence. Nor should it be overlooked that these 50,000,000 pay a taxation of about 16,000,000*l.* a year, every rupee of which goes into the pockets of their chiefs, save only 750,000*l.* of annual tribute to the Paramount Power. This sum suffices only to pay for the political and diplomatic establishments in the States. The rest of India, the four-fifths of its people under our ordinary administration,



administration, are taxed to keep up an army and central civil establishments, for the peace and security of the other fifth, who, or whose princes, enjoy, moreover, all the advantages of our trade and communications. The history of this India, in a constitutional sense, may be condensed into these two statements: the 153 Hindoo and Mahomedan chiefs are sovereigns, some of whom have an ancestry more ancient than that of the oldest ruling families in European history. They are, nevertheless and in fact, tributary sovereigns, who are the feudatories of the British Crown by conquest; whom that Crown has kept in peaceful existence and growing prosperity, and who have transferred to the Queen the allegiance which they all more or less acknowledged to the Emperor of Delhi, although the Queen's right is legally that of conquest, and not of mere succession to the Moghul dynasty.

The British conquest and administration of India have given a new chapter to International Law. The relation of our Sovereign to the tributary sovereigns of India differs from each of the two apparently analogous cases in history and jurisprudence, the Roman and the Feudal. Even after the writings of Dean Merivale, to say nothing of Gibbon, there is no more fertile nor less worked field of historical investigation than the Roman government of the Provinces. Whether for the sake of early Church History, or of the administration of modern India, an exhaustive treatise on that subject is sorely needed. But whether we refer to the frontier provinces directly administered by the Emperor, and corresponding to the non-regulation districts of India, as they were and still are, or to the more settled countries, the appointments to which rested with the Senate, we shall find nothing exactly like the position of the Queen's Indian nobles. In character, indeed, and in crimes, every decade reveals a Herod, like the dispossessed Nawab of Tonk, or a Verres, like the banished Gaekwar of Baroda. But there the analogy ceases. When we come down to feudal times, we find the influence of Christianity working in the Holy Roman Empire, and modifying Roman institutions. To say nothing of such familiar instances as the claim of Edward to be suzerain of Scotland, of the early English kings to be sovereigns of France, and of the former kings of the Two Sicilies to be paramount over Cyprus and Jerusalem, we have a still closer analogy in the old relation of the States of Germany to the Emperor who ruled from Vienna, of the Swiss Cantons to the Federal Powers previous to 1848, and even, in principle, of the Southern States of America, which revolted, to the Central Government. There are some living who remember the time when the German Emperor still

still claimed to be, from the jurist's or theoretical point of view, the sole independent sovereign in Europe. In that sense, not only theoretically but as an unquestioned fact, the Queen is the only independent sovereign in India—an empire in itself larger than that founded by Charlemagne and claimed by his latest successors, as it is more extensive and, on the whole, more civilised than even that of Augustus and Trajan. But there the analogy ceases. For there is this peculiar to the tributary kings who rule over fifty millions of people, that their States have lost nationality as well as *complete* independence. As it is true that each of the United States of America is not a nation, but forms an integral part of the one nation embodied in the Union, while still, in a subordinate sense 'free, sovereign, and independent,' so is it true, though under very different historical and political conditions, that Indian nobles have become absorbed in a higher nationality than they or their ancestors ever had, while enjoying limited sovereign power. There cannot be nationality without sovereignty, while there may be in the East Indies, as in the United States there is, sovereignty without nationality. This is not the place to quote authorities, from Vattel to Twiss, on the abstract doctrine, but so slight a reference to that doctrine is necessary to justify the position which, for the highest and most unselfish ends, the British nation has been forced, by no will of its own or its agents, to assume, in the century from Clive to Dalhousie and Canning, towards the anarchic but real sovereignties of Southern Asia. Twiss, indeed, is content with three sentences on the native States of India, when he comes to details; but even Sir Henry Durand, who remarks on the meagreness of the reference, does not blame him, for his work treats the law of nations considered as independent political communities, while he describes the principalities of India as 'protected dependent States,' over which the East India Company was virtually sovereign.

Like the trees of the forest and the generations of men, both nations and sovereign powers rise and fall, and the two questions in each case are—what are the facts? what is the right or law? Every period has its own crop of such cases, and none more so than the decade which saw Federal triumph over State rights, for the highest ends, in America; which saw first the Danish, then the Austrian, then the French wars with the King of Prussia, result in a new Emperor and constitution for Germany; which has seen Turkey vainly trying to stamp out the efforts of its Christian subjects after nationality and at least subordinate sovereignty. Or, to go to the East, the same decade has seen the rise and very recent fall of the new Mahomedan sovereignty of Yakoub Beg, who expelled the Chinese from Kashgaria;

and the recognition by Lord Mayo at Umballa of the Afghani Ameer, Sher Ali, who had complained that the former Viceroy's policy of recognising any *de facto* ruler there had weakened his power and prolonged a desolating civil war. International law, as still taught and studied, is so purely feudal and Roman in its ideas and terms that, like 'political economy' generalised only from European data, it has caused serious misunderstandings between the native sovereigns and the Paramount Power. The question of fact being settled, that of law or right becomes the subject of the interpretation of treaties. Our tributary kings are independent in some functions and not in others, and some have many more independent powers than others. Subject always to the general peace and well-being, of which the Queen is the guardian, and to a certain small tribute, all have the power of raising taxes, a few of coining money, a few of life and death, all of internal legislation. But none may declare war, or maintain larger armies than are allowed by treaty, or send ambassadors and enter into political relations with each other, while hostilities with the Queen would be rebellion, involving not merely discrowning, but trial before the Queen's ordinary tribunals, as the four Nawabs of 1857 were tried, and three were executed, and as the Great Moghul himself was tried and mercifully banished to Rangoon. Great Britain keeps the peace of Southern Asia, because she has been and is still unable to help herself. Individuals among her agents may have done wrong, though ignorance has more often than justice dictated the national verdict passed on some even of these. But we could go over the history of each one of these hundred and fifty-three sovereigns, and show how England alone has kept them and their houses in existence, delivering them from themselves, like the Mahratta chiefs now represented by Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar, and from the Mahrattas and Mahomedans, like Mysore, the Rajpoot, and Boondela States, and even the Nizam of Hyderabad. Others we called into existence in an evil moment, like Oudh, which in its infamy we had to sweep away, yet royally pensioned; and like Cashmere, sold by Lord Hardinge to an oppressive Sikh chief under an excess of that sentiment which Henry Lawrence generally directed so well. There is not a sovereign who has done homage to the Queen's son, who would be there but for the British Crown. Unlike former suzerains, Mussulman and Hindoo, we protect our tributary sovereigns from internal revolt, outside attack, and the rapacity which would strip them of their revenues. Very solemn is the responsibility we thus incur, at once to the fifty millions of her Majesty's subjects whom they govern, and to the hundred and ninety



prey of the one-sided whose little knowledge is worse than ordinary men's ignorance. Unlike Mr. John Stuart Mill, Mr. Bright was the unreasoning foe of the East India Company, and we are willing to admit that he sometimes did the useful work of stimulating that 'famous institution' to more rapid progress. But when, doubtless in the fulness of time, the great Company was asked to resign to the Crown and to Parliament the trust which it had administered with unparalleled success because with justice and humanity, did Mr. Bright fit himself to guide the country in the work of construction and reform? The Queen's Government of India—the work of the present Lord Derby—and the Queen's successive Viceroys, of whatever party, have certainly not been assisted, and they have undoubtedly had their position weakened in the eyes of the uninformed British public, by Mr. Bright. It is not enough to declare that his relation to India has always been unpatriotic; there are few authorities who will not join with us in saying that it has been hostile to the best interests of the people, while it has added greatly to the financial and political difficulties of the local government.

When the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Empire came round, last January, Lord Lytton completed the ceremonial or chivalric side of the policy, by the institution of the new Order of the Indian Empire at Calcutta. The country had passed through the most severe and wide-spread famine with which it had been afflicted since that of 1768–70, just before Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General under the Charter of 1773. In Southern, Central, and Western India, and especially in the first, dearth affected at least thirty millions of the people. One-tenth of these were fed daily by Government, at a cost which has added nine and a quarter millions sterling to the debt. As if to prove that the new Imperial relation was no empty ceremony or merely a spectacular dream, England, the Colonies of Australasia and the West Indies, and the portions of India not so affected, contributed in relief of their famine-stricken fellow-subjects a sum which falls little short of a crore of rupees, or nearly a million sterling. The plenteous rains of October, followed by bountiful harvests—save in unhappy Mysore, which has lost one-fourth of its inhabitants—restored smiling prosperity to the land, and the Government of India took upon itself the new duty of providing annually a million and a-half sterling as a reserve for famine years. This gave a pathetic significance to the first anniversary, and justified the Viceroy in using such language as this when, in the Imperial Museum, unveiling Mr. Marshall Wood's statue of the Queen at Calcutta,

Calcutta, presented to the people of India by the greatest of the landholders of Bengal, his Highness the Maharaja of Burdwan.

‘I need not dwell upon a fact so well appreciated by your Highness, that in ordering her Government in this country to proclaim with special solemnity the title she assumed last year, her Majesty desired to give public emphasis to her Royal recognition of the Imperial duties owed by England to England’s great Eastern dependency, and to the equal solicitude with which the national interests of her Eastern and Western subjects are cherished by their common Sovereign. Of this solicitude so many and such touching proofs have been vouchsafed to me, that I should be unworthy to stand here if I could speak of them without emotion. During the past year the sufferings of the people and the difficulties of the Government of India have been great indeed, but they have not been greater than the tender sympathy with which her Majesty has personally studied every detail of our terrible calamity and encouraged every effort of her Government to overcome the difficulties of its anxious task. It is the duty of those, to whom her Majesty has intrusted the administration of this great Empire, to give effect to her gracious intentions, by patiently developing the practical application of those principles which can alone insure its permanent and progressive prosperity. In performance of this our judgment may sometimes err, our foresight fail—for we are not less fallible than other mortals,—but I can confidently assert that the one object we have ever honestly at heart is, to deserve the confidence of our Sovereign by preserving and promoting for her people throughout India those blessings of personal freedom, combined with social order, which we regard as the common heritage of all British subjects.’

While this was going on in the metropolis of India, the ‘London Gazette’ notified that the Queen had created the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, ‘to commemorate the assumption of the Imperial title of Empress of India,’ and ‘to be enjoyed by the Princesses of the Royal house and the wives or other personal relatives of Indian Princes.’ Side by side with the Queen’s daughters and the wives and daughters of deceased or retired Viceroy, we find the Mahomedan Begum of Bhopal, chief of female rulers in the East, the Hindoo Maharanee Sur Nomoyee of Bengal, most benevolent of her sex in any land, and the Christian Maharanee Dhuleep Singh. These and previous names invite us to a few personal sketches of the most remarkable of the princes of India.

Historically they may be grouped in four classes, according as they are Rajpoot, Mahratta, Sikh, or Mahomedan. The three last are of yesterday, owing their very existence to the British alliance or protection under the alternate systems of subsidiary engagements and the balance of power. The Hindoo  
sovereigns.

sovereigns of Rajpootana, and also of Nipal, rightfully claim, though by adoption, an antiquity compared with which the oldest genealogies of the pedigree-hunters of Europe are modern. No descent can be traced farther back than that of the sun-race of India, save in the case of the two tribes of the Jews. But the houses of Rajpootana also have been preserved from extinction at the hands of Mussulman and Mahratta only by the English sword and English law. Even the most independent dynasty of all, that of Nipal, has been sovereign in the hills between Bahar and Tibet only since 1769, or after Clive, when Prithi Narain, the Chief of Goorkha, was invited to assist one of the three branches of the reigning house against his rivals. We do not count Nipal as within our system of feudatory States, although its late Premier, Jung Bahadoor, was a faithful subordinate ally of ours, and, before his death, had the joy of having a grandson born to him, who will succeed the present Maharaja Dheraj on the throne at Katmandoo. So much independence does Nipal possess, though in a sense a vassal of China on the one side and of British India on the other, that the Hindoo look on its secluded valleys as the last retreat of their faith. There, too, the Mahratta pretender, Nana Dhoondopunt, sought an asylum in 1857, as other Hindoo State fugitives had done before him, and there he is believed to have perished miserably. The Maharaj Dheraj, who nominally rules Nipal, and is now forty-eight years of age, claims descent from the same branch of the Sesodhea Rajpoots as the ruling house of Oodeypore. His heir-apparent, Trilok Beer Bikrum, married the daughter of the Mayor of the Palace, the late Maharaja Jung Bahadoor, who visited England in 1847, and had a principality of his own, where he exercised sovereign powers.

The photograph of the representative of the oldest of all the Hindoo Sovereign houses, the Maharana of Meywar, or Oodeypore, as given in Mr. Wheeler's book, fails to do justice to the purity of the type of face. It is the boast of the family that they never submitted to give a daughter in marriage to the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi; nay, that for long they refused to intermarry with the other houses who had thus degraded themselves, although under compulsion. But when, for the common weal, it became necessary to form coalitions against the Mussulman Emperors, these excluded chiefs always stipulated for re-admission to 'connubium.' When Oodeypore consented to grant this, the condition was made that the sons of its princesses should succeed the father in preference to elder boys by other mothers. This, however, so acted as to break up the confederacy by introducing family dissensions, of which the Mahrattas

rattas took advantage. Holkar and Sindia thus began to seize what even the Mahomedans had failed to snatch away, and our intervention alone, in the interests of peace, perpetuated eighteen of the families. So jealously has Oodeypore preserved the appearance of independence, that not one of its sovereigns had condescended to enter Delhi since it ceased to be Aryan. The present Maharana, Sujjun Singh, who was just of age, or eighteen, was the first of his race to do homage at the Imperial city, but it was to the Empress who had saved his house, respected his honour, and guaranteed his rights for ever. When, on the death of the late Maharana Sumbhoo Singh, in 1874, the Maharanees and the nobles of the State were permitted to adopt the present chief, his uncle refused allegiance to the boy, and we have ever since kept him a State prisoner. In Sujjun Singh we see embodied the old nature worship of the Veds. Vishnoo, the Sun-god, was the deity of the Rajpoots ere yet, as a band of warriors, they left the ancestral plains of Iran, under that hero Rama, whom later generations adored as his incarnation. First of the warrior clans who followed Rama, and whose deeds the great epic of the Ramayana records, eldest of the Soorya Bunsee, or Children of the Sun, was the head of the Meywar house. There is no Hindoo who does not recognise that lad of twenty to be the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama. The genealogical tree of the present dynasty goes back with strict accuracy to Keneksen, its founder, in A.D. 144. The most distinguished of the house was the eightieth in descent from Rama, that Bappa who took the fort of Chittore in 714. That was the capital till Akbar sacked it, and Oodey Singh founded the present city which bears his name. In 1661 Raj Singh built that marble embankment which surrounds Kankrowlee Lake for twelve miles, in order to feed the people in the great famine of 1661. Jey Singh surpassed him, in the construction of Deybur Lake, the largest in India, with a circumference of thirty miles. In spite of Mahomedan aggression and of the disastrous results of the policy of non-interference on our part, which some ignorant persons still advocate, the young Maharana still reigns over a population of more than a million, and enjoys a gross revenue of 640,000*l.* a year. Of this only 25,000*l.* is paid to the British Government, which has shown a generosity and a restraint in its treatment of the Rajpoot feudatories without a parallel in the history of conquest. His Highness enjoys a personal income of 225,000*l.* after paying 240,000*l.* to his vassals, 130,000*l.* to temples and Brahmins, and 20,000*l.* to the ladies of the Zenana. Such civilisation as has penetrated the Aravelli Mountains of Meywar, with their Mhair, Bheel, and Meena aborigines,



aborigines, is the result of the action of the British Political Resident, and of wise and cultured missionaries like the late Dr. Wilson and Mr. Shoolbred. The young chief has a finer career before him than any previous child of the Sun or representative of Rama.

In all that a Hindoo means by progress and enlightenment the older Maharaja of Jeypore and his family, however, are more remarkable. Sprung from the Cuchwaha clan of Rajpoots, one of the thirty-six royal races of the Hindoos, his Highness represents not only Rama, as the third house of Joudhpore does, but the great engineer and astronomer Jey Singh II., whose observatories and abilities gained for him from Delhi the title of 'Sewaee,' or great. Though united to nine wives, and only forty-five years of age, the present chief has no children, nor has he adopted an heir. He rules two millions of people, and has a privy purse of 475,000*l.*, from which he liberally encourages art and education. The Sambhur Lake of Jeypore and Joudhpore, famous for its salt, is now worked by the British Government in the interests of India, and to the advantage of the chiefs.

Most remarkable of all our feudatories is one who, next to Cashmere, is the youngest of them in origin, the Maharaja Sindia. Sivajee, first of the Mahrattas, left successors so contemptible that that great genius of war is now represented by an obscure princeling who owes his position to us. Sivajee's Peishwa, or Mayor of the Palace, too has passed away, the last pretender to represent him being the Nana. But the Mahrattas still live in the three houses of Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar, originally shepherd lads who sought a career in arms. The photograph of Sindia, in the Delhi quarto, reveals the whole man and his history, even more than the well-known picture of our own Henry VIII., whom he resembles. Yet even in this house, which is but of yesterday, twice the chiefs have been heirless and refused to adopt, and twice we have interfered to perpetuate the Principality. Ranojee was the slipper-bearer of the Peishwa, who rewarded his fidelity by making him leader of the body-guard. Ranojee it was who, by plunder like that which laid the foundation of many of our own noble houses, acquired the broad lands and fertile fields which still form the bulk of the State of Gwalior. His son, Mahadajee, was equally great as a statesman and a soldier. The defeat at Paniput, where in 1761 the Mahrattas fought with the Afghans for that supremacy of India which we took from both, taught him that discipline was essential to success, and that the secret of that lay with the French and the English. So he organised his

his marauding bands under foreign adventurers; he kept the Emperor his prisoner; he ruled India for years after a rough fashion, and he even mediated between the Peishwa and the English in the Treaty of Salbye. When he died in 1794, his grand-nephew carried out a much restricted power amid all the fluctuations of our policy, till 1827, when he died without an heir, natural or adopted. Now was made evident that influence of women of strong will and great ability, which has ever been characteristic of the Mahrattas, and which the late Meadows Taylor has well described in his tales. The younger widow, Baiza Bae, became regent, marrying her daughter to an adopted prince known as Jankojee. His weakness and her will and wealth resulted in confusion, till she was removed from Gwalior, and he died, refusing to adopt. It is not improbable that, in the circumstances, Lord Ellenborough would have declared for annexation, but the Cabul disasters and the prospect of trouble from the Sikhs led him to recognise the adoption of the present chief by the widow, Tara Ranee. Bageerut-Rao, a child of eight, became Maharaja under the title of Jyajee Rao Sindia, but only to see the trouble and confusion caused by a disputed regency, and closed by the British interference at Maharajpore and Punnar in 1843.

From his childhood Sindia has thus owed his position and preservation to the English. His minority was passed under the ablest British officers, like Macpherson and Richmond Shakespear. He was for a long time happy in the counsels and services of Raja Sir Dinkur Rao, the ablest Mahratta administrator of recent times. All that a native statesman could do for Gwalior, Dinkur Rao did, and his Memorandum on the government of the natives of India, written at Lord Canning's request, remains a treasury of valuable, because honest and experienced, opinion from the native point of view. When Sindia's troops, which had happily been reduced to 6000 cavalry, 3000 infantry, and 32 guns, mutinied against him and us in 1857, his own inclinations, as well as the support of Dinkur Rao and of the Political Resident, kept him loyal. Lands and honours were heaped upon him, but these he considered nothing to the increase of his new army and the restoration of the fortress of Gwalior. His force was raised to 5000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 48 guns; but reasons of state, of peace, of imperial necessity, forbade the rocky fastness of Gwalior to be garrisoned by any but British troops. Lord Lawrence and every Viceroy has been asked to make Sindia's cup full, by a concession which is impossible, as much in the chief's own interest, as the experience of 1857 has shown, as in that of the  
peace

peace of the Empire. Disappointed in this, Sindia has thrown all his energies into the disciplining and arming of his troops, going so far as to form an arsenal and manufactories. He has all the soldier instincts of his early predecessors, Ranjee and Mahadajee. He resembles the latter in his attention to State affairs, and his consequent influence with the people. All the more that his education is slight, his natural character manifests quick observation, keen shrewdness, and a decided will, while over the whole there is a bluff and soldierly tone which attaches men to him, and gives our officers an interest in him even when compelled to refuse him the impossible. He rules 2,500,000 people in a country the size of Scotland, and is possessed of great wealth, increased by an annual revenue of 1,200,000*l.* a year, which he spends occasionally with a wise generosity. His discontent about Gwalior, his arsenal, and his application of the short service system to his army, by which it is said all the males of the country are being trained for war, will always make him the subject of suspicion and unfriendly remark. But under the guidance of men like Sir Henry Daly we have little fear of Sindia. He is a great frank school-boy, fond of playing at soldiers, and he knows that there is a point at which even he will come into contact with the very strict though most liberal conditions on which he holds his patent. He is in the prime of life, or forty-five; and we trust the principle of his rule will ever be, as it has hitherto been, a loyal regard for the friendship of the Imperial Government. He was good to the people in the famine of 1869. He is princely in his public works. On the site of the old Phool Bagh building, erected to receive Lord William Bentinck in 1832, his Highness has created a magnificent palace and gardens at a cost of 150,000*l.* The palace was first occupied by the Prince of Wales. Honours, including even that of the commission of General in the British army, have been heaped upon the present Maharaja of Gwalior. When, the other day, his Highness was invested, in the throne-room of Government House, Calcutta, with the highest insignia of the Order of the Bath, he burst forth in most uncourtly, but evidently all the more sincere, expressions of humble gratitude and fervent loyalty to her Majesty.

Not less remarkable, as a woman, is the Mahomedan Begum of Bhopal, whose house and herself have had a remarkable career, marked by devoted loyalty to the British power; or the Sikh Maharaja of Kuppurtulla, who married a Christian wife, established an American Presbyterian mission in his capital, and directed the observance of Sunday throughout the State, while his only surviving son was lately baptised a Christian; or the  
Christian

**Christian Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, who has made England his home. Among the princes of India, also, the infant Christianity of Missions, not a quarter of a century old in the Punjab, has its first fruits. The Mutiny crisis proved that Christian civilisation means loyalty to the Imperial Power now, even as it prepares the way for such a degree and such forms of self-government hereafter as events may develop in the far distant future. Far distant—for the necessity which has just led to the passing of the Vernacular Press Act, by the Viceroy's Legislative Council at Calcutta, shows how seriously the privileges of a free people may be abused. Of the political danger and folly of allowing treason and rebellion to be advocated by a few discontented intriguers, under the veil of the vernacular languages, there can be no doubt. From the first, the Penal Code of Lord Macaulay, Sir Barnes Peacock, and Sir Henry Maine, has provided the maximum punishment of transportation for life, or imprisonment and fine, for attempts to excite a feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government established by law in British India. The new law is officially represented as intended to mitigate the severity of this provision in its application to seditious libel. Publications by natives in the English language are not affected by the Act.**

The difficulties of our administration of India may be financial or economic, but we do not fear that any, which cannot be grappled with, will arise from the princes of the Empire, so long as a careful continuity is maintained in the feudatory policy of Canning and Durand. To that their successors have thus far adhered. The danger, so far as it is political, rather lies on the purely foreign side. The twenty years' administration of the Calcutta Foreign Office, since the Mutiny, has convinced the princes that their houses will be perpetuated, and the people that they will, by the same guarantee, be protected from outrage and intolerable exactions. Both are at rest. But as each new Viceroy is sent out, representing the Imperial Crown indeed, but selected under the influences of party, the risk is that he may break the continuity of that policy towards the frontier potentates, which, since the disastrous lessons of Cabul in 1838-40, Lord Dalhousie established, Lord Lawrence consolidated, Lord Mayo wisely adapted to new conditions, and such men as Sir Robert Montgomery in the India Council still jealously but not always successfully guard. With Russia just to the north of what is left of Kashgaria, Afghanistan, and Persia, and with the English Government called to take its proper part in the disposal of the question of Turkey in Europe and in Armenia, the temptation is always strong for the Viceroy of India to forget that,

that, in all things conservatism is the true wisdom in the East. Unrest, change, fussy action, even in reference to Cabul, will soon break the charm and dissipate the strength begotten by the quietness and the confidence of our feudatory policy.

Russia, however, will always be a disquieting element in the political system of India. To go no farther back, ever since 1864, when Prince Gortschakoff issued his famous Circular Letter to the Czar's representatives at the various Courts, deprecating and disclaiming all further annexation towards the Himalayan wall of India, Russia has made almost annual advances. Her conquests must be looked at in the light of her diplomacy, and both in their effect on the quietude of our native princes and peoples. The Circular of 1864 was as false as the still unfulfilled pledges given to Sir Douglas Forsyth, when Lord Mayo induced the late Earl of Clarendon to send him to St. Petersburg to effect a frank and lasting settlement of the northern boundary of our Afghan ally. In keeping with both was the secret and compulsory annexation from Persia at the foot of the Caspian, and along the line of the *Attrek*, denied of course at St. Petersburg, but officially reported by our Minister in Persia. Not one whit worse than all three was the seizure and continued possession of Khiva, followed by the attempts on Merv, which have led the Chiefs of the Tekke Turkomans to return to their old allegiance to the impotent Shah. But because that seizure involved a direct breach of faith on the part of the Czar to the Queen, and on the part of Count Schouvaloff to the Ministry and to Parliament, it excited a degree of public attention which the preceding violations of honour and veracity ought to have called forth before it was too late. Owing to the deceitfulness of its diplomacy, even more than to the rapid advance of its power and prestige, towards Kashgar, Balkh, Merv, and Khorassan, Russia is a permanent source of disturbance to the good work we are doing in the civilisation of Southern Asia, and adds largely to our military expenditure from Quetta and Peshawur to Delhi and Agra, Calcutta and Bombay.

Meanwhile, subject to such a constant irritant, we may rest assured that, as our direct English systems of administration are working out remarkable results in the India of the People, our indirect control and guidance are, more slowly but not less effectually, civilising the India of the Princes.

- ART. VI.—1. *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances of General Use made in the Parliament begun and held at Westminster the 3rd day of November, anno 1640, and since, unto the Adjournment of the Parliament begun and holden the 17th September, anno 1656.* By Henry Scobell, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament. London, 1658. Folio.
2. *Omitted Chapters in the History of England.* By Andrew Bisset. 1864.
3. *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic).* 1649-50 and 1650. 2 vols. London.

THAT Parliament which, of all others, has been and seems likely to be the most celebrated in the History of England, met for the first time on the 3rd of November, 1640. It sat nominally till the 16th of March, 1660, a period of more than nineteen years and four months, but really only till the 10th of April, 1653, when it was forcibly dissolved by Cromwell. From 1640 to 1658 this Parliament and its two successors under Cromwell passed or sanctioned more than five hundred Acts or Ordinances; but from the autumn of 1641 to the 25th day of April, 1660, the Statute-book of England is a blank, and the multifarious legislation of the Commonwealth is no more regarded by English law than the laws of the Twelve Tables, the Pandects, or the Code Napoléon.

The last Act of Parliament which appears on the Statute-book before this vast blank, is the 18th Charles I., c. 37. Its date is not given, but it is headed, 'An Act for the further Reducing of the Rebels in Ireland to their Obedience to the King and Crown of England.' Then comes a gap of nearly twenty years; and the next Act which the Statutes at Large contain is dated April 25, 1660, and is intitled 'An Act for removing and preventing all Questions and Disputes concerning the Assembly and Sitting of this present Parliament.' By this Act the Long Parliament was formally dissolved.

There exist at least two collections of these unsanctioned laws, either given in full, or, in the case of such statutes as were only of temporary interest, specified by their titles and a short statement of the subject-matter. Of these, the better and more perfect one is that made by Henry Scobell, Clerk of the Parliament. It is described on the title-page as having been 'examined by the original records,' and it was printed by order of Parliament in 1658. The date of its publication explains why it is a very scarce book, the troubles preceding the Restoration and the Restoration itself having of course rendered its contents first uninteresting and then treasonable.

Mr.

Mr. Hallam, in his 'Constitutional History of England,' says:—'Of the Parliament . . . it may be said, I think, with not greater severity than truth, that scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them from their quarrels with the King to their expulsion by Cromwell.' These words have been interpreted as applying simply to the statutes passed by the Long Parliament, not to its policy in general. It is evident that the writer used them in the larger, not in the smaller sense; and as far as the statutes themselves are concerned, we hope to be able to show that the statement is too sweeping, and that among these still-born laws are at all events some deserving of our notice, and too curious and interesting to be permitted to pass away into utter oblivion.

It will be understood from our statement, that the first twenty-seven of the Acts of the Long Parliament form part of the Statute-book as at present existing; so that the blank does not commence till the day after the raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham, August 25th, 1642. There are, however, some Acts of the Long Parliament passed before this date, and consequently remaining on the Statute-book, which are worth notice. First in order—being in fact 16 Car. I., c. 1—comes the Act which Hume misnames 'The Bill for Triennial Parliaments,' it being really headed with the words, 'Parliaments to be held every third year,' and containing in itself all the provisions necessary for parliamentary existence and reproduction, independent of the Crown, and independent of the official personages by whom writs had usually been issued. Having still further established themselves in permanent existence by another short but most pregnant Act, which provided in so many words that Parliament was not to be dissolved, or prorogued, or adjourned, except by an Act passed for those purposes, and that the existing Parliament was not even to be adjourned except by their own order, they found time to turn to other questions.

It would not be difficult to trace the political history of the Commonwealth by means of their Statute-book. We do not, however, propose so ambitious a proceeding, but it will be interesting to see how the Leviathan, which was not too weak to sweep away Star Chambers, High-Commission Courts, Ship-money, Prelatical Episcopacy, and the kingly office itself, was not too huge to regard such trifles as the laws which regulated fairs and markets, weights and measures.

One of the first Acts of the Long Parliament ordains that

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\* Vol. I. p. 563, ed. 1842.

from henceforth there shall be but one weight, one measure, and one yard, according to the standard of the Exchequer. It is curious to contrast the conservative temper of the English nation in matters of this kind with the scientific desire for innovation which characterised the French under circumstances which have been supposed to be very similar. It cannot be said that our ancestors were very successful in their legislation, for local weights, local measures of capacity, and local measures of length, have hardly yet been expelled from use; but it is not less to the credit of the men who formed the Long Parliament that they saw, and endeavoured to remedy, an evil which always manifests itself in societies where local legislation and local habits of thought prevail over the centralisation of a paternal government.

A kindred subject of legislation is that of the coinage; and it was not unnatural that a Government which had removed the head of King Charles I. from his shoulders, should feel some desire to abolish the constant memory of that monarch which the coins of the realm supplied, by removing the King's head from the coinage also. Accordingly, about four months after the abolition of the kingly office, an Act was passed for a new coinage, when we find the 20*s.*, 10*s.*, and 5*s.* piece of gold, the 2*s.* 6*d.*, 1*s.*, 6*d.*, 2*d.*, and 1*d.* of silver respectively.

A memorandum appended to the Act gives a scale of weights in the following words:—'Twelve ounces makes a pound weight troy; twenty penny weights makes an ounce; twenty-four grains makes a penny weight; twenty mites a grain; twenty-four droits makes a mite; twenty perits makes a droit; twenty-four blanks makes a perit.' How a blank, being about the thirteen hundred and twenty-seven millionth of a pound, is to be weighed, this Act does not provide.

Although this Act provides for the coinage of pieces of 20 and 10 shillings respectively, it does not appear, from a reference to existing coins, that either the one or the other came into circulation. Crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, and smaller coins of the Commonwealth exist, but no 20 or 10 shilling pieces. The first 20 shilling piece was coined in Charles I.'s time, the first 10 shilling piece under Edward VI., the first crown under Henry VIII. The shilling itself stood either for a sum or a coin, the word being common to most of the Teutonic languages, and probably connected with our English word *scale*.

During the life of Charles I. no rival coinage had been struck on the side of the Commonwealth, although much irregular money existed in the shape of siege pieces and tradesmen's tokens. Early in the struggle, however, it was found necessary that



that the Parliament should possess its own Great Seal, and accordingly in the year 1643, just after Hampden's death, but not without some hesitation and delay on the part of the House of Lords, an Ordinance was passed (November 11th, 1643) by which a new Great Seal was put into the hands of six Commissioners, who were to have the same powers as the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper formerly had respecting it. Accordingly, for nearly three years there existed two rival Great Seals, one with the King at Oxford, the other with the Parliament at Westminster; and it was not till after the flight of Charles to Scotland, and the surrender of Oxford to the Parliamentary forces, that the Royal Great Seal came into the possession of the Parliament. It was solemnly broken in the presence of both Houses, August 11th, 1646.

It was obviously important, at the beginning of the struggle, to cut off from the King all supplies of money derivable from any source not under the immediate control of Parliament, as well as such direct impositions as ship-money and tonnage and poundage. We find, then, an Act, which, like that on the subject of weights and measures, was really passed, and exists in the Statute-book, which reveals a curious feature in the manners of the time. There had been a custom of issuing writs in Chancery for proclamations to be made in every county for the purpose of compelling all persons possessing forty pounds a-year to take upon them the dignity of knighthood, or to pay heavy fines in order to escape the honour. Under these writs, 'very many were put to grievous fines,' troubles, and molestations; and these fines of course went to swell the Royal Exchequer. One of the last Acts which received the Royal assent was an Act intituled, 'None shall be compelled to take the Order of Knighthood.' It was immediately followed up by another, which has a grim significance when we remember that it passed less than a year before the raising of the Royal Standard. This Act was headed, 'Liberty for Importing Gunpowder and Saltpetre, and for Making of Gunpowder.' Clarendon notices its evident object, which, however, is not expounded in the quaint preamble. Among other things, the preamble recites that an illegal exclusion of foreign gunpowder, and a monopoly of the home manufacture, had very much weakened and endangered the kingdom, and had caused the capture of many mariners and others so brought into miserable captivity and slavery, besides '*other inconveniences*,' to which the Act does not more explicitly refer. And the Act itself, overstepping all those limitations as to foreign trade and foreign traders which were so usual at the time, gives the fullest licence to the im-  
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portation of gunpowder and its ingredients, and to the manufacture of gunpowder at home; visiting, moreover, any attempt to prohibit or restrain such importation or manufacture with the mysterious penalties of 'præmunire.' Probably one of the 'other inconveniences' present to the lively imagination of men who were beginning to contemplate the possibility of having to load the musketoon against the royal authority, might be the difficulty of getting at the powder to do it with, that powder being a Government monopoly, and stored in a Government warehouse.

Towards the end of 1641, the quarrel between King and Commons became more and more entangled, and the attempt at arresting the Five Members roused the Parliamentary party into fresh and more acute irritation. Just at this time (January 12, 1641-2), an ill-advised protest on the part of the bishops appears to have revived in the minds of the Parliament the determination to abolish their temporal jurisdiction, and with that the exercise by the clergy of any secular authority whatsoever. The Act 17 Car. I. c. 28 (Royal assent Feb. 15, 1641-2, Heylin's 'Laud'), is intitled, 'Persons in holy orders shall not exercise any temporal jurisdiction;' and, laying down in the preamble the broad principle, that the office of the Ministry is so important as to 'take up the whole man,' and leave no room for the exercise of secular functions, it provides that henceforth no one in holy orders shall sit in Parliament or the Privy Council, or be a Justice of the Peace, or exercise any temporal authority of any kind.

By this Act the first blow was struck against the secular power of the clergy, and a principle laid down which strikes at the root of the parochial system.

It may be supposed that these ulterior consequences were not clearly apprehended, for during the whole of the Long Parliament we see a determination to retain a parochial ministry. For example, even in 1654, the famous Act for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers, recognises distinctly the right of private patronage, and provides that those in whom it is vested shall nominate, subject to the approval of Commissioners, fit and proper persons for parochial cures, who are to 'have, hold, enjoy, and receive all and every the houses, glebes, tithes, and other profits and fruits belonging to such place,' just as a patron now appoints, subject to the approval of the bishop.

At the same time, to lay down the principle that the clergy are not to interfere in secular affairs, or in fact exercise local functions, is to do precisely that which, in the view of many not

contemptible judges, reduces the clergy into a set of sermon-grinders, and, by diminishing their social usefulness, does away with the strongest argument for establishment and endowment.

We now come to those Acts of the Long Parliament to which we desire especially to call the attention of our readers, being, as they are, not included in the Statute-book, but for that reason not the less interesting as a record of the opinions of the time on divers subjects, religious, moral and social.

The battle of Edgehill was fought at the end of October, 1642, and various skirmishes and combats had done their work in creating a crowd of maimed soldiers, widows and orphans, for whom it was necessary to provide relief. It appears that the City of London, on whom the Parliamentary party relied so much, had done something for these sufferers; but winter, always the time of trial for the poor, had doubtless pressed hard upon them, and in March, 1642-3, we find the Parliament sanctioning an assessment for their benefit. The question would doubtless arise—'On whom should the burthen fall?' And it is curious to see that, in a time of civil war, the Parliament still clings to the law as it stood, and actually throws the charge in the strict spirit of a poor-law upon the parish where the maimed or slain soldier had last dwelt. The practical result of course would be, that those neighbourhoods which had contributed most freely of their population to swell the ranks of the Parliamentary army were rewarded for their devotion by having thrown upon them the whole charge of maintaining the maimed warriors who had limped home from the battlefield, their wives and children, as well as the widows and orphans of those who returned no more.

Perhaps this was not the way to stimulate patriotism; but there is a stern honesty about it which deserves our admiration. The Act seems to say, 'It is true you have sent forth the sons and brothers of the hamlet to die for their country or to bleed in her cause. They have bled and they have died. But your duty does not end here. You must heal the wounds of the wounded. You must feed the widow and the orphan. We create no new legal machinery for this purpose. We simply fall back on the Act of Elizabeth, only modifying its action to meet a new emergency; and as you have heretofore met the wants of those who fell victims to the ordinary casualties which affect the labourers in your harvest-fields, now that the ploughshare has been formed into a sword and the reaping-hook into a spear, you shall meet the results of the ghastly toil in fields where they are themselves the crop, and Death the harvestman!'

It was only to be expected that a Parliament, which had sprung  
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into almost unlimited authority mainly as representing the national reaction against the semi-popery of the Laudian school, should not postpone to an indefinite period the great task of grappling with what they considered to be the abuses of Church government. The contrast, however, which exists between the spirit of Church reform then abroad, and the spirit of Church abolition in our own day, is too remarkable to be overlooked. The Parliament had signalised its first year of existence by the impeachment and imprisonment of Archbishop Laud; but it is remarkable that it was not till the summer of 1643 (10th June), that they sequestered his temporalities, and this because he refused to collate 'Edward Corbet, Fellow of Merton College in the University of Oxford, to the Rectory of Chartham in the county of Kent, void by death of Doctor Bargrave, the last incumbent.' They did not understand the great principle of religious equality in those days. Now-a-days the party which delights to identify itself with Cromwell and Hampden would be horrified at having any dealings in Church patronage. Then a chief crime in an archbishop was, not that he attempted to exercise patronage, but that he refused to exercise it in the direction required. Furthermore, it is worthy of notice that, while suspending the Archbishop himself from the exercise of his functions, the Act provides that his 'jurisdiction' shall continue to be exercised by his Vicar-General and other inferior officers.\*

The time, however, was now come for a deliberate attempt to review and reform the Church of England, and an Act was passed (12th June, 1643) for calling an Assembly of Divines to consult and advise the Houses of Parliament in their scheme of Church Reform, which, as the preamble declared, had for its object the abolition of Diocesan episcopacy, and the establishment of such Church government 'as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed Churches abroad.'

The result of the deliberations of this Assembly is well known. The Prayer-book was laid aside, 'not from any love of novelty

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\* An Act or Ordinance of 1653 contains the following remarkable recital:—

'Whereas for some time past there hath not been any certain course established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the Gospel, by reason whereof not only the rights and titles of patrons are prejudiced, but many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons have intruded themselves; &c. :—showing that there was no intention at that time to disturb the parochial system, except in the sense of putting an end to prelatical episcopacy. Patrons were to present, subject to the approval of a Board of Examiners, as patrons had theretofore presented subject to the approval of the Bishop.

or intention to disparage our first Reformers,\* and the Directory substituted. This Directory is printed at large in the Act by which it was introduced (26th April, 1645), and it contains the most minute regulations for divine service, quite as stringent and quite as methodical as any rubrician could desire.

Universal attendance is insisted on—‘the people ought all to come and join in public worship.’ All are ‘to enter the assembly not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their seats without adoration or bowing themselves towards one place or other.’ The minister is to begin with prayer; the people are to forbear reading anything except what the minister is then reading or citing, and abstain from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and ‘other indecent behaviour.’ The Scriptures are to be read by the pastors and teachers, and occasionally by those who ‘intend the ministry.’ The minister shall decide how large a portion to read; but ordinarily ‘where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord’s-day, it is to begin the next;’ a very different plan from the desultory practices of modern Dissent. ‘Regard is to be had to the time, that neither preaching or other ordinance be straitened or rendered tedious.’ Very full directions are given as to the matter of the prayer and the composition of the sermon. After sermon another prayer is to follow; then ‘let a Psalm be sung, if with conveniency it may be done;’ then ‘let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.’

Baptism is not to be administered by any private person nor privately, but ‘in the place of public worship and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear.’ The Communion or Supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated. Due notice being given, the Communicants are to sit ‘orderly’ about or at the table; the elements are to be ‘sanctified’ before distribution, and reference is made to a collection for the poor as forming part of the ceremony.

There is a very special paragraph on the Lord’s Day, which is of course to be observed according to the Puritan pattern. There is, however, great moderation in the phrases which enforce this observance, and a special provision is made as to diet, ‘as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day;’ a conscience clause which might well be introduced into households even where the masters do not take the same

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\* Preface to the Directory.

view of Sabbath observance' as was taken by the Long Parliament.

Next comes a series of directions as to the celebration of Marriage, in which the opinion is expressed that it is 'expedient that marriage be solemnised by a lawful minister of the Word,' not because of any sacramental character attaching to it, but on the broad view that those who marry are to 'marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, &c., from the Word of God:' the assumption throughout, not in this Act alone, but in the general spirit of the legislation of the time, being that the Church was co-extensive with the State. It is remarkable that the Act insists on the consent of parents and guardians for every first marriage, even when the parties are of full age, and provides against the abuses, which revived with the Restoration and lasted for another century, by insisting that the ceremony should be preceded by banns, and be performed at the 'place appointed by authority for public worship before a competent number of witnesses.' Fleet marriages did not suit the views of these God-fearing old legislators, and full provision was made for a registry.

The provisions for burial have an especial interest in these days.

'When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony.

'And because the customs of kneeling down and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, and before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

'Howbeit, we judge it very convenient that the Christian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion; and that the minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

'That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or differences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased whiles he was living.'

Funeral ceremonies in truth are a question of climate; and it is impossible for undertakers to flourish where all funeral ceremonies have to be compressed within twenty-four hours. We can see in these provisions that dread of the shadow of Popery

Popery which has not yet ceased to influence one side of the religious mind of England, and which, like all beliefs, sinks by a natural process of gravitation lower and lower into the strata of society, till at last it comes out most strongly in the lowest stratum.

There are provisions in the Act for Days of Humiliation and Days of Thanksgiving, and directions are given as to 'singing of Psalms,' which is to take place both publicly in the congregation and privately in the family.

'In singing of Psalms, the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be, to sing with understanding and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

'That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm-book; and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read.'

What would the authors of this provision say to their descendants, whose chief aim in education appears to be to exclude religion from all schools supported by the public rates?

The custom of reading the Psalm 'line by line,' which prevailed in Scotland up to the last generation, is enjoined in this Act, on the score of the illiteracy of the congregation. It led in Scotland to a droll result. The Precentor, in order, so to speak, not to lose his place in the tune, read each line in the note which was to be the first note when the line was sung, thus monotoning each line, though often each in a different note.

The Act concludes with an Appendix, part of which may be commended to the study of those who forget that consecration is only perpetual dedication, and that there is no consecration service *for places* in the formularies of the Church of England.

'As no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration, so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the public worship of God. And, therefore, we hold it requisite that the places of public assembly for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use.'

These last words are particularly curious when taken in connection with an Act passed in the preceding year (28th August, 1643), and entitled 'Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry to be demolished.' By this Act altars were decreed to be abolished, communion tables removed from the east end to the body of the church, rails taken away, and chancels, if raised during

During the last twenty years, restored to their original level. It was also provided that tapers, candlesticks, basins, crucifixes, crosses, images and pictures of saints, and also 'superstitious inscriptions,' should be removed. These enactments were the natural consequence of Laud's innovations, but it is to be noticed that the Act contains an express injunction that 'the walls, windows, grounds, and other places, which shall be broken, impaired or altered . . . shall be made up and repaired in good and sufficient manner,' at the cost of the parish or other public body, and that family monuments are not to be disturbed.

When Laud's alterations were made in 1633, the removal of ancient monuments had been 'resented by some considerable families,' as Neal tells us, and many ministers and churchwardens had been excommunicated, fined, and forced to do penance for neglecting his injunctions, which probably gave rise to this exception in favour of family monuments. The provision that all alterations should be made good, points to the intention of retaining the parochial system, so far at least as the churches were concerned, but does not agree with the popular notions now prevalent as to desecration and dilapidation of churches supposed to have been committed by the Parliamentary party.\*

The first Act of this nature does not appear to have had all the success its promoters desired; for in the next year (9th May, 1644), we find another enactment of a similar character, but extending the sentence of doom to copes, surplices, fonts and organs. The reservation as to private monuments is in this second Act re-enacted.

This keen hostility to what were considered Popish practices, however, did not indicate any notion on the part of the Reformers that endowments were wrongful, or to be appropriated to secular purposes. They boldly said in an Act of the same year (8th November, 1644), that

'Whereas divers persons . . . taking advantage of the present distractions, and aiming at their own profit, have refused to pay tithes . . . to which they are the more encouraged, both because there is not now any such compulsory means for recovery of them by any ecclesiastical proceedings as heretofore hath been, and also for that by reason of the present troubles there cannot be had speedy remedy for them in the Temporal courts, although they still remain due and of right payable as in former times, . . . be it declared, &c., that

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\* The writer remembers to have seen part of the wall of a church pulled down, which turned out to have been composed almost entirely of fragments of canopies evidently built in immediately after having been broken up, the gilding and colouring being perfectly fresh and untarnished.



tithes shall be paid to all and every the respective owners . . . well lay as ecclesiastical respectively.'

And they provided a very summary remedy for non-payment.

In those days the Reformers had not got so far as modern Liberationists, who 'recommend that the property should be vested in local authorities, and the income devoted to purposes in which all parishioners and burgesses have a common interest;\*' and it is remarkable that even in the cases of archbishops and bishops, although their property was handed over to trustees when their titles and offices were abolished, there was a special reservation made in respect of charitable and pious uses, when any such were maintained by payments out of bishops' lands; and among these pious uses are specified the reparation of any church or chapel, and the payment of lecturers and preachers, not to speak of the maintenance of grammar schools and almshouses, which perhaps might come under the novel category of 'purposes in which parishioners have a common interest.' Moreover, in the Act for the sale of bishops' lands (November 1646), the buildings, fabric, and site of cathedrals, and any other churches, churchyards, or places used for burial, are directed not to be sold.

Nor was this care of the buildings confined to cathedrals and churches more immediately connected with cathedrals, for in February, 1647-8, we find an Act which provides for the levying of church-rates from the same class of persons and for the identical purposes with those of the modern church-rates, the compulsion to pay which has been so lately abolished. This Act is intitled for the upholding and keeping all parish churches and chapels within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales from utter ruin and decay, and for payment of Church duties, among which duties are specified the providing of books for the church, bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, and repair of the walls of the burying ground.

While the fabrics and services were thus cared for, provision was made, exactly in the spirit of the present Ecclesiastical Commission, for the improvement of poor livings. In an Act of June, 1649, 200,000*l.* was set apart, together with sums to be derived from bishops' tithes; 2000*l.* to augment the incomes of heads of colleges, and 18,000*l.* to augment poor livings and preacherships, so as to make the income not less than 100*l.* a year. The local character of the payment was preserved as far as possible by first applying the impropriate tithes of the parish, whatever it might be, to the augmentation of the minister's income,

\* R. W. Dale, 'Fortnightly Review,' March, 1876.

And then, if necessary, taking further money from the common fund of bishops' tithes. Provision was attempted to be made in the same Act for 'finding out' the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings; a proceeding which has, perhaps, not even yet been in all cases successfully accomplished.

It is, of course, very easy to accuse these old Reformers of hypocrisy and all kinds of vices; and so long as their enemies were their historians, they had no great chance of absolution from such charges: but no one can read these Acts without seeing the serious and solemn frame of mind in which they were devised. Nor were their aims confined to the spiritual enlightenment of their own land alone. In one of their Acts is to be traced the germ of the first Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, fifty years before that Society came into being. This Act is intitled, 'A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England;' and its preamble, though somewhat lengthy, is so interesting as a record of the thoughts of the time, that we ask our readers' permission to reprint it. It runs thus, in somewhat halting syntax, but unmistakable meaning:—

'Whereas the Commons of England assembled in Parliament has received certain intelligence, by the testimonial of divers faithful and godly ministers and others in New England, that divers the heathen natives of that country, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English of this nation, who preach the Gospel to them in their own Indian language, who not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries, and other Satanical delusions, do now call upon the name of the Lord, . . . with tears lamenting their ill-spent lives, teaching their children what they are instructed in themselves, being careful to place their children in godly English families and to put them to English schools, betaking themselves to one wife, putting away the rest, and by their constant prayers to Almighty God morning and evening in their families, expressed (in all appearance) with much devotion and zeal of heart; all which considered . . . be it . . . enacted,' &c.

The enacting clauses create a corporation with power to hold land to the amount of 2000*l.* a year, as well as other property, to be applied 'to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the natives, and also for maintaining of schools and nurseries of learning for the better education of the children of the natives;' and the Act concludes with provisions for a general collection under what would now be called a 'Queen's letter.'\* Being

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\* This Society still exists under the name of 'The New England Company.' It was incorporated by charter under Charles II. in 1662, and has since been regulated

Being anxious for the spiritual enlightenment of other nations, it is not unnatural that the Long Parliament should have taken a keen interest in the morality of its own. Accordingly we find, very early in its history, an Act for the 'Restraint of several evils on the Lord's Day;' later, as its correlative, an Act for abolishing festivals; Acts for punishing blasphemy and heresy; an Act for the punishment of sexual immoralities; and Acts against profane swearing and drunkenness: the very titles of these Acts indicating that, in Puritan views, the distinction between sin and crime was not clearly marked. The Act for the restraint of evils on the Lord's Day takes, as does the Directory to which we have before referred, the Puritan view of sabbatical duty, forbids all selling of wares, and all travelling (in the sense of travelling) on that day, and stops wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure or pastime, masks, wakes, 'church-ales,' dancing, and sports and pastimes of whatever nature. It is particularly severe against May-poles, 'a heathenish vanity, generally abused to superstition and wickedness,' all which 'vanities' it strictly orders to be taken down; and it strictly enjoins that the King's Declaration concerning wakes and use of exercise and recreation on the Lord's Day, together with that more notorious publication called the 'Book of Sports,' and any other books or pamphlets of a like tendency, be called in, seized, suppressed, and publicly burnt.

There is, however, a reservation as to the sale of milk, and a provision that nothing in the Act should be taken to prohibit 'dressing of meat in private families, or the dressing and sale of victuals in a moderate way in inns or victualling-houses, for the use of such as cannot be otherwise provided for;' meaning, we suppose, a character which has caused much painful discussion both in and out of Parliament in later times—that is, the *bonâ fide* traveller. One other provision of this Act deserves notice. It is that 'all rogues, vagabonds, and beggars, do on every Sabbath Day repair to some church or chapel, and remain there soberly and orderly during the time of divine service.' The object of this provision appears to have been that of keeping an eye on the dangerous classes, and preventing them from taking advantage of the piety of their churchgoing fellow-citizens.

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regulated by three decrees in Chancery, dated 1792, 1808, and 1836. It possessed land in Suffolk, which was sold in 1869 to Dhuleep Singh for 120,000*l.*, and it has other property both in land and money. The proceeds are mostly applicable to promoting and propagating the Gospel of Christ among the heathen natives in what was formerly called New England, and parts adjacent in America. Its management has always been confined to a mixed body of Churchmen and Dissenters, and we believe that its funds have been applied in a very catholic spirit to the objects contemplated in the trusts under which it was constituted.

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This Act was supplemented, in 1650, by one of a still more stringent nature, forbidding journeys by land or water, frequenting taverns, dancing, and grinding corn; and applying to days of public humiliation or thanksgiving, as well as to the Lord's Day.

Correlative to the establishment of the Judaical Sabbath was the *disestablishment* of the Saint's Day. Accordingly in 1647 we find a short but most pregnant Act, abolishing all festivals. These days, however, had been in England, as they still are in other countries, what we now call Bank Holidays; and it was not likely that a Government who relied so much on the public opinion of London should forget the interests of the London 'prentices. To make up, therefore, to this powerful body for the loss of their Saints' Days, it was enacted that all scholars, apprentices, and other servants, should have the first Tuesday in every month in substitution, for purposes of recreation, for the Saints' Days of which they were deprived, and by an afterthought it was provided that all shops should be shut on these days. In fact, the Long Parliament anticipated Sir John Lubbock, giving twelve holidays in the year, while he, even including Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, and Whit Monday, only provides seven.\*

Since the three trials of William Hone, there has, we believe, been no criminal prosecution for blasphemy or heresy. To any one who reads those trials, it is evident that his offence was really not theological but political; that he travestied the Creed, not to cast ridicule on Christianity, but to annoy the Tories. It is probable, even without any change of the law, that no such legal process will ever again take place. That, however, was not the view or the intention of the legislators of the Commonwealth. In their Act on the subject (1648), there is an 'enumeration of errors,' which, if held, subjected their maintainers to the 'pain of death as in case of felony without benefit of clergy.' These errors include a denial of the Doctrine of the Trinity, a denial of the Atonement, a denial of the resurrection

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\* We find however that, in 1650, Sir Henry Mildmay had 'to report to Parliament that there was very wilful and strict observation of the day commonly called Christmas Day, throughout the cities of London and Westminster, by a general keeping of shops shut up; and that there were contemptuous speeches used by some in favour thereof, which Council conceives to be upon the old grounds of superstition and malignancy, and tending to the avowing of the same, and contempt of the present laws and Government; and therefore requests Parliament to consider further provisions and penalties for abolishing and punishing these old superstitious observations.'—*Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1650, p. 484. This Report was ordered to be communicated to Parliament December 26, the day after Christmas Day; so that the Council of State seem to have acted with considerable promptitude.

of the body, a denial of a day of final assize, and a denial of the divine authority of the Canonical Books of Scripture. Nor does the 'syllabus' cease here, for there is a subsidiary list which includes all the prominent tenets of Romanists, Independents — so far as Church government is concerned — Baptists and Quakers, and subjects all who hold them to imprisonment until recantation.

It was reserved for Cromwell to establish the great principle of liberty of conscience, but the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Presbyterians of the Commonwealth was scarcely less grinding than the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Star Chamber. Under a theocracy all sins are crimes, and the natural tendency of Puritanism, derived as its views of civil government were from the maxims of the law of Moses, was to confound moral and civil misdeeds. Accordingly, we find that violations of the moral law, such as are now disposed of by an inferior judge in the 'Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division,' were treated as crimes, and were punishable with death as felony without benefit of clergy, while misdeeds of a similar but more venial nature involved the parties in the risk of three months' imprisonment. Hawthorne's 'Scarlet Letter' might have had its scene laid in England in the days of the Commonwealth; and even profane swearing had its tariff of fines graduated according to the social position of the offender. A lord forfeits thirty shillings for the first offence; a baronet or knight twenty shillings; an esquire ten shillings; a gentleman six-and-eightpence; all inferiors three-and-fourpence, and double for the second and subsequent offences.

The sentence—

'That in the captain's but a choleric word,  
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy,'

is in this sliding scale most grotesquely reversed; but we trace in the enactment that dread of sins of the tongue, which, to their honour, has always characterised English Nonconformists. It does not appear, however, that the efforts of the Parliament were entirely successful in the matter of cursing and swearing, for in the Ordinances of 1654 we find one which in its preamble gives a very unfavourable view of the morality of one class at least of the lieges, reciting as it does, that 'several persons, as carmen, porters, watermen, and others who are employed upon the keys, as also upon the river of Thames . . . are very ordinarily drunk, and do also prophane and blaspheme the Holy name of God by cursing and swearing.' This Ordinance gives the Commissioners of Customs the powers of justices of the peace,  
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and authorises them to depute to any of their subordinates the duty of apprehending offenders of the above-named sort, without special warrant, creating, in fact, a local police with peculiar functions. Whether this second enactment was more successful than the first may be considered problematical, for the Thames 'bargee' has an historical reputation for foulness of speech—in fact, he has always been the male variety of the Billingsgate fish-woman.

A Government which undertakes the regulation of opinion is logically bound to exercise some supervision of the Press. We accordingly find that one of the first cares of the Long Parliament was to pass an Act—not the only one which they passed on this subject—having for its object the control of Printing. It provides for the licensing of all books before printing, and for their being entered at Stationers' Hall, 'according to ancient custom,' with the printer's name. It also authorises the destruction of all unlicensed presses, and of all books irregularly printed. Whether this Act succeeded in its object, or not, may be open to grave question. One result, however, not anticipated by its authors, it did produce, as but for it the world would never have seen that majestic piece of English composition, 'Areopagitica, or a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.' In a literary point of view, the 'Areopagitica' is peculiarly interesting, as it is, perhaps, the first piece of English prose exhibiting the full power of our language in the condition to which it attained after having pretty fully assimilated and absorbed those vast additions which it received at the time of the revival of learning. Political, scientific, and, above all, theological terms passed in numbers out of Greek and Latin into the English literary language of the sixteenth century. Some were accepted—many, after trial, were rejected; but to the careful student it will be evident that, by Milton's time and in Milton's hands, there are very few words made use of which do not, in the same or a kindred sense, still form part of the English language. But the 'Areopagitica' has a higher claim on our attention than that of its literary interest. It is a grand and noble oration in defence and in praise of the rights of free thought and free expression. We may not see the force of Milton's argument from the practice of antiquity, still less may we understand those literary habits of thought which made indiscriminate quotations from ancient historians and fathers an almost necessary part of a treatise on any subject of the theological or political interest; but we must marvel at the superb dignity of his language, the rhythmical march of his sentences, and the glow of imaginative colouring which transfuses all his thought.

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It does not, however, appear that the first attempt of the Commonwealth to check inconvenient controversy was successful; and in 1647 we find another Act directed against 'unlicensed or scandalous pamphlets,' and also specially against ballad-singers, who no doubt found plenty of scope for ridicule in the starched preciseness of the Roundheads. Yet again, in the autumn of 1649, we find a further enactment (itself renewed in 1652), longer and more elaborate than its predecessor, and directed not only against books, pamphlets, and ballads, but against news-sheets, and importation of books from abroad.

It must not, however, be supposed that the legislators who sat in the Long Parliament were careless of the claims of literature. As early as 1643 we find an Act which provides especially that no Committees for sequestration shall sell, or otherwise disperse or dispose of, any manuscripts, proceedings of courts, evidences of lands, or other kinds of writings; and further that where whole libraries and choice collections of printed books are sequestered, they shall be disposed in some safe place, there to remain for public or other use. This is ordered on the express ground that the dispersion of such literary treasures 'may be much more disadvantageous and prejudicial to the public (both for the present and to posterity) . . . than the benefit of the sale can any ways recompense;' and there is an injunction to all officers and soldiers to take like care for the preservation of such books, manuscripts, &c., 'both from sale or other dispersion of them, as also from spoil and destruction.' Here we see the first idea of a public library, and it is to be observed that in the Act which specifies what part of the personal property of the late King should be sold, 'the library of (St.) James's Houses' is excepted, probably with the view of making it the nucleus of some public collection of books.

The Act to which we have just referred is explanatory of one passed about six months after the King's death, providing for the sale of the personal, as a succeeding Act provided for the sale of the real property of the Crown. Besides this reservation of a library, further reservations are made of 'such parcels thereof as shall be found necessary to be reserved for the uses of State . . . not exceeding the value of ten thousand pounds;' but a provision is made that rarities or antiquities may be transported for sale to foreign parts on this ground, curiously inapplicable to modern England, that 'though by reason of their rarity or antiquity they may yield very great prices in foreign parts, where such things are much valued, yet for particular men's use in England they would be accounted little worth, and so yield no considerable price if they should be forthwith sold here.' Under this provision  
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it may be supposed that the pictures were sold to go abroad, a loss to the country which has been often since regretted. Nineteen of them are said to be in the Louvre, forty-four at Madrid, three or four at Vienna, and two at St. Petersburg.\*

A dislike, amounting almost to abhorrence, of all dramatic representations has always characterised the Puritan party in the Church of England, as well as those great bodies of religionists who have stood apart from that communion. The causes of this dislike are no doubt various. One cause, which has not been sufficiently noticed, is that the Mysteries and Miracle Plays, which were the earliest stage-shows known in this country, were part and parcel of the ritual of the pre-Reformation Church, and, as such, were looked upon with dislike and distrust by the religious reformers. Another cause was, as Mrs. Hutchinson says, that 'every stage . . . belcht forth prophane scoffs upon the Puritans . . . all fidlers and mimicks learnt to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling.' But the chief reason, and also the reason most creditable to the Puritan party, was their conviction of the inherent immorality of the stage. That it was originally Popish was one cause of dislike, that it slandered and satirised them was a second, but that it was offensive to God and destructive of the best interests of man was, and has always been, the chief cause of this prepossession, prejudice, or call it what we please, against dramatic performances. Hence it is not to be wondered at that, as early as the beginning of 1648, a stern edict should have passed for the suppression of all stage-plays and interludes; an Act passed the autumn before having probably not been stringent enough. It goes direct to its mark, by declaring all stage-players to be rogues within the meaning of the statutes of Elizabeth and James; and it further provides for the immediate destruction of all play-houses in Middlesex and Surrey, and the open and public whipping of the actors on proof of any performance within two months of the passing of the Act, or any time there-

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\* Murray's 'Handbook of Russia,' p. 91. The 'Parliamentary History' tells us the prices at which many of the pictures were appraised, and at which they were sold, mostly varying from 100*l.* to 200*l.*; the cartoons fetched 300*l.* What were sold seem to have fetched prices not much higher than those at which they were appraised. There are, however, two remarkable exceptions to the general scale of prices. A 'Madonna by Raphael' sold for 2000*l.*, and a 'Venus by Correggio' for 1000*l.* Raphael's 'St. George' only fetched 150*l.* It is possible that by a misprint a cypher has been added in the two cases above mentioned, for in spite of what Hume says about the 'very low prices' at which these pictures were disposed of, it must be remembered that in those days 200*l.* for a work of art implied an appreciation of it very different from what it would imply in these days.

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after. Playgoers were not to escape; but to be fined five shillings to the use of the poor of the parish.

The severity which pursued the player did not lose sight of his near relation the minstrel, who, however, escaped notice for some years, as the first Act, or rather Ordinance, which touches his case was not passed till 1656, but then,

‘If any person or persons commonly called fiddlers or minstrels . . . be taken playing, fiddling, and making musick in any inn, ale-house, or tavern, or shall be taken proffering themselves, or desiring, or intreating any person or persons to hear them play or make musick in any of the places aforesaid, they shall . . . be proceeded against and punished as rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars.’

If music was criminal, so was dancing,—at least round May-poles—which, as early as 1644, are denounced (as we have before noticed) as ‘a heathenish vanity, generally abused to superstition and wickedness.’ Nor were horse-racing and cock-fighting left unnoticed. For some reason or other, horse-races were forbidden only for six months by a temporary Act in 1654, but in the same year a very stringent Ordinance was passed prohibiting ‘cock-matches,’ on the ground that such meetings ‘are by experience found to tend . . . to the disturbance of the publique peace, and are commonly accompanied with gaming, drinking, swearing, quarrelling, and other dissolute practices.’ No doubt, also, such meetings were made use of as a cover for assemblies of a political nature.

We have been led rather out of the lines between which we intended to confine ourselves, in noticing Acts and Ordinances which rather illustrate the spirit of Puritanism than the spirit of the times of the Commonwealth. But there are some Acts which deserve our notice for the way in which they grappled with subjects of great public importance, subjects too, some of which up to this hour have never met with a satisfactory solution. To two of these subjects, the law of Marriage and the law of Registration, we have before alluded, as they are both touched upon, and to a certain degree provided for, in an Act of 1644. It may, however, be supposed that such provisions were likely to receive but scant attention in the troublous decade which thenceforward ensued. Accordingly, in 1653 we find another Act entirely devoted to these two subjects, and containing most specific and minute provisions to insure regularity and uniformity of practice. In the matter of marriage the regulations are these:

After three weeks’ notice to the registrar (an officer appointed by the Act), specifying the names and abodes of the parties, and of their parents and guardians, the banns were to be published three Sundays consecutively following, either at the ‘church or chappel,’

Chappel,' at the close of the 'morning exercise,' or, if the parties so desire it, in 'the market place next to the said church or Chappel on three market days in three several weeks next following between the hours of eleven and two.' The parties are then to come before a Justice of the Peace of the county or town where the notices were given, produce a certificate from the registrar of the publication of the notices, satisfy the Justice of the consent of their parents or guardians, and then distinctly pronounce these words; the man as follows:—

'I, A. B. do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee, C. D., for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband.' The woman in like manner, substituting in the last clause the words 'loving, faithful and obedient wife' for 'loving and faithful husband.' On this the Justice of Peace is to declare them married; and this was to be the only legal form of marriage 'within the Commonwealth of England.'

The same Act provides the machinery for a registry of births, marriages, and burials, the fee charged being 4*d.*, 1*s.*, and 4*d.* respectively: but it has taken nearly two centuries to carry out the plan of a national registration, a plan which this Act contemplated, and, so far as possible, accomplished. Had it remained in force, it is impossible to calculate how many families would have been saved from domestic tragedies, how many expensive and irritating pieces of litigation would have been avoided, not to mention how many novels would have been deprived of their most romantic though not least ordinary material for plot-weaving.

Perhaps there is no subject on which the old Romans showed their practical sense more remarkably than in their highways, which, as all men know, still traverse all parts of Europe, and of which, even in England, so many vestiges remain. But it was not without reason that the Ordinance of 1654, cap. 3, observed in its preamble that 'the several statutes now in force for mending highways are found by experience not to have produced such good reformation as was thereby intended.' Accordingly, provision is made in all parishes for the annual appointment of surveyors of the highways, who are to be able and sufficient householders, with a money qualification, and a penalty on refusing to serve. The duties of these surveyors extend to the repair of bridges and watercourses, and to the abatement of all nuisances. Stock-in-trade as well as land was to be rateable, the rates to go as high as 1*s.* in the pound yearly. Powers are given to cleanse and divert watercourses, to

cut trees, and to dig gravel and other road-stuff even in other parishes. The principle of a union of parishes for purposes of rating is also sanctioned, being, in fact, the very principle the absence of which has caused so much hardship in cases where, on the abolition of turnpikes, a single parish has had cast upon it the burden of maintaining roads which are used by other parishes who do not contribute. Very large powers are given for urban taxation in the matter to which the Act refers, and charitable gifts for amending highways are put under the control of the Quarter Sessions.

We may observe in passing that, by an Act or Ordinance passed in the same year, 1654, provision was made for the union of parishes for spiritual purposes, and also for their division where needed. The tendency of modern legislation, influenced by the abuses of the system of pluralities, has perhaps been too much in the direction of division, for it may be doubted whether there are not many country parishes where a union of two or three, or even more, under one experienced and well paid clergyman, with a staff of one or more curates or assistants, would not be productive of greater spiritual and social advantages to the united parishioners than can now be obtained under a system which involves so many pauperised incumbents with little or no work to do. On the other hand, division, where it was really necessary in places of vast population, has hardly ever taken place, except in the case of the Million Act of Queen Anne, until our own day.

Scattered up and down in Scobell's folio we see hints of the views which the Long Parliament legislators took of education. They do not seem to have participated, as to endowments, in the views of those who consider themselves their representatives nowadays. The Act for the sale of bishops' lands, as well as that for abolishing deans and chapters, and applying their property to other purposes, specially excludes any interference with the revenue of grammar schools; while an Act passed in 1649 provides an endowment from the sale of the lands of the Archbishop and of the Chapter of Dublin, to be applied to the use of Trinity College, Dublin, and to the foundation of a free school there. Moreover, in 1654 a Commission, consisting of the more eminent members and office-bearers of the two Universities, had confided to them a task at which we are still busy, namely, 'to consider of the best ways for regulating and well-governing the Universities, and to examine what Statutes are fit to be abrogated, altered, or added to . . . in matters of religion, manners, discipline, and exercises.' To them also was confided the task of explaining such statutes as were ambiguous  
or

or obscure; they had a power of determining appeals, and a visitatorial power over the great schools of Westminster, Winchester, Merchant Taylors', and Eton, 'for the better advancement of piety, learning, and good nurture' therein.

It has been reserved for a more complicated state of society to elaborate by slow degrees the law affecting those who are unable to discharge the pecuniary liabilities they have incurred. By slow degrees, imprisonment for debt, except where non-payment involves contempt of court, has been entirely abolished. The Long Parliament, however, seem to have felt either the cruelty or the uselessness of shutting up in prison those who have no means of payment, and they accordingly passed an Act (1649, c. 56) for the relief of poor prisoners. This Act empowered the Judge of the court from which the process originally issued, and where the cause of action was originally for debt, to administer an oath to the prisoner by which he proclaimed himself not worth five pounds besides necessary wearing apparel, bedding, and tools, upon which, unless the detaining creditor within a month denied the truth of such oath, the prisoner was to be released.

Among amendments of the law devised by the Long Parliament is one which, however much it commends itself to the common sense of mankind, has not yet been entirely carried out. All proceedings at law were to be in English, and the hand 'called Court hand' was no longer to be used in legal documents, but 'an ordinary, usual, and legible hand and character' was to be substituted for it. That law proceedings shall be entirely in English is a reform of the present century, and it is open to question whether the hand in which deeds are still engrossed is worthy of the name of an ordinary, usual, and legible character. It was not until eighty years had elapsed from the time of Cromwell that a first step was again taken to substitute English for Latin in law proceedings. By the statute 4 Geo. II. c. 26, this change was made, but the difficulty of translating technical phrases into the vulgar tongue necessitated an amendment (6 Geo. II. c. 14) which, according to Blackstone, 'almost defeated every beneficial purpose of the former statute.' He writes, however, with a strongly conservative tendency, for in the same page he laments over the prohibition of the use of the 'ancient immutable court hand.\*' There is a story in 'Pepys' Journal' which shows that, in his opinion at least, the change made by the Long Parliament had been a beneficial one, for he relates, with apparent regret, that a cousin of his, who had been made a Justice of the Peace, hesitated about accepting the post on the

\* Blackstone's 'Commentaries,' book iii. c. 21.

ground that legal proceedings were no longer, as they had been, carried on in English.\*

The state of society during the Commonwealth was just of that character most likely to lead to private quarrels arising out of public disagreements. Duelling, which has survived in other countries, and which in ours has only died out with the present generation, would be certain to become rife where grim Round-heads were constantly jostling high-spirited Cavaliers, and the Act of 1654, c. 56, 'against Challenges, Duels, and all provocations thereto,' recites the fact that the fighting of duels is a growing evil in the nation. It deals with it in a most summary way, punishing the carrier of a challenge with six months' imprisonment, and the receiver of a challenge with a like penalty if within four-and-twenty hours he do not make discovery of the same. The Act further declares that if death ensues in a duel it is to be punished as murder. Corresponding provisions are made for the punishment of persons using disgraceful or provoking words or gestures. The preamble puts duelling on its proper ground, as 'a thing in itself displeasing to God, unbecoming Christians, and contrary to all good order and government;' an expression of opinion which it has taken two centuries of settled government in this country to reduce to practice.

We propose to notice two more Acts of the Long Parliament.

One of these is a long and most elaborate Act for the discouragement of building in and near London. It begins by reciting that 'the great and excessive number of houses . . . erected and new built in and about the suburbs . . . is found to be very mischievous and inconvenient, and a great annoyance and nuisance to the commonwealth,' and proceeds to impose fines amounting to a year's rent on all such houses built since 1620 within ten miles of the walls, except where surrounded by four acres of freehold land belonging to the owner thereof. This seems absurd enough: but the dread and dislike of great cities is as old as Juvenal, and did not die with Cowper; besides which, under a despotism, such as the Commonwealth must be held to have been in 1656, the ruling powers have a natural distrust of popular assemblages; and anything which tends to create them, such as the growth of a great city, is of course discouraged. It is to be observed, however, that in this Act is contained a provision which, if it had continued to have the force of law, might have prevented the Fire of London. It is as follows:

\* Pepys' cousin resided in the hamlet of *Hatcham*, which, though in the parish of Deptford, is in the county of Surrey. He was made a magistrate for Kent, and the same difficulty arose which has since arisen in the case of Mr. Tooth, who, though holding an incumbency in the parish of Deptford, had still, as residing in Surrey, to go to Horsemonger Lane Gaol.

‘And for the prevention of the burning and firing of houses, and the preservation and saving of timber for the future . . . all houses’ . . . in or about London . . . ‘shall be built with brick or stone or both, and straight up, without butting or jutting out into the street.’

This is a remarkable anticipation of the Acts under which district surveyors at present exercise their powers in the Metropolis.

The last Act which we shall notice is entitled ‘Postage of England, Scotland, and Ireland settled.’ It begins by reciting the various advantages, social, commercial and political, of a General Post Office. It creates such an office, and appoints an officer, to be called the Post Master General, to whom shall be committed the duty of transmitting letters as well as of providing horses for travellers ‘riding post.’

The rates of postage are very simply arranged, and are contained in the following Table:—

Inland Postage.	Single Letter.	Double Letter.	Packet of larger Bulk.
To or from London:—	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	per oz. <i>s. d.</i>
Under 80 miles .. ..	0 2	0 4	0 8
Above 80 miles .. ..	0 3	0 6	1 0
To or from Scotland .. ..	0 4	0 8	1 6
To or from Ireland .. ..	0 6	1 0	2 0
In Ireland.			
To and from Dublin:—			
Under 40 miles .. ..	0 2	0 4	0 8
Above 40 miles .. ..	0 3	0 6	1 0

With proportionate rates for letters more than double.

Foreign Postage.	Single Letter.	Double Letter.	Packet of Larger Bulk.
Leghorn, Geneva, Florence, } Lyons, Marseilles, Smyrna, } Aleppo, Constantinople.. .. }	<i>s. d.</i> 1 0	<i>s. d.</i> 2 0	per oz. <i>s. d.</i> 3 9
Bordeaux, Rochelle, Nantes, } Bayonne, Cadiz, Madrid .. }	0 9	1 6	2 0
St. Malo, Morlaise, Newhaven } (Havre) .. .. .. . }	0 6	1 0	1 6
Hamburg, Frankfort, Cologne ..	0 8	1 4	2 0
Dantzic, Leipsic, Lubeck, Stock- } holm, Copenhagen, Elsinore, } Queensborough (Königsberg) }	1 0	2 0	4 0

For persons riding post, 2½d. the mile for each horse, besides the ‘guide groat’ for every stage.

It cannot be affirmed that the foregoing tariff entirely anticipates Sir R. Hill’s principle of charging by weight irrespective of

of distance, but it is, at all events, a close approximation to it. Comparing the charge for *posting* with the charge for *postage*, it will be seen that, while the charge for *posting* was about one-fourth of what it is at present, the charge for *postage*, assuming a 'single letter' to represent something nearly equivalent to one half-ounce in weight, is four times the present charge. This is, of course, to be accounted for by the cost of transit, the number of letters carried being, of course, very small, and the journeys very expensive. It appears, however, that, until 1765, there were only two rates in England; while, in 1827, there were no less than fourteen rates of postage, varying from 4*d.* to 17*d.* according to distance, a curious departure from the simple rates of the Commonwealth.\*

Mr. Bisset, in a book, the title of which will be found at the head of this article, has made use of some new and very interesting materials for the history of the Commonwealth. They consist of the Minutes of the Council of State, contained in forty MS. volumes of the original draft Order Books of that Council. Since the publication of his second volume, now ten years ago, two large volumes have been published by the Master of the Rolls, containing the principal contents of those Order Books for the years 1649-50. It would appear from the Preface, as also from Mr. Bisset's observations, that this, the first Council of State, which came into being almost immediately after the King's death, and which consisted of about forty members, nominated by Parliament and annually elected, really possessed a majority in Parliament, so that its ordinances, and those of its lineal successors, as well as those of the smaller body which afterwards came into existence, and which is known by the name of Cromwell's Council, were, in effect, the main-spring of Parliamentary action. But whether the Acts of the 'Interregnum' Parliaments be considered to have arisen *mero motu* from those bodies themselves, or to have been in part or entirely the mere registration of Ordinances of the Councils of State, there can be no doubt that they exhibit, in a very striking fashion, the results of the thought of the time. For this reason they appear to present many points worthy of notice, some of which we have laid before our readers, simply in an historical shape, and with no desire to draw any moral. It must, however, be admitted that, in many respects, the age of the Commonwealth was an age of social progress, and that, however little we may feel disposed to follow its political precedents, we cannot fail to be interested by its social experiments.

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\* See Porter's 'Progress of the Nation,' ed. 1851, p. 716.

- ART. VII.—1. *History of the Life and Times of James Madison.*  
By William C. Rives. Volume I. Boston, 1859.
2. *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison, Fourth President of the United States.* In four volumes. Published by Order of Congress. Philadelphia, 1867.

THE two books before us form a valuable contribution to a period of history too little known to the majority of educated Englishmen. We in this country have, for the most part, what may be called an intermittent knowledge of American history. The romance which surrounded the early settlers, the fate of Gilbert, the adventures of Smith, and the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, are almost as familiar to Englishmen as the burning of Cranmer, or the trial of Strafford. Then, for most readers, the stream of American history loses itself in the earth, and re-appears at Bunker's Hill. But there is another side of the subject, fraught with the deepest interest for students of constitutional history, which has hardly received due attention. The history of the United States is pre-eminently the history of the growth of institutions. We there see going on before our eyes those processes which, among the long-settled nations of the Old World, can only be known by their faintly-marked traces in the past. The history of the American colonies before the Declaration of Independence shows, as no other history does, the actual birth and growth of representative Government. There can be few more attractive subjects of study than the various steps by which the different colonies took up the institutions of the mother-country, and adapted them to their special wants. Yet even this fails to equal in interest the later period of American constitutional history. Most English readers, we fear, feel that the history of the contest for independence ends with the final triumph of the colonists. It would be nearer the truth to regard the war as a prelude to one of the most deeply interesting chapters which the constitutional history of any nation can lay before us. The formation of the Federal Constitution was, beyond doubt, the greatest and most arduous political experiment, and, if we measure the difficulties surmounted, may be fairly called the most successful one, which history records. In this, too, as in all great political changes, the interest does not end with the formal conclusion of the contest. The process by which the Federal Constitution was fashioned and determined really lasted through the presidencies of Washington and Adams, and only ended with the triumph of the Democrats under Jefferson.



If we had to single out one person who might fitly serve as a central figure for a political sketch of this period, our choice would probably fall upon Madison. This is due rather to the nature, than the extent, of his abilities. The generation of statesmen among whom he moved included many great names, and posterity will probably assign to Madison a place below at least three of his contemporaries. Even if he had possessed such qualities, his career gave him no opportunity of displaying the unwearied public spirit, the dauntless and patient courage, the pure and unselfish patriotism of Washington. He had none of that eager enthusiasm for party, that ardent faith in the future of his country, and that sympathy both with the nobler and the baser passions of mankind, which made Jefferson the founder and leader of American democracy. With Hamilton he had more in common. Yet Madison could claim but a small share in that far-sighted political wisdom to which every page of American history bears witness. But, in one sense, Madison was a more representative statesman than any of these. There probably was never a time at which he did not, better than any other living man, embody the views of a majority of educated American citizens. This it is which gives so much interest to the history of his political conduct and opinions, and it is from this point of view that we propose to consider his career.

James Madison was born in Virginia in 1751. He was descended from one of the earliest settlers, Captain Isaac Madison, the founder of a family, in which James Madison was only the foremost among several distinguished members. Of his early days there is little to tell. His education began at the school of a learned Scotch emigrant. In 1769 he was sent to the College at Princeton, beyond the limits of his native State. The principal, Dr. Witherspoon, was, like Madison's first teacher, a Scotch emigrant. A few years later he was called to a wider sphere of activity in the Revolutionary Congress, and his name is among those appended to the Declaration of Independence. We may suppose that his influence did something towards determining the future career of his pupil. Yet Madison's letters show no greater interest in the questions of the day than would be ordinarily found in an intelligent and well-educated lad. One characteristic anecdote of Madison's youth, significant of his future career, is oddly enough omitted by Mr. Rives, though it rests on no worse authority than that of John Quincy Adams. Dr. Witherspoon said of him that he 'never knew him say or do an indiscreet thing.' It is consoling to find that the case of a model young man is not always desperate. Probably, however, Mr. Rives has acted for the best interests of  
mankind

mankind in withholding so dangerous a precedent. With such a disposition it was well that the conditions of Madison's early life were not such as to stimulate mere intellectual precocity at the expense of his powers of action. His somewhat weak health and his retiring temper might have allowed him to settle down as a quiet student, had not his lot been cast in a time when

'The forward youth that would appear,  
Must now forsake his Muses dear.'

Madison had little more than completed his college career when his country needed in some way or other the services of every patriotic citizen. In the actual events of the War of Independence Madison's part, though subordinate, was not unimportant. Even if it had been less prominent, we must remember that he and his contemporaries were trained into statesmen by the struggle for independence, and unless we take that influence into account we cannot justly appreciate their motives and position. Few subjects would be more deeply interesting, or offer worthier material to a historian, than to trace the process which developed the English colonists of the seventeenth century into that generation of men, great at once as political philosophers and practical statesmen, who liberated America from England and fashioned the Federal Constitution. Much, indeed, was due to the instincts and ideas which the emigrants took out with them. England early in the seventeenth century was specially well fitted to throw out offshoots, full of vigorous and healthy political life. The spirit which animated the founders of our American colonies was the spirit of the Long Parliament, not of the Commonwealth, the Restoration, or the Revolution. The romance which invests the early history of Virginia, the religious troubles which fill so large a space in the annals of New England, are apt to divert our attention from the political life of the colonies. How real and active that life was, is shown by the way in which representative institutions sprang up as it were spontaneously, and expanded with the needs of the young commonwealth. And, if the seed sown was good, so too was the culture which it received. The colonists were happily saved from all those influences which sapped the strength and vitiated the life-blood of English politics for nearly a century after the Restoration. The contests of the various colonial legislatures with the home government, contests in which the colonists were at times factious and unreasonable, but were more often struggling against the profligate and extortionate governors with whom the mother country had

had saddled them, served to keep alive a vigorous spirit of independence. There were other influences at work to raise the minds and aspirations of the colonists above the somewhat petty cares of their own separate states. We may be sure that there were others beside Franklin whose thoughts had early turned to the possibility of a great united colonial dominion. Many a colonist must have felt, when Washington went down with his little band to hold the Ohio valley against France, that a struggle had begun which might give to his descendants a territory bounded only by the Pacific. Moreover, the great wave of European thought, which had already begun to form, was not without its influence in America. Thus we find the young John Adams, the descendant of an old Puritan family, and reared up in a pious New England home, studying and criticising Montesquieu and Bolingbroke. Every line that Jefferson wrote breathed the influence of the French philosophers. At the same time the practical training in politics, which the colonists gained from their local institutions, saved them from being led astray into any speculative extravagancies. There lay the great difference between the American Rebellion and the French Revolution. To the French revolutionists liberty was a mere abstract name, wholly disconnected from their historical past, and therefore incapable of practical application. The Americans, too, had grasped the idea of liberty; but they viewed it not as an abstract idea, but a principle which underlay their past history and their present institutions. We may in short say that the revolutionary statesmen of America were in their main outlines Englishmen of the seventeenth century, with their perceptions quickened at once by philosophical teaching and by the practical, if somewhat narrowing, influence of colonial politics. Then came the struggle for Independence. Whatever we may think of the merits of the quarrel, we cannot doubt that its effects on the colonists were in the main healthy and strengthening. Circumstances saved the American Revolution from many of the worst features of such struggles. It was not, like the struggle in the Netherlands, embittered by differences of creed and race. The rudeness and elasticity of colonial life were such that the shock of an invasion was felt far less than it is in an old-established country. There were, no doubt, moral shortcomings on the part of the people. There was supineness, sloth, want of public spirit. But this was caused rather by circumstances than by defects in the national character. The weakness of the American cause was due to the heterogeneous character of the different states. There was mutual distrust engendered by diversity of origin, of creed,

creed, of commercial interest. The weakness shown by the colonists was not unlike the weakness shown by our own country in her struggle with the Danes. There was much local energy and much individual courage, but a want of cohesion and unity of action. Had the colonists been led by an Ethelred instead of a Washington, the parallel might have been more complete. But whatever weaknesses there might be among the commons, in higher quarters there were none. It would be hard to name a revolution so free from any stains of treachery, of half-heartedness, of selfish ambition among its leaders. The traitors and the intriguers, Arnold, Conway, Gates, were mere soldiers. The statesmen of the Rebellion have no part in their guilt. Not one of them ever seems to have entertained an idea of securing his own escape if the common cause should fail. All threw in their lot with their country, determined to triumph or fall together. Had any suspicion of such guilt existed, party rancour would long ago have proclaimed it to the world. There was scarcely one of the revolutionary statesmen whose reputation has wholly escaped the envenomed attacks of party warfare. Even the great leader himself, one of the few whose public spirit and almost superhuman virtue is established by the unanimous voice of history, did not escape calumny. The characters of Hamilton and Jefferson are still topics of party warfare. But whatever may have been said of their later actions, the voice of calumny has never assailed their conduct during the contest for independence. There are many things in later history which every well-wisher of America would gladly blot out; but she may at least remember with just pride that in the great crisis of her fate no stain attached to those whom she entrusted with her cause.

In the American Revolution, in the stirring events which followed it, the part which each colony played was strongly coloured by its previous history and its political character. None had more definitely marked features than Madison's native state, the mother of Presidents, as Virginia was called in later days. Her social life reproduced many of the best features of the mother country. Her early emigrants had numbered among them adventurers and felons, but the backbone of those who supported the Virginia Company, and who followed Lord Delawarr and Sir Thomas Dale as emigrants, were taken from the ranks of the English country gentry, just at the time when that class was at its best. It would be an interesting, though a somewhat mortifying study, to trace the process by which the highly educated and accomplished country gentleman of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the class which included  
Hampton

Hampden and Hutchinson and Elliot, gave place to the boorish squire of a century later, whom a satirist could paint as Squire Western, and a more kindly observer as Sir Roger. The social disorganisation due to the Civil War and the consequent disruption of old feudal ties, the growing political and social importance of London, and the general lowering of the moral tone of the nation, all contributed to this result. In Virginia the old public spirit of a feudal aristocracy survived. The lower classes lacked teaching, but the society which produced Jefferson and Madison and Randolph can hardly have had a low educational standard. We have, unhappily, but few authentic records of the social life of the southern colonies. But a writer of our own day, almost unequalled in his power of reproducing from slender materials the scenery and colouring of a past age, has brought vividly before us the life of a Virginian plantation. We may be sure that there were a good many young Virginians who, like George Warrington, sent to England for books and musical instruments, and hurried on board to see them unpacked. If, indeed, it be true that Jefferson and Patrick Henry were accomplished musicians, the colony had retained one phase of Elizabethan culture which the mother country had for a while almost lost. Looked at in its political bearings, the social life of Virginia kept alive a vigorous spirit of independence. The boundless natural resources of the country were, from an economical view, almost as much a curse as a blessing. The number of navigable rivers gave every planter a harbour close to his own door, and prevented the formation of any one centre of commerce. The abundance of fertile soil enabled every man to become a landowner, and made it impossible to obtain free and intelligent labour. But though all these things made against the commercial welfare of Virginia they rather stimulated the spirit of political freedom. As Mr. Rives says: 'A large landed estate in Virginia, consisting of distinct and sometimes distant plantations, with the general supervision of the agents and labourers employed on each, and the negotiations incident to the periodical sale of their produce and purchase of their supplies in remote markets, was a mimic commonwealth, with its foreign and domestic relations and its regular administrative hierarchy. It called for the constant exercise of vigilance, activity, humanity, sound judgment and wise economy, and was thus a school both of virtue and intelligence, in which many of the patriots of that day were trained for public usefulness.' Though slavery existed, it did not yet bear that baneful fruit which afterwards sprang from it. It does not seem to have been attended with any of those moral  
corruptions

corruptions which afterwards formed such a plague-spot in the life of the Southern States. Nor had the practice of slavery deadened the political morality of the Virginian aristocracy. Taunts have often been cast at the men who, while they claimed freedom for themselves, were blind to the wrong which they were inflicting on a whole race. A very slight knowledge of the writings and speeches of the most eminent men among them enables one to refute such sneers. Every prominent Virginian statesman of the last century seems to have looked upon slavery as an evil which economical circumstances had forced upon his country, which must, if possible, be extinguished, and which might be fraught with the greatest mischief in the future. The doctrine, which upheld slavery as the proper basis of Southern society and Southern political supremacy, was the offspring of a statesman of a later generation, Calhoun of South Carolina; and we may be sure that Washington or Jefferson would have repudiated his teaching as eagerly as any Northern abolitionist.

In 1774, at the age of twenty-three, Madison's public career began. He was in that year elected a member of one of the county committees, which were established throughout the American colonies to concert means of resistance to the British Government. Two years later he was returned to the Virginian Congress. From the outset Virginia had taken a leading part in the dispute, and she now ventured on a step in advance of any other colony. North Carolina had already given to its representatives on the continent at Congress, power to 'concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring Independence and forming foreign alliances.' Virginia went a step further, and definitely instructed her delegates to move a declaration of Independence. As a necessary accompaniment to this measure, a committee was appointed to frame a government for the colony, or, as we must now call it, the State. Here, too, Virginia was taking the lead. South Carolina, and New Hampshire had already framed provisional governments. Virginia was the first State that distinctly applied her best wisdom to the formation of a new Constitution intended to be permanent. Madison, despite his youth, was a member of this committee; and the subject is one of some importance in connection with his career. His one pre-eminent claim to honour is as a constitution maker; and a peculiar interest attaches to the first attempt of the kind in which he took part. The Virginian Constitution of 1776, like most successful experiments of the sort, was a compromise. The general outline of the Constitution was sure to be modelled on the old one, handed down with some changes from the days of the Virginia Company. A Constitution

stitution based on the English type, and consisting of a governor and two chambers, was the mould into which all the colonial governments had almost spontaneously fallen, and to which the colonists, conservative in revolution, with two exceptions, adhered. This system, however, gave room for differences of detail. Two schemes were proposed which may fairly be supposed to represent the extreme views on each side. One proposed to retain the Upper Chamber for life, and the Governor during good behaviour, while the Lower Chamber was to be elected triennially. The other, suggested by John Adams to some of his Virginian friends, proposed that the whole Legislature, including the Governor, should be re-elected annually. The scheme finally adopted coincided in its main features with this latter, with this somewhat important difference, that the Upper Chamber was to be elected for four years. It is worthy of notice that not one of these schemes contemplated a democratic suffrage. The widest margin proposed was one which would take in householders who were also fathers of three children, and the qualification finally adopted was the possession of twenty-five acres freehold. Madison, by his own account, took no very prominent part in the task of construction. His only recorded contribution was an amendment to the Declaration of Rights, which preceded the Constitution, striking out the term 'toleration,' as inconsistent with complete religious equality, and substituting 'the full and free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.' We have noticed this, because Madison's hostility to anything like religious inequality was, perhaps, the only political feeling which could be fairly called a passion with him, or which ever led him into a display of enthusiasm. Though his own share in the Virginian Constitution was not a prominent one, yet we may be sure that it was a lesson not thrown away. Between the two extreme parties in Virginia—between those who wished to be free from England, but keep everything English, and democrats like Jefferson and Henry—there was a great gulf, which we may be sure could only be bridged over by a spirit of moderation and compromise, and from that process Madison must have learnt lessons which stood him in good stead in the great task of his life.

In the next year Madison lost his seat, a result which Mr. Rives tells us was due to his scrupulous refusal to employ the universally adopted engine of treating. That he had in no way forfeited public confidence, is shown by the fact that in the same year he was elected a member of the State Council, and in 1779 returned to the Continental Congress. Even by that time the early zeal which had distinguished that body had begun to grow cold.

◀old. Many of its most eminent men had been called off to the services of their separate States, and Congress reflected but too faithfully that want of cohesion and mutual support which weakened the Union and hampered the action of her great leader. Madison was one of those who laboured to redeem the character of Congress. He zealously backed up Washington's appeals for more strenuous efforts, and throughout the war he advocated various measures designed to strengthen the authority of the Central Government. Thus we find him supporting a proposal to give Congress certain coercive powers, which would enable it to exact the required contributions from the separate States. Monstrous though it seems to us now, that a Government could be expected to carry on a war while it had no efficient means of exacting supplies, yet the sectional jealousies of the different States, and the dread of central power, frustrated this measure. Subsequently Congress passed a resolution applying to the various States for power to levy a duty on foreign merchandise. Virginia at first acceded to this application, but afterwards, owing to the failure of other States to comply with it, Madison had the mortification of seeing his constituents reverse their decision. On another occasion Madison was in conflict with his own State, and showed by his conduct that his usual moderation could in season give place to firmness. The claim of Spain, to monopolise the navigation of the Mississippi, was a subject of negotiation between the two Powers. To ask the United States to surrender the Mississippi was, as Franklin forcibly put it, like asking a man to sell his street door. Madison took an equally decided view, and expressed it in a report laid before Congress. At the time that the question came forward, the pressure of the war was felt mainly by the Southern States, and that part of the Union was naturally eager for foreign help, and willing to make large concessions to obtain it. Accordingly Virginia, urged on by Georgia and South Carolina, instructed her representatives to oppose the claim. Madison considered the occasion important enough to justify him in disregarding the wishes of his constituents; and when the immediate prospect of war was removed, Virginia adopted his views. Before we take leave of Madison's career in the old Congress, one point ought to be noticed. It would be premature to speak of parties, yet we can trace faintly the beginnings of those divisions which afterwards severed the political world of America into two camps. We can trace, too, in Madison's own attitude, a foreshadowing of his later career. While he advocated, as we have seen, the grants of coercive powers to Congress, he did not go as far as Hamilton in his wish to exalt the central, at the expense



expense of the local Governments. Hamilton would not merely have given Congress power to levy taxes for itself, but he would have also handed over to it the appointment and control of the staff employed for that purpose. Madison, on the other hand, would, as far as might be, have left the establishment and management of the machinery to the separate States. The difference may seem trifling, but it illustrates the different spirit in which the two men approached the great impending question, the limits of power of the Central Government and the State Governments, respectively. On another question, Madison displayed views and sympathies which afterwards had a most important influence on his career. During the negotiations for peace, an estrangement arose between the French Government and the American representatives, Adams, Franklin, and Jay. We name three, for though there was a fourth, Laurens, both his body and mind were, for a while, weakened by his long imprisonment in England, and he was, at the time, little more than a cipher. It would exceed the limits, alike of our space and our subject, to go into the merits of the question. Jay seems to have been of a suspicious temper; Adams had but little goodwill towards France; and Franklin, whose sympathies were strongly with the French, may have been unable singlehanded to influence his two colleagues. On the other hand, there is no doubt that persons professing to be accredited agents of France had dealings with the English Minister, Lord Shelburne, of such a nature as reasonably to excite the suspicions of the Americans. The result was, that the preliminaries of peace were signed by the American envoys without their consulting the French Minister, De Vergennes. This excited the indignation of the French Government, and the question came before Congress. The immediate question of the conduct of the envoys does not concern us; the matter is important as showing a division of feeling already existing in America, and destined afterwards to have most important results. There were already two parties in Congress, who regarded France with widely different views. By some her support was looked upon as an act of generosity, forming a sentimental bond of union between the two nations, and giving France a moral claim to the gratitude of America. Others urged that France had withheld her assistance till she clearly saw that the cause of America would furnish a convenient weapon against her old enemy. To debate what were the real motives of France would be as profitless as are all discussions concerning the motives which animate national policy. A few enthusiasts, like Lafayette, doubtless joined the cause of America out of a pure and generous sympathy with a people warring for  
their

their rights. The majority of the young officers who flocked over, to vex the soul of Washington and to command troops whom they could neither speak to nor understand, doubtless viewed America as they would have viewed India, or Ireland, or any other country where there was glory to be won and Englishmen to be fought. The aristocratic diplomatists and politicians who governed France would probably have questioned the sanity of a man who attributed their policy to any but interested motives. Nevertheless, it was a generous impulse which made many Americans resent any act that seemed to savour of ingratitude and coldness towards an ally. In the debate which arose out of the conduct of the envoys, Madison strongly condemned the views of those who looked upon France with distrust. That he should have taken this line is somewhat remarkable. Of all politicians he was the least likely to be influenced by sentiment, and his political and intellectual sympathies were not such as to enlist him in favour either of monarchical or revolutionary France. Whether the influence of Jefferson may have thus early shown itself we cannot say. Certain it is that the line which he took on this occasion marks a sentiment which for some time remained inoperative, but which at a later time had a great influence on him, and, in fact, formed a turning-point in his career.

At the end of 1783 Madison's term of office expired, and by the newly framed rules of Congress he was ineligible for re-election. During his whole term of membership he does not seem once to have visited his home. In December he returned thither, and at once applied himself to reading law. As, however, we find him at the same time studying constitutional history, and especially such questions as were likely to affect the future of the confederacy, it seems unlikely that his legal learning was meant for practical purposes. If he entertained any such scheme, it was soon frustrated. In the next few years events began to open to the rising generation of American statesmen a career in some ways greater than any which the war itself had offered. The events of the war, and still more the domestic troubles which followed it, the rebellions in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, too clearly proved that the old confederation was but a rope of sand. The task of reconstructing it on a firmer basis was one which might well stimulate and yet appal the imagination of the wisest and most enterprising statesman. The attempt was beset with difficulties from two quarters. The pressure of the war had been scarcely enough to keep in check the jealousies and conflicting claims of the different States. When that pressure was withdrawn, they were

sure to burst out with renewed force. Moreover the war itself had done much to quicken political thought, and to sow the seeds of great party divisions. A question of such overwhelming political importance as the formation of a new Constitution was sure to call those seeds into full life and activity.

Before we consider the struggle itself, we must say a few words of the principal actors. Two of Madison's contemporaries and rivals, Hamilton and Jefferson, stand out, not as yet the accredited leaders of the opposite parties, but so distinctly and pre-eminently the representatives of the great conflicting principles, which were struggling for ascendancy in the newly formed republic, as to claim our special attention. Many Americans to this day regard these two statesmen as the Ormuzd and Ahriman of American politics, while they differ in their mode of assigning the two parts. By one party Hamilton is regarded as an inspired prophet, who foresaw all the dangers with which the United States were threatened by the sway of the masses, and who died a political martyr, struggling vainly to keep his country within the bounds of constitutional freedom, and to hold her back from the gulf of popular misrule into which Jefferson and his followers were hastening to plunge her. With others Jefferson is the champion of freedom, who fully emancipated his country from those trammels of feudal and monarchical government, which Hamilton was struggling to re-impose. One who views the question from that intermediate standing ground which Madison occupied, is happily not forced to adopt either view. We may, without injustice either to Hamilton or Jefferson, believe that the one unduly neglected, while the other unduly overrated, the dangers of democratic government.

Everything in the origin and training of these two men had prepared the way for their rivalry. Hamilton was in some degree separated both by birth and training from the other statesmen of his age. His birthplace was Jamaica, and this fact may have served in some measure to diminish the intensity of his American sympathies. His adopted State, New York, was that one in which the flame of patriotism burnt least brightly. His writings show that he had read much and meditated deeply, and his knowledge of foreign politics won from Talleyrand the compliment 'Hamilton avoit deviné l'Europe.' Such training may make, and in his case did make a great constructive statesman, but it is not calculated to make an enthusiast. English Whiggism had impressed Hamilton deeply, and we cannot doubt that Walpole was to a great extent his model. In his opinion, a commercial aristocracy, and a government with abundant means of exercising indirect influence, were essential conditions

conditions of national stability. It would be an error to suppose that these opinions involved any disloyalty to the cause of American independence. Hamilton was not the only statesman of the time who, while throwing himself passionately into the cause of national freedom, and clearly perceiving the unfitness of England for the task of colonial government, yet wished to retain many of the aristocratic traditions, and much of the machinery of government, of the mother country. Indeed, the very acts by which Hamilton has incurred the charge of disloyalty to the American Constitution are, if carefully considered, his best defence. Had he really wished to overthrow the Constitution, he would never have striven so diligently to guard it against its own inherent dangers. Doubtless he had a speculative preference for monarchy; but to suppose that he ever contemplated the introduction of it into America, is to regard him as a mere theorist incapable of limiting his aspirations by his knowledge of what was possible. And if he had cherished such a wish, his keen political insight would have taught him that a direct attack on the republican constitution of his country would be the worst means that he could choose towards his end. A far weaker mind than Hamilton's might have easily perceived that the anarchy against which he was striving would be the readiest road to absolutism. Let the pilot forsake the helm, and the ship would inevitably go on the rocks and become the willing prey of any saviour of society. Yet if Hamilton's fame has been obscured by party calumny and his true greatness appreciated only by a few, his own character is not wholly free of the blame. His temper was naturally cold and unsympathetic. He seems, indeed, to have prided himself on this, and to have somewhat exaggerated it. He was thoroughly sincere, but it was the sincerity of high principle and strong self-respect, rather than of natural frankness. In almost every detail of temper, training, and opinions, Jefferson was the direct opposite to his great rival. His vanity and impetuosity often led him into inconsistency, and it is hard at times to clear his character from the deeper stain of wilful duplicity. Yet he had a certain openness of temper, which seems among his contemporaries to have won forgiveness for his graver faults. His writings show no trace of that solid political and historical study, on which Hamilton's opinions were based; yet his love of knowledge was ever vigorous, and his sympathy and interest extended to almost every branch of human activity and thought. His opinions were deeply coloured by the training of his native state. Commerce was his bugbear. He writes in the true spirit of a Virginian farmer and sportsman: 'While we have land to labour upon, let us

never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench or twirling a distaff.' Like Hamilton, Jefferson was conversant with the political philosophy of the eighteenth century. But it was from French Republicanism, not from English Whiggism, that he drew his inspiration. Hamilton's political ideal looked back to 1688; Jefferson's had yet to find its fulfilment in 1789. With such training and such principles, these two men were clearly marked out as the embodiments and champions of those two conflicting principles, which were soon destined to extend their battle-field from the Old World to the New.

It seemed for a while as if Madison's natural sobriety of temper and freedom from enthusiasm were likely to be stronger than his loyalty to his brother Virginian, and as if he was destined to stand among the allies of Hamilton. To Hamilton unquestionably belongs the credit of having first clearly grasped the idea of a more stable union subordinating all the State governments to the sovereignty of the whole, as the only means of saving the nation from anarchy. By every means in his power, by public utterances and private influence, Hamilton forced this idea upon his countrymen. In this task he found an able assistant in Madison. He, like Hamilton, clearly saw that no attempt to improve the existing Federation could meet the needs of the case. With Madison rests the credit of carrying through the Virginian Assembly a resolution inviting the other States to a general conference on the subject of the commerce of the Federation. It was through Hamilton's agency that the powers of the conference were enlarged, and that it was converted into a convention for considering and, as events proved, for reconstituting, the Federal Union. In May, 1787, the Convention met at Annapolis. Its proceedings were secret, and our knowledge of them is derived from reports compiled by Madison after the hours of debate. It is not an easy matter to estimate the share which any one member of the Convention can claim in the result. It cannot be too often repeated that the American Constitution was a compromise, modified to suit the wants of conflicting parties and individuals of widely different views, and therefore not corresponding with any preconceived ideal. But we should probably not be far wrong in saying that it more nearly reflected the views of Madison than of any other of the framers. We may infer this from comparing the actual result with his recommendations, and with the ideas expressed in his subsequent writings. In many details, indeed, the Constitution deviated from Madison's ideal. He at first proposed to give the central government a power of veto against any State law. Subsequently he abandoned this in favour of that admirably framed

framed scheme, which erects the Supreme Court into a separate, and, as far as possible, an independent arbitrator to decide in the last resort between the conflicting claims of the State and the Union. Madison's first suggestion on this subject is worth noting, as showing that he at this time held views as to the subordination of the State governments not widely different from those of Hamilton and his followers. It has been the fashion with democratic writers to treat the annihilation of State sovereignty—'taking out the teeth of the serpents,' as an eminent Federalist, Governor Morris, called it—as an article peculiar to the Federal creed. It ought to be remembered that this doctrine was upheld by one whom the Democrats reckon among their most honoured leaders. To identify at this time the doctrine of a strong central government with those aristocratic principles which Hamilton and his party undoubtedly did hold, is to antedate the position of parties by more than twenty years. But though on his point Hamilton and Madison were still at one, the proceedings of the Convention brought out points of difference. Hamilton would have vested the executive power in a president and vice-president chosen for life, and removable only by impeachment, and would have made the upper chamber rest on a like tenure. On both these points he seems to have stood almost alone. Without going further into detail, we can best sum up Madison's share in the Constitution by enumerating the conditions necessary to his ideal of the United States Government, conditions which were all in some degree fulfilled by the form as actually settled. He required a government resting on the direct consent of the people and exercising direct control over them. He wished to preserve the State governments for their own purposes, and he saw that it must be the aim of the Constitution to give those governments the greatest possible amount of independent action in their own sphere, combined with the least possible power of interference with the central government. Above all, he saw that any system, to be adopted, or when adopted to work successfully, must be a compromise; and he was thus enabled to meet all arguments which impugned the new Constitution as falling short of an ideal, either of State freedom or perfect centralisation,

His services on behalf of the Constitution were soon needed on an important battle-field. In none of the States was more rigorous resistance to be looked for than in Virginia. There, as in the other States, a convention was summoned to consider the question of ratification. The opposition was headed by Patrick Henry, then in the full vigour of oratorical powers unequalled

unequaled by any American of that, or probably of a later, age. A passionate republican, and, like Jefferson, deeply imbued with the idea that the woods and streams of Virginia were the chosen home of liberty, he looked with horror on a system which substituted for the yoke of a king and parliament the yoke of a central government, in which Massachusetts and New York might be leading powers. The battle was fierce and long doubtful, but the resisting forces yielded point by point. From a general opposition to the new Constitution they fell back on the detailed objection that it lacked a Bill of Rights. This defect clearly could, and probably would, be remedied after ratification, and thus the question resolved itself into one of amendment before or after acceptance. Madison, as was natural, bore the brunt of the battle on the side of the Constitution. Probably, however, the consideration which had most weight and which ultimately turned the scale, was the fear that the Constitution might be accepted by nine other States, and thereby ratified, and that Virginia, by rejecting it, might be left out, in the humiliating position of an unsuccessful obstructive, who had done something to discredit the new Constitution without succeeding in saving the independence of the separate States.

Madison's labours on behalf of the Constitution were not confined to his own State. In concert with Hamilton he had been advocating it through the medium of the 'Federalist,' a series of papers addressed nominally to the people of New York, but in reality to the whole body of States. Probably the lasting reputation of its two authors, in Europe at least, rests mainly on this work. Its two authors we say, since their colleague Jay was merely associated with them on account of his special knowledge of foreign politics and diplomacy, and only contributed such ideas as bore specially on those subjects. So far as any division of labour between Hamilton and Madison can be traced, it is such as we might have anticipated. The philosophical groundwork on which the Constitution was to be built was chiefly supplied by Hamilton. It was for the most part left for Madison to point out immediate practical advantages and to combat detailed objections. Yet this must not be pressed too far. Madison's contributions, notably his first paper, No. 14, show a marked appreciation of the abstract principles of government, as well as of their application to the present occasion; while in Hamilton's writings there is nothing vague or speculative. In one respect the very fame of the 'Federalist' in one direction tends to blind us to its merits in another. We are apt to read it as a historical analysis of the Constitution. Such, indeed, it is. But we must never forget that

that it was primarily a controversial work, written in a time of stirring agitation, for what may be almost called a party purpose. Yet its permanent value is scarcely, if at all, impaired by the circumstances of its production. There is nothing in it of party rancour, nothing of misrepresentation, not a word of needless controversy. The writers never deviate from their main purpose to attack an opponent. It would be hard to name a single production among the political writings of the last century, even from the pen of Burke, so free from all the ordinary faults of political literature. The credit of this accrues not merely to the writers, but to the audience for whom it was designed. It speaks well for the wisdom of the American citizens of that day, that at such a crisis an appeal should have been made, not to party prejudice or sectional interests, but to a clear and far-sighted patriotism, and that historical arguments should have been thought of more value than personal invectives. It would be hard, we should think, for any thoughtful and educated American at the present day to read the 'Federalist,' and to compare it with the later political literature of his country, without a feeling of shame.

Before leaving the 'Federalist,' justice to Madison requires one remark. The fact of his having been associated with Hamilton in this great task has been at times treated by admirers of the latter as though it constituted a political bond of union between the two, and as if the rupture of this bond gave some colouring of treachery to Madison's subsequent alliance with Jefferson. Nothing in the 'Federalist' itself justifies such an idea, and if we turn to Madison's own letters we shall see how unfair such a charge is. There is nothing in the 'Federalist' to show that Madison accepted the abstract theories of Hamilton. Apparently he merely looked on Hamilton as a convenient associate for a special purpose. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that in Madison's published correspondence we have not met with a single reference to Hamilton which indicates anything like a warm personal feeling. That Madison should for a particular object have identified himself with one with whom he had so little generally in common may seem strange, but it is not out of keeping with his unimpassioned practical temper and his habit of subordinating personal feeling to political necessities.

The final ratification of the new Constitution might be formally the conclusion of a peace between the two parties, but in reality it was the signal for the outbreak of a new political struggle, less impassioned perhaps, but even more definite and sustained. Since the time of the separation from England, the  
new



new republic held within it the germs of two great parties. There were those who had separated from England on what we might call grounds of expediency, without any antipathy to the principles of the government from which they had severed themselves. They would willingly have seen the newly-created government, in its relations towards the several States, step into the place of the monarchy which they had cast off. There were others, drunk with the new wine of democratic enthusiasm, who saw in the formation of the American Republic the possible fulfilment of their ideal. Hitherto these two central ideas have remained latent. During the War of Independence the nation had been forced into temporary unity by external pressure. During the years of chaos and anarchy which followed there was no room for the development of party organisation. All thinking men must have seen that the existing state of things could not last. To organise a party at such a time would have been like forming line of battle on a quicksand. But when once the Federal Constitution was framed, a clear and well-defined battle-field lay open. The previous condition of things gave rather a peculiar turn to the formation of parties. The old Whig tradition, which would fain have seen in the new Constitution only an adaptation of English monarchy, prevailed chiefly among the northern merchants. The central government, on whose efficiency they depended to control the growing democratic impulse, had most to fear from the strength of local institutions. Thus the Conservative or, as it called itself, the Federal party, became the advocate of centralisation, while democracy was forced to depend on the State governments as its instrument, and was driven by its hostility to the merchants of New England into a somewhat strange alliance with the slaveholding planters of the South. The outbreak of open hostility was for a while suspended by the presence of Washington. His experience of the divisions, which had so hampered his efforts during the war, had imbued him with a deep dread and dislike of parties, and his political insight was not such as to perceive the inevitable conflict of great opposing principles. But, though the struggle was delayed, signs of the coming trouble were not wanting. Madison soon became alienated from his old allies. He showed that he had not used the promise of amendments as a mere sop to lull his opponents in the Virginian Convention, by introducing ten amendments, covering the ground which would have been occupied by a Bill of Rights, and providing against various abuses of arbitrary power. His position was a difficult one, for his proposals went too far to please most Federalists, and not far enough to satisfy the bulk of the Democrats.

**Crats.** His tact and adroitness triumphed over these difficulties, and, in the language of an able American writer, he 'engineered his plan through the House with triumphant success.'

This opened the breach between Madison and the Federal party, and circumstances soon widened it. The next ground of conflict was the financial policy of Hamilton. As Secretary of the Treasury, he introduced a scheme of national finance. Its main features were the establishment of a national debt and a national bank. He proposed to elevate the Federal Government at the expense of the separate States, by transferring to it the debts contracted by the various State governments on behalf of the Union. In all these points he was opposed by Madison. If we look at the question simply as one of finance, we can have no doubt as to its merits. Madison had never shown any peculiar aptitude for finance, or indeed any special knowledge on the subject. Few statesmen have ever studied it more profoundly than Hamilton. At the age of twenty-three he drew up an elaborate financial scheme for the Confederation, and forwarded it to Robert Morris, the Minister of Finance. So much impressed was Morris by its ability, that at a later day, when Washington turned to him in despair, and asked him what he was to do with the public debt, his answer was, 'There is but one man who can tell you, and that is Alexander Hamilton.' If then the question were merely financial, we might fairly appeal from Hamilton's critics to Hamilton himself. But Madison and those around him did not and could not regard the question as merely financial. Madison regarded it, and not without justice, as part of a system for concentrating all the powers of the state in the hands of the executive. He saw that Hamilton's doctrine of implied powers might be employed to give a direction to the Constitution alien from the purpose of its founders. He believed that there was a design on the part of the Federalists, as he himself afterwards expressed it in conversation, to 'administrate' the Constitution into conformity with their party views. These suspicions as to the designs of the Federalists, though we cannot set them down as groundless, were unquestionably exaggerated. Yet the blame of that was in some measure due to the Federalists themselves. Flushed with their triumph in the National Convention, and trusting in the support of Washington and the great administrative ability of Hamilton, they recklessly disregarded the natural and justifiable suspicions of their opponents, and often used language which gave a colour to the worst charges brought against them.

The course of events speedily hurried Madison onward in his

his union with the Democrats. As we have seen, the relation of the Republic to France had already been made the battle-field of an internal conflict. The French Revolution did not alter the aspect of party divisions in America, but it gave them a definiteness and fixity which they did not before possess. Hitherto there had been many who were hostile to England, and to the aristocratic traditions of English government, but who nevertheless had no abstract sympathy with democracy. Such a middle position became now almost untenable. The conduct of the French Government, and the outrageous behaviour of its American ministers, Genet and Adet, seemed for a while to have turned the tide of public feeling. But the democratic current was too strong, and sympathy with France was soon demanded by the Democrats as a test of loyal citizenship. We cannot judge better of the fierceness of party feeling, than by its effect on a man of naturally moderate and restrained temper like Madison. We feel somewhat as if we saw an archdeacon dancing among the Shakers, when we find Madison writing of 'degenerate citizens, enemies of the French Revolution and liberty,' of 'the poison of the Anglo-Saxon party,' and denouncing anti-French views as 'heresy.' One painful result of this state of affairs was to involve Madison in a bitter personal controversy with his old ally, Hamilton. The President, acting by the advice of his Cabinet, issued a proclamation of neutrality. This proceeding was impugned by the Democrats, both on technical and moral grounds. As to the former point, the best writers on the American Constitution are agreed that the President, in interpreting and proclaiming the duties imposed by treaties on the citizens, was in no way transgressing his proper functions. As to the general ground of policy, few would deny that Washington and his advisers would have been greatly to blame had they suffered America to be engulfed in the whirlpool of a great European war. Nevertheless, when Hamilton, writing under the signature of 'Pacificus,' defended the President's action, he was answered by Madison in the letters of Helvidius. It is painful to find that the recollection of their joint labours did not withhold Madison from a bitter and contemptuous tone in dealing with his opponent. Able, too, though the letters of Helvidius are, their ability is rather that of a special pleader than of a statesman. But though we cannot agree with Madison, either on the technical issue or on more general grounds, yet we must make the same allowance here as in the case of Hamilton's financial policy. We must remember that Madison saw in the action of the President one step in a deliberate scheme to overthrow those liberties, for which so  
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much blood and treasure had been spent. We must remember, too, that Hamilton's attitude was one peculiarly calculated to alarm an opponent. His doctrine of implied powers was, in the opinion of the Democrats, an attempt to turn the letter of the Constitution against its authors, and to undermine American liberty with that very engine which they had forged for her defence.

The retirement of Washington was the signal for the pent-up storm to break out in full force. Had his term of office been prolonged, we can hardly doubt that he would have been driven to identify himself with that party, towards which his moderate temper and conservative instincts naturally inclined him, and that the Federalists might have opened the campaign with the weight of his name on their side. As it was, his influence was sufficient to prevent a party struggle over the appointment of his successor. Adams was well known to have leanings towards a strong central government, yet he entered upon office as the representative, not of a party, but of the nation. But a position which had well nigh overtaken the moderation and forbearance of Washington was far too arduous for his vain and irritable successor. Seldom have great natural gifts been more inopportunistly marred by small yet destructive failings than in John Adams. His integrity was unquestioned, and saved him from those base compliances into which vanity, such as his, might have led a man of weaker principle. His abilities, and the respect which they won from his equals, should have made him independent of the opinion of the many, yet he craved for the popularity which he lacked the power to win. The seeds of distrust between Adams and his party had been sown as early as Washington's first election. According to the system then in force, the vice-president was not separately elected, but the candidate second on the list for president took that office. A number of the Federalists, under the advice of Hamilton, decided that there must be no risk about Washington's election, and that he must be brought in by such a majority as to prove uncontestedly the superiority of his claims. Accordingly, Adams was elected to the second place by barely the number of votes required. Adams resented this as a slight, and felt that Hamilton had treated him with a want of confidence and had acted in a spirit of *manceuvre*. Hamilton and his followers, on the other hand, believed that Adams felt himself aggrieved by not having been allowed a chance of success against Washington, an imputation which Adams warmly resented. Moreover, there were special grounds of mutual distrust between Adams and Hamilton. The latter remembered the intrigues against Washington

ton during the war, intrigues which all had their source in New England, and he looked on Adams as in some measure identified with them. Adams, on the other hand, had been absent on diplomatic service while Hamilton had been achieving his great position, and he might be forgiven if he, one of those who had drafted the Declaration of Independence, felt sore at being ousted from his place among his party by a youth of thirty, whom he had left serving as Washington's aide-de-camp. During Adams's vice-presidency these sources of discord remained in abeyance; but when he attained to the first office they speedily made themselves felt. There was unquestionably, on the part of more than one member of the Cabinet, a disposition to treat Adams as a mere nominal head, and Hamilton as their actual leader. A party with a real and a professed leader is in a perilous state, and when both are men of eager and unyielding ambition the case is well nigh hopeless. By the end of Adams's term of office the Federal party was in a state of anarchy. How complete that anarchy was, is shown by Hamilton's inability to restrain a section of his party from the discreditable intrigue whereby they supported that profligate and unprincipled adventurer, Aaron Burr, for the Presidency. It is a melancholy reflection, that by thus first impelling Hamilton to take up an attitude of direct hostility to Burr, they brought about that tragedy which robbed their party of its foremost man.

The term of Adams's presidency saw Madison completely detached from his old allies and enlisted under the banner of Jefferson. Though Federal writers of a later day have treated his change of position as an act of political perfidy, yet his own contemporaries do not seem to have so regarded it. They appreciated, better than we can, the change which had come over the attitude of the Federal party. Indeed, Madison might with fairness have said that the party had moved away from him, rather than he from it. Questions arising out of the interpretation of the Constitution obviously formed new ground, and, whatever we may think of the Federal policy during the administrations of Washington and Adams, we cannot fairly blame Madison for refusing to be among the followers of Hamilton.

The result of Jefferson's election left democracy triumphant, and the Federal party a wreck. Two years later, and that great man, great even by the admission of those who saw his faults most clearly, the one leader whose transcendent abilities might yet have rallied the Federal party and stemmed the advancing tide of mob tyranny, had perished by a tragic death. Hamilton had fallen, the victim of political passion too base and profligate to deserve the name of ambition, and the hopes of Federalism  
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lay buried in his grave. With his death the possibility of renewed conflict was at an end, and the history of political parties may be said for a while to cease. Here we may fitly part from Madison. Measured by the standard of political ambition, the triumph of the Democrats was the turning-point of his success. If time would suffer, we should see him in a few years wisely ruling over his country, at the very epoch which definitely gave her a place among the great powers of the world. Still later, we should see him released from all claims of political ambition, yet turning his view with undiminished clearness to the approaching troubles of his country. There was a curious completeness in the political career of one who served in the revolutionary congress, and who lived into the days when the Union was imperilled by the independent action of South Carolina. And there could not be more significant testimony to the wisdom of one who took a part in writing the 'Federalist,' and in framing the American Constitution, than the appearance of those dangers which clouded Madison's departing days. We may seem to have touched lightly on Madison's personal character. In doing so, we have but followed the example of Mr. Rives, an example which we could wish to see more widely followed by American biographers. In the case of Madison, there is no great temptation either to extravagant hero-worship or details of petty gossip. His private life was uneventful. He was never married, and though he seems to have been one of the most dutiful and affectionate of sons, yet his family relations show little of that play of character on which a biographer would be glad to dwell. Indeed, throughout our study of Madison, we cannot avoid a feeling that the man is less than his work. In this respect he somewhat resembles his two great contemporaries, Washington and Franklin. The three men differed widely, but one feature was common to them all. Their greatness did not rest so much on the extent or nature of their abilities as on the manner in which those abilities were employed. In this, as in so many other points, the statesmen of the American revolution remind us of their great prototypes, the English statesmen of the seventeenth century, the parliamentary opponents of the Stuarts. Madison and Franklin, like Pym and Hampden, beyond doubt possessed great powers of action, but it was not that which raised them so high above the common run of men. Their true greatness lay in their insight into public opinion, their calm self-restraint, above all, in that public spirit and temperate love of freedom which formed part of their heritage as Englishmen.

ART. VIII.—*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. 1 and 2. London, 1878.

THE history of England in the eighteenth century comprises momentous events and brilliant episodes,—the age of Queen Anne with its galaxy of statesmen and wits, the victories of Marlborough, the legislative union with Scotland, the secure establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne, the final collapse of the Jacobite cause at Culloden, the splendid administration of Chatham, the loss of our American colonies, the more than compensating rise of our Indian empire, and the culminating period of parliamentary eloquence as represented by the two Pitts and their contemporaries. But the eighteenth century is not marked out or placed in broad relief by any of those startling subversive movements or occurrences which give sometimes an elevating and sometimes a lurid grandeur to its predecessors. It presents nothing like the desolating Wars of the Roses, or the Reformation, or the religious struggles under Elizabeth, or the Great Rebellion, or the Revolution of 1688. Its chief value and interest consist in its containing and (to the discriminating inquirer) unfolding the germs from which the England of 1700 has gradually, quietly, almost imperceptibly grown into the England of to-day. To Mr. Lecky must be assigned the high and distinctive merit of having been amongst the first to see this, and the first to undertake the task of explaining or indicating the causes and processes by which the most remarkable changes in our system of government, or the constitution of our society, during the entire period in question, have been brought about. His plan is stated in his Preface.

‘I have not attempted to write the history of the period I have chosen year by year, or to give a detailed account of military events or of the minor personal and party incidents which form so large a part of political annals. It has been my object to disengage from the great mass of facts those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation, or which indicate some of the more enduring features of national life. The growth or decline of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the democracy, of the Church and of Dissent, of the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the commercial interests; the increasing power of Parliament and of the press; *the history of political ideas, of art, of manners, and of belief; the changes that have taken place in the social and economical condition of the people; the influences that have modified national character; the relations of the mother country to its dependencies, and the causes that have accelerated or retarded*

retarded the advancement of the latter, form the main subjects of this book.'

The subjects to which the greater part of the ensuing remarks will be devoted, are those mentioned in the passages we have italicised; but, before coming to them, we propose to take a cursory view of some political questions which Mr. Lecky has done his best to elucidate.

His opening paragraph is a condensed recapitulation of the political vicissitudes undergone from the Revolution of 1688 to the Reform Bill of 1832 by the two great parties, Whig and Tory, between which the whole country was once divided, much as it is divided between Liberal and Conservative now. 'There is one theory,' he proceeds, 'on the subject of those vicissitudes to which it is necessary briefly to advert, for it has been advocated by an historian of great eminence, has been frequently repeated, and has, in some respects, considerable plausibility.' The historian of great eminence is the late Earl Stanhope, who unfolds and lays marked stress on the theory in an introductory passage of his history.

'It is very remarkable that, in Queen Anne's reign, the relative meaning of these terms (Whig and Tory) was not only different, but opposite to that which they bore at the accession of William IV. In theory indeed the main principle of each continues the same. The leading principle of the Tories is the dread of popular licentiousness. The leading principle of the Whigs is the dread of royal encroachment. It may thence, perhaps, be deduced that good and wise men would attach themselves either to the Whig or to the Tory party, according as there seemed to be the greatest danger at that particular period from despotism or from democracy. The same person who would have been a Whig in 1712 would have been a Tory in 1830. For, on examination, it will be found that in nearly all particulars a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig.'

The facts on which Lord Stanhope principally relies are, that the Tories of Queen Anne's time assailed Marlborough during the French war, as the Whigs during the Peninsular war assailed Wellington: that the Tories upheld, whilst the Whigs opposed, free-trade principles at the peace of Utrecht: that the Whigs were the principal authors of the penal laws against the Catholics, the repeal of which subsequently became a standard article of their creed: that the Tories were for short parliaments and an extension of the suffrage when the Whigs were carrying the Septennial Act and resisting all approach to what was afterwards their rallying cry under the name of Parliamentary Reform: that, in financial reform again, the Whigs, for more than half a century,



a century, were untrue to their principles by refusing to concur in place bills or pension bills proposed or promoted by their antagonists.

Admitting the plausibility of the case as stated by Lord Stanhope, Mr. Lecky replies :—

‘ I think, however, that a more careful examination will sufficiently show that, in spite of these appearances, the ground for assuming this inversion of principles is very small. The main object of the Whig party in the early part of the eighteenth century was to establish in England a system of government in which the will of the people as expressed by Parliament should be supreme, and the power of the monarch should be subject to the limitations it imposed. The substitution of a parliamentary title for Divine right as the basis of the throne, and the assertion of the right of the nation to depose a dynasty which had transcended the limits of the constitution, were the great principles for which the Whigs were contending. They involved or governed the whole system of Whig policy, and they were assuredly in perfect accordance with its later developments. The Tory party, on the other hand, under Queen Anne was to a great extent, and under George I. was almost exclusively, Jacobite. The overwhelming majority of its members held fervently the doctrines of the divine right of kings and of the sinfulness of all resistance, and they accordingly regarded the power of Parliament as altogether subordinate to that of a legitimate king. The difference of dynasties was thus not merely a question of persons, but a question of principles. Each dynasty represented a whole scheme of policy or theory of government, the one being essentially Tory and the other essentially Whig. The maintenance of the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne was, therefore, very naturally the supreme aim of the Whig party. They adopted whatever means they thought conducive to its attainment, and in this simple fact we have the key to what may appear the aberrations of their policy.’

Prominent amongst these means was the Septennial Act, carried by the Whigs, because they believed that a dissolution immediately after the accession of George I. and the Rebellion of 1715, would imperil the dynasty, would wreck the State vessel in which their political fortunes and principles were embarked. In like manner they passed penal laws against the Catholics so long as Catholic was another name for Jacobite, and laboured unremittingly for the repeal of those laws when all fear of a divided allegiance was at end. Except when they were warped aside by paramount considerations of expediency, both parties were tolerably faithful to their creeds. The Whigs were always with the Dissenters, the Tories with the Church. The strength of the one always lay in the landed gentry and the country : that of the other in the commercial classes and the towns.

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A striking specimen of Mr. Lecky's peculiarity of view and mode of treatment is presented by his inquiry into the immediate causes of the Revolution of 1688; from which it would appear that he inclines towards the historical school of Voltaire, who was fond of tracing up great events to accidents, like the delay (by the casting of a horse-shoe) of the courier from Rome, whose timely arrival might have prevented Henry VIII.'s breach with the Papacy and have indefinitely postponed the Reformation. The opposite theory was shadowed out by Lord Macaulay in one of the most splendid of his rhetorical amplifications:—'The sun illuminates the hills whilst it is yet below the horizon; and truth is discovered by the highest minds a little before it becomes manifest to the multitude. This is the extent of their superiority. They are the first to catch and reflect a light, which without their assistance, must, in a short time, be visible to those who lie far beneath them. The same remark will apply equally to the fine arts.' The same remark, so far as it is well founded, will apply to political and social progress.

'Whoever (says Mr. Lecky) will study the history of the downfall of the Roman Republic; of the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire; of the dissolution of that empire; of the mediæval transition from slavery to serfdom; of the Reformation, or of the French Revolution, may easily convince himself that each of these great changes was the result of a long series of religious, social, political, economical, and intellectual causes, extending over many generations. So eminently is this the case, that some distinguished writers have maintained that the action of special circumstances and of individual genius, efforts, and peculiarities, counts for nothing in the great march of human affairs, and that every successful revolution must be attributed solely to the long train of intellectual influences that prepared and necessitated its triumph.

'It is not difficult, however, to show that this, like most very absolute historical generalisations, is an exaggeration, and several instances might be cited in which a slight change in the disposition of circumstances, or in the action of individuals, would have altered the whole course of history. There are, indeed, few streams of tendency, however powerful, that might not, at some early period of their career, have been arrested or deflected.'

The stream of tendency, he thinks, was entirely in favour of James, and against William, when it was deflected by consummate statesmanship on the part of William and folly amounting to fatuity on the part of James. 'By a very rare concurrence of circumstances a form of Government was established and maintained in England, for which the mass of the people were intellectually wholly unprepared.' So far was this form of

government from being easily consolidated or gaining ready adaptation from being tried, that a quarter of a century later the restoration of the Stuarts hung upon a thread. Like the refusal of the Comte de Chambord to give up the white flag, the refusal of the Pretender to give up his religion was the chief, almost the sole, bar to the fullest realisation of his hopes.

Accumulated proofs are adduced by Mr. Lecky to show that Jacobites and Hanoverians were agreed upon this point. Robertson, a Secretary of the Embassy at Hanover, wrote in January, 1712-13: 'The Pretender, on the slightest appearance of pretended conversion, might ruin all—the religion, the liberties, the privileges of the nation.' 'The best part of the gentry and half the nobility,' wrote a Jacobite in 1712, 'are resolved to have the King, and Parliament would do it in a year if it could be believed he had changed his religion. "I am convinced," wrote the Duke of Buckingham in July 1712, "that if Harry [the King] would return to the Church of England all would be easy. Nay, from what I know, if he would but barely give hopes he would do so, my brother [Queen Anne] would do all he can to leave him his estate.'

The Pretender, highly to his honour, stood firm. He would not palter with his conscience, or make a show of paltering with it, for a throne. In March, 1714, when Queen Anne was dying, and a crisis was at hand which he could have swayed by a word, he answered with his own hand a reiterated entreaty by saying: 'I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixed resolution of never dissembling my religion; but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, cost what it will . . . How could ever my subjects depend upon me or be happy under me if I should make use of such a notorious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them?'

Even this did not discourage his partisans, and Mr. Lecky thinks that when Bolingbroke, after the dismissal of Oxford on July 27, 1714, proceeded to sketch the outlines of a ministry almost exclusively Jacobite, 'there is every reason to believe that such a ministry, supported by the Queen, presided over by a statesman eminently skilful, daring, and unscrupulous, and disposing of all the civil and military administration of the country, could, in the existing condition of England, have effected the restoration of the Stuarts.' Bolingbroke subsequently declared that, so well taken were his measures, only six weeks were required to place matters in a condition which would have left him nothing to fear. The commanding position which justified this language had been obtained by artfully playing one female favourite against another; and that position, with all  
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the startling consequences involved in it—the change of a dynasty, the overthrow of a constitution that has since become the envy of the world, depended on a contingency which no human foresight or prudence could anticipate or control. The chances fell out against him. The first meeting of the Council after Bolingbroke's accession to the Premiership, held in the presence of the Queen, was too much for her. She left it, saying to those about her that she should never survive the scene: she fell into a state of stupor, in which she remained till she died on August 1st. On the 3rd, Bolingbroke wrote to Swift: 'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the Queen died on Sunday! What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!'

A recent article on the 'Age of Queen Anne,'\* relieves us from the necessity of dwelling further on the leading events and prominent features of her reign as sketched or summarised by Mr. Lecky. He pauses at the accession of George I. for an analysis of the Whig party, including the aristocracy, the commercial classes, and the Nonconformists.

Fully recognising, perhaps rather exaggerating, the disadvantages of a titled and landed aristocracy, especially the false estimate of men and things, the servile and sycophantic dispositions, the tuft-hunting, the vulgarity of thought and feeling it tends to foster in the community, Mr. Lecky thinks that these are more than counterbalanced by its advantages, and declares it to be indispensable to our mixed form of government, in which—

'Orders and degrees  
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.'

The Whig aristocracy was clearly the mainstay of the new dynasty; but Lord Beaconsfield's favourite notion, that they aimed at and to a great extent succeeded in reducing the two first Hanoverian Kings of England to the condition of a Venetian Doge, is in flat contradiction to the facts. The most influential men of these reigns were Walpole and the first Pitt, who neither of them relied on the great families. When Pitt's voice was swaying the House of Commons and resounding through the country, it was virtually the voice of the people: what gave him resistless sway was the public at his back; whilst Walpole's long tenure of office was owing to the adroitness with which he managed the Court, and the organised system of corruption which he kept up. The manner in which Sir Spencer Compton was appointed to supersede him on the accession of

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\* 'Quarterly Review' for July, 1870.

George II., from a mere personal predilection of the King, and then set aside partly through the Queen's interference and partly from the exposure of Compton's incapacity, shows how little force was put upon the royal inclination by any cabal or party. The precarious and qualified nature of Walpole's power may also be inferred from its perceptible decline after the death of Queen Caroline. In point of fact, no sovereigns, except a brief and rare intervals, were ever less in the condition of Doge than the English sovereigns from the Revolution downwards. Lord Beaconsfield admits that William III. was his own minister, and never came under the yoke of the oligarchy. Queen Anne, again, was enabled, by the division of parties, to indulge a mischievous extent of individual volition and caprice. Bullied by the Duchess of Marlborough, or cajoled by Mrs. Masham, it was by her female favourites, not by the great nobles, that she was controlled. But her successor, we are told, was comparatively defenceless against the alleged conspiracy.

'Unsupported by the mass of the people, ignorant of our language, phlegmatic in temperament, George I. entirely depended upon the Whig Peers, and the Whig Peers resolved to compensate themselves for the disappointment they had experienced under William III. They at once established the Cabinet on its present basis.\* They did nothing of the sort: yet, strange to say, Mr. Lecky seems to incline towards the same grave error. After dwelling upon the weakening of the monarchical principle by the denial of divine right and other causes, he says:—

'Another very important cause of the decline of the power of royalty was the increased development of party government. The formation of a ministry, or homogeneous body of ruling statesmen of the same politics, deliberating in common, and in which each member is responsible to the others, has been justly described by Lord Macaulay as one of the most momentous and least noticed consequences of the Revolution. It was essential to the working of parliamentary government, and it was scarcely less important as abridging the influence of the Crown. As long as the ministers were selected by the sovereign from the most opposite parties, as long as each was responsible only for his own department, and was perfectly free to vote, speak, or intrigue against his colleagues, it is obvious that the chief efficient power must have resided with the Sovereign.'

But this state of things continued substantially unaltered till far into the reign of George III. On close inquiry it will be found that the first Cabinet on the present basis, homogeneous

\* 'Vindication of the English Constitution in a Letter to a Noble and Learned Lord (Lyndhurst).' By Disraeli the Younger. London, 1835, p. 170.

and subject to the Prime Minister, was the Cabinet of Pitt, after the expulsion of Thurlow, in 1792. A very different notion must have prevailed in 1754, when Henry Fox (already a Privy-Councillor) was made a member of the Cabinet by the King, as a mark of private favour, on condition that he was 'not to interfere with or derogate from the priority of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons.' The career of the great Commoner abounds with illustrations of the anomalous and uncertain character of the institution in his time. He was the master spirit of an administration of which another (the Duke of Newcastle) was the chief. He took a subordinate place in one formed (1766) by himself with unlimited powers, and gradually sank into a nonentity in it without leaving it. He is censured by Horace Walpole for undue presumption in assuming to guide the councils of a third, for the policy of which he was responsible. As we recently observed, it was a surprise to Charles Fox when he was dismissed for an act of ministerial subordination by Lord North; and Thurlow evidently thought that he was following no uncommon course when he competed for royal favour, and consequent supremacy in the Cabinet, with his chief. 'Stick to Pitt,' was his advice to Scott (Lord Eldon). 'He has tripped up my heels, and I would have tripped up *his* if I could. I confess I did not think the King would have parted with me so easily.'

Dating from the Revolution, party government took rather more than a century to arrive at maturity, and, from not bearing this in mind, Mr. Lecky has, almost as completely as Lord Beaconsfield, mistaken the position of the first Kings of the Hanoverian line:—

'On the death of the Queen, they (the Tories) had all, at least passively, accepted the change of dynasty, and there is no reason to question the substantial truth of the assertion of Bolingbroke, that the proscription of the Tories by George I. for the first time made the party entirely Jacobite. But whatever may have been its effect on the stability of the dynasty, there can be no doubt of the effect of the Whig monopoly of office on the authority of the Sovereign. He was no longer the moderating power, holding the balance in a heterogeneous and divided Cabinet, able to dismiss a statesman of one policy and to employ a statesman of another, and thus in a great measure to determine the tendency of the Government. He could govern only through a political body which, *in its complete union* and in its command of the majority in Parliament, was usually able, by the threat of joint resignation, which would make government impossible, to dictate its own terms. . . .

'In this manner, by the force of events, much more than by any express

express restrictive legislation, a profound change had passed over the position of the monarchy in England. The chief power fell into the hands of the Whig statesmen.'

On turning to a subsequent portion of the volume, we find ample evidence that the King was still the moderating power, holding the balance, not indeed between Whigs and Tories, but between adverse sections of Whigs, who, far from presenting anything like complete union, were more divided than at any period of their annals. Thus we are told of 'the great schism which broke out in 1717, when Lord Townshend was dismissed from office; when Walpole, with several less noted Whigs, resigned, and went into violent opposition, and when the chief powers passed into the hands of Sunderland and Stanhope:' the explanation being that Sunderland had conciliated the King by humouring his Hanoverian tendencies, whilst Walpole and Townshend had made themselves peculiarly obnoxious and distasteful by opposing them. When Walpole, after many alternations of fortune, obtained the supremacy, he did not gain it or hold it, we are distinctly told, haughtily and independently, by dint of a firmly-knit league or commanding majority, which enabled him to dictate his terms or impose himself as a necessity, but by means which imply the entire absence of the higher elements of strength:—

'Other ministers may have bribed on a larger scale to gain some special object, or in moments of transition, crisis, or difficulty. It was left to Walpole to organise corruption as a system, and to make it the normal process of Parliamentary government. It was his settled policy to maintain his Parliamentary majority, not by attracting to his ministry great orators, great writers, great financiers, or great statesmen, *not by effecting any combination or coalition of parties*, by identifying himself with any great object of popular desire, or by winning to his side young men in whose character and ability he could trace the promise of future eminence, but simply by engrossing borough influence and extending the patronage of the Crown.'

Again and again does Mr. Lecky supply ample evidence against the theory which he professedly adopts:—

'The general level of political life was, however, deplorably low. Politics under Queen Anne centred chiefly round the favourites of the Sovereign, *and in the first Hanoverian reigns the most important influences were Court intrigues or parliamentary corruption*. Bolingbroke secured his return from exile by the assistance of the Duchess of Kendal, one of the mistresses of George I., whom he is said to have bribed with 10,000*l.* Carteret at first based his hopes upon the  
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same support, but, imagining that he had met with coldness or infidelity on the part of the Duchess, he transferred his allegiance to her rival, the Countess of Platen.'

'Chesterfield, towards the end of his career, intrigued against Newcastle with the Duchess of Yarmouth; and Pitt himself is stated, on very good authority, to have secured his position in the Cabinet in a great degree by his attentions to the same lady.'

Surely this sustained and paramount influence of mistresses is wholly irreconcilable with the supposed dictation of the Whig oligarchy or the subjection of the monarch to party combination.

In a recent article\* on Lord E. Fitzmaurice's Life of his ancestor, the first Marquis of Lansdowne, we had occasion to comment on the extremely low state of political morality in England during the greater part of the eighteenth century. There was a period of thirty or forty years during which public spirit had completely died out and disappeared amongst our public men; although occasional sparks of it may have flashed from the nation at large, as when popular indignation was roused by the tale of Jenkins's ears or the arbitrary proceedings against Wilkes. Mr. Lecky does more than confirm this estimate. In his opinion the corruption extended far beyond the political arena: its effects might be traced in almost every class of life: the very heart of the nation was tainted to the core:—

'In very few periods was there so little religious zeal, or active loyalty, or public spirit. A kindred tone pervaded the higher branches of intellect. The philosophy of Locke, deriving our ideas mainly if not exclusively from external sources, was supreme among the stronger minds. In literature, in art, in speculation, the imagination was repressed; strong passions, elevated motives, and sublime aspirations were replaced by critical accuracy of thought and observation, by a measured and fastidious beauty of form, by clearness, symmetry, sobriety, and good sense. We find this alike in the prose of Addison, in the poetry of Pope, and in the philosophy of Hume. The greatest wit and the most original genius of the age was also the most intensely and the most coarsely realistic. The greatest English painter of the time devoted himself mainly to caricature. The architects could see nothing but barbarous deformity in the Gothic cathedral, and their own works had touched the very nadir of taste.'

This is an exaggeration. There is nothing in the prose of Addison, the poetry of Pope, or the philosophy of Hume, akin to the coarse cynicism of Walpole, the polished selfishness of Chesterfield, or the profligate sycophancy of Dodington; and it is hardly with caricature that we habitually associate the name of Hogarth, who was one of the finest moral-

\* 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1876.



ists as well as (what Mr. Lecky afterwards terms him) the greatest English painter of his time. But the utter want of public spirit exhibited during the Rebellion of 1745, certainly indicates something more than what lies upon the surface for those who run to read. What must have been the condition of a people who, after more than half a century's experience of a free constitution, had not made up their minds whether it was worth keeping, or whether they might not just as well revert to the dynasty which they had expelled for systematic encroachment on their most cherished liberties and rights? 'When the late rebellion broke out,' says Lord Hardwicke in 1749, 'I believe most men were convinced that, if the rebels had succeeded, Popery as well as slavery would have been the certain consequence, and yet what a faint resistance did the people make in any part of the kingdom.' What Mr. Lecky believes to be the true causes of this indifference are stated in a letter from Alderman Heathcote to the Earl of Marchmont in September 1745 :—

'Your Lordship may observe the little influence an actual insurrection has had on the public funds; and unless some speedy stop be put to this universal coldness by satisfying the demands of the nation and suppressing by proper laws that parliamentary prostitution which has destroyed our armies, our fleets, and our constitution, I greatly fear the event.'

It is an undoubted fact, to which comparatively little attention has been paid, that the House of Commons had gradually brought upon itself much of the hatred and distrust which in arbitrary times had been concentrated on the Crown. We are reminded of Speaker Onslow's recorded opinion, that the Septennial Act formed the era of the emancipation of the Commons from its former dependence on the Crown and on the House of Lords. He might have added, from much of its wholesome and constitutional dependence upon the people. The consequences were seen and felt in the assumption of legislative and judicial functions, under the guise of privilege or the pretence of wounded dignity. 'Almost every injury in word or act done to a Member of Parliament was, during the reign of George II., voted a breach of privilege, and thus brought under the immediate and often vindictive jurisdiction of the House. Among the offences thus characterised were shooting the rabbits of one Member, poaching on the fishponds of another, injuring the trees of a third, and stealing the coal of a fourth.' Every general election gave rise to an explosion of popular disgust at the manner in which the contested seats were appropriated by the majority. 'I believe,' says Lord Hervey, 'the manifest injustice

injustice and glaring violation of all truth in the decisions of this Parliament surpass even the most flagrant and infamous instances of any of their predecessors.'

It is not easy to understand, remarks Mr. Lecky (speculating in his manner on the highly coloured picture he has drawn), how a Parliament so thoroughly vicious in its constitution should have proved itself, in any degree, a faithful guardian of English liberty, or 'should have produced so large an amount of wise, temperate, and tolerant legislation as it unquestionably did.' Yet no one, he thinks, who candidly considers the general tenour of English administration during the long period of Whig ascendancy in the eighteenth century, can question that Voltaire and Montesquieu were correct in describing it as greatly superior to the chief governments of the Continent.

Considering what the chief governments of the Continent,—of France, Spain, Germany and Italy—were, when Voltaire and Montesquieu referred to them, this is saying very little for that of England; and it is to be regretted that Mr. Lecky has not cited specimens of the wise, temperate, and tolerant legislation of which he speaks. The most striking chapters of his book bear evidence to the intemperate and intolerant character of the legislation extended to that very portion of the empire (Ireland) where temper and toleration were most imperatively required. In England, too, the penal laws were rigidly maintained: the criminal law in all its branches, procedure included, was little better than the patched up relic of a barbarous age. The bankruptcy laws, the law of debtor and creditor, the poor-laws, the game-laws, the laws of marriage, indeed all the laws regulating the social and commercial relations of the community, were in a most unsatisfactory state. The prisons, the press-gang, the want of sanitary regulations, the metropolitan magistracy and police, the insecurity of life and property in the most populous districts, were a disgrace to a people pretending to civilisation. The Slave Trade was rapidly rising into that monstrous blot upon humanity upon which we now look back with a mixture of surprise and shame that it was permitted to assume such appalling dimensions without a check. None of these things have been passed unnoticed by Mr. Lecky, but what he has failed to mark is, that the most crying evils remained for succeeding generations to grapple with, and that the eighteenth century left the worst of them untouched. The remedial measures he specifies fell lamentably short of their professed aim: with one marked exception, the Marriage Act (commonly called Lord Hardwicke's Act) of 1754.

Prior to this Act a marriage valid for all purposes could be celebrated by a priest in orders at any time or place, without notice,

notice, consent of parents, or record of any kind. The celebration of such marriages naturally fell into the hands of needy and disreputable clergymen, who were always to be found in or about the Fleet Prison, where they were or had been confined for debt. Hence the term Fleet marriages: although the Fleet parsons by no means enjoyed a monopoly. Indeed, the most thriving business in this walk was carried on by the Reverend Alexander Keith, at a chapel in Curzon Street, who was computed to have married on an average 6000 couples *per annum*. The Fleet parsons, however, had no reason to complain: it was proved before Parliament that there had been 2954 Fleet marriages in four months; and it appeared from the memorandum-book of one of them, that he had made 57*l.* by marriage-fees in a month: of another, that he had married 173 couples in a single day.

The scandal reached its acme in the seaports when a fleet arrived, and the sailors were married—as Lord Beaconsfield said converts to Free-Trade were made by Sir Robert Peel—in platoons. There was a story that once when from fifty to a hundred couples were arranged for the ceremony at a chapel at Portsmouth, some confusion took place, and several of them got hold of the wrong hands. When the resulting difficulty was mentioned to the parson, he exclaimed: ‘Never mind, you are all of you married to some one, and you must sort yourselves afterwards.’ Sham marriages by sham priests, devices such as that by which Squire Thornhill fancied he had got possession of the person of Olivia Primrose without making her his wife, were of constant occurrence. Examples are hardly required to show the amount of misery that must inevitably result when a solemn engagement may be contracted without a pause for reflection, on the spur of a passing inclination or caprice. But palpable as was the abuse, the amending Act met with the most strenuous opposition, in which Henry Fox took the lead; and Horace Walpole deliberately denounced the Bill, declaring that ‘from beginning to end one only view had predominated, that of pride and aristocracy.’ It must have been some satisfaction to him that a loophole or mode of evasion was left by which the object of the Act could be partially defeated. Until the virtual abolition of Gretna Green marriages in 1856, it was still possible to elope with an heiress or peer’s daughter, and most exciting races were occasionally run between the truant couple and the father or guardian. One of the most remarkable occurred in 1782, when a far-descended earl eloped with the daughter of the wealthiest of the London bankers, and was hotly pursued by the father, whose chaise-and-four, after they had actually crossed the Border, was in the act of heading them, when  
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the bridegroom's best-man (the eldest son of an earl), seated in the rumble, drew a pistol and shot one of the leaders dead.

A series of legislative measures to which Mr. Lecky attaches great importance, were those directed against gin-drinking, the passion for which, dating from 1724, he describes as spreading with the rapidity and violence of an epidemic.

'Small as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century—incomparably more so than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country.'

The consumption of British spirits in 1735 was ten times what it had been in 1689, and more than double what it had been in 1714. Physicians saw in gin a new and terrible source of disease and mortality. The grand jury of Middlesex formally presented it as the cause of much the greater part of the poverty and crime of the metropolis. On the signboards of noted gin-shops it was announced that a customer might get drunk for a penny, and dead-drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing. Faith was kept by providing cellars strewn with straw, on which the customer who had got his twopennyworth was deposited till he was ready to re-commence. The ill success of the first repeated attempts to grapple with the evil may be judged from the fact that in 1749 the number of private ginshops, within the Bills of Mortality, was estimated at more than 17,000. Disease, vice, crime, disorder, lawlessness, profanity, immoralities of all sorts, had proportionally increased. In a pamphlet published in 1751, Fielding describes the increase of robbers as in a great degree owing to a new kind of drunkenness unknown to our ancestors; he states that gin was the principal sustenance of more than 100,000 people in the metropolis, and predicts that, should the drinking of this poison be continued at the same rate during the next twenty years, there will be very few of the common people left to drink it.

The same complaints were made of the prevalence of crimes of violence, and the resulting sense of insecurity, at a much later period, when it could be no longer ascribed to gin-drinking, which gradually abated, like other epidemics, moral and physical, from causes lying, we suspect, beyond the reach of the legislature; although Mr. Lecky mentions the remedial measures of the Pelham ministry, in 1751, as forming a striking instance of the manner in which legislation, if not overstrained or ill-timed, can improve the morals of a people. He specifies amongst the consequences of these measures that dropsy immediately diminished,

nished, and that the diminution was ascribed by physicians to the marked decrease of drunkenness in the community.

'Still these measures formed a palliation and not a cure, and from the early years of the eighteenth century gin-drinking has never ceased to be the main counteracting influence to the moral, intellectual, and physical benefits that might be expected from increased commercial prosperity. Of all the pictures of Hogarth none are more impressive than those in which he represents the different conditions of a people whose national beverage is beer and of a people who are addicted to gin, and the contrast exhibits in its most unfavourable aspect the difference between the Hanoverian period and that which preceded it.'

It is to be feared that the habit of dram or gin-drinking, when it has once taken root in a northern climate and an overpopulated community, can never be eradicated. It is too tempting a resource in poverty and cold. There is a moral, deeper than the humour, in a once popular caricature representing a workman pulling his wife out of a ditch with the remark, 'Why, Nanny, you are drunk.'—'And what do that argify, if I am happy?'

The streets of London were rife with violence and crime prior to the increased consumption of gin. Readers of the 'Spectator' will hardly require to be reminded of the Mohocks, including the 'sweaters,' who formed a circle round their victim and pricked him with their swords; the 'dancing-masters,' who made him dance by a similar application of cold steel; and the 'tumblers,' whose amusement it was to set women on their heads or roll them down-hill in barrels.

'Now is the time that rakes their revels keep,  
Kindlers of riot, enemies of sleep,  
His scatter'd pence the flying nicker\* flings,  
And with the copper shower the casement rings,  
Who has not heard the scowerer's midnight fame?  
Who has not trembled at the Mohock's name?  
Was there a watchman took his nightly rounds  
Safe from their blows or new invented wounds?  
I pass their desperate deeds and mischief done,  
Where from Snow Hill black steepy torrents roll.  
How matrons, hoop'd within the hogshead's womb,  
Were tumbled furious thence; the rolling tomb  
O'er the stones thunders, bounds from side to side,  
So Regulus to save his country died.'†

Any defenceless person, male or female, who happened to be

\* Persons who broke windows with halfpence.

† Gay's 'Trivia,' published in 1728.

out after nightfall, was exposed to ill-treatment. Sir Roger de Coverley having expressed a wish to see the new tragedy, asked if there would not be some danger in coming home late, in case the Mohocks were abroad. 'However,' he said, 'if Captain Sentry will make one with us to-morrow night, and if you will both of you call on me about four o'clock, that we may be at the house before it is full, I will have my own coach in readiness to attend you.' 'The Captain' (continues the 'Spectator'), 'who did not fail to meet me there at the appointed hour, bid Sir Roger fear nothing, for that he had put on the same sword which he made use of at the battle of Steenkirk. Sir Roger's servants, and among the rest my old friend the butler, had, I found, provided themselves with good oaken plants, to attend their master upon this occasion. When we had placed him in his coach, with myself at his left hand, the Captain before him, and his butler at the head of his footmen in the rear, we conveyed him in safety to the playhouse, where, after having marched up the entry in good order, the Captain and I went with him, and seated him between us in the pit.'

In Johnson's 'London,' published in 1738, we read :—

'Prepare for death if here at night you roam,  
And sign your will before you sup from home,  
Some fiery fop, with new commission vain,  
Who sleeps on brambles till he kills his man.  
Some foolish drunkard reeling from a feast,  
Provokes a broil and stabs you for a jest.'

The opening chapter of Fielding's 'Amelia,' published in 1751, exemplifies the still unprotected state of the streets, the inefficiency of the police, the worse than inefficiency of the magistrates, and the frightful scenes of disorder, suffering, and vice presented by the prisons. We are first requested to figure to ourselves a family, the master of which should put his butler on the coach-box, his steward behind his coach, his coachman in the buttery, his footman in the stewardship, and in the same manner should misemploy the talents of every other servant.

'As ridiculous as this may seem, I have often considered some of the lower officers in our civil government to be disposed in this very manner. To begin, I think, as low as I well can with the watchmen in our metropolis, who being to guard our streets by night from thieves and robbers, an office which at least requires strength of body, are chosen out of those poor old decrepit people who are, from their want of bodily strength, rendered incapable of getting a livelihood by work. These men, armed only with a pole, which some of them are scarce able to lift, are to secure the persons and houses of his Majesty's subjects from the attacks of gangs of young, bold, stout, desperate,  
and

and well-armed villains. If the poor old fellows should run away from such enemies, no one I think can wonder, unless it be that they were able to make their escape.'

Admitting that matters improve a little as we ascend among our public officers, the author suggests that Mr. Thrasher, the justice before whom Booth and others are brought, had some few imperfections in his magisterial capacity, one being that he was equally ignorant of statute and common law.

'This perhaps was a defect; but this was not all; for where mere ignorance is to decide a point between two litigants, it will always be an even chance whether it decides right or wrong; but sorry am I to say, right was often in a much worse situation than this, and wrong hath often had five hundred to one on his side before that magistrate, who, if he was ignorant of the laws of England, was yet well versed in the laws of nature. He perfectly well understood that fundamental principle so strongly laid down in the institutes of the learned Rochefoucault, by which the duty of self-love is so strongly enforced, and every man is taught to consider himself as the centre of gravity, and to attract all things thither. To speak the truth plainly, the justice was never indifferent in a cause but when he could get nothing on either side.'

Fielding never misses an opportunity of exposing and satirising the venality and subserviency of the justices. In the course of the altercation between Squire Western and his sister, on his refusal to commit Honour for impertinence, Mrs. Western said, 'She knew the law much better: that she had known servants very severely punished for affronting their masters,' and then named a certain justice of the peace in London, 'who,' she said, 'would commit a servant to Bridewell at any time when a master or mistress desired it.' 'Like enough,' cries the Squire, 'it may be so in London, but the law is different in the country.' The practice, according to the same authority, was much the same in the country, for Joseph Andrews and Fanny were on the point of being committed to Bridewell for a month by a complaisant justice to please Lady Booby, when they were saved by the arrival of Squire Booby, the husband of Pamela. Fiction is confirmed by fact. 'What the devil,' writes Gilly Williams to George Selwyn, 'could tempt you to act as justice of the peace? This is Trapolin with a vengeance. What! evidence, party, and judge too? If you do not make it up with the man soon, some rogue of an attorney will plague your heart out in the King's Bench.' The gardener had been guilty of some peculation, for which Selwyn committed him at once.

In an 'Idler' for 1759, Dr. Johnson computed that the prisoners for debt averaged 20,000, of whom twenty-five per cent. perished annually from the corruption of confined air, the want

want of exercise, and sometimes of food, the contagion of diseases, and the 'severity of tyrants.' We can well believe it when we bear in mind that in most prisons no separate accommodation was provided for them. Dr. Primrose, taken in execution at the suit of Squire Thornhill, relates that he attended the sheriff's officers to the prison which had formerly been built for the purposes of war, and consisted of one large apartment, strongly grated, and paved with stone, common to both felons and debtors at certain hours in the four and twenty. He says that he expected upon his entrance to find nothing but lamentations and various sounds of misery, but it was very different. The prisoners seemed all employed in one common design, that of forgetting thought in merriment and liquor. He readily complied with the demand for garnish, which was immediately sent for liquor, and the whole prison was soon filled with riot, laughter, and profaneness. Curiously enough it was by the sale of the book, the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' in which this scene is described, that the author escaped being placed in the same situation as Dr. Primrose.\*

What makes it more extraordinary that efficacious measures were not taken for the improvement of the gaols, especially as regards their sanitary state, is the prevalence of the gaol fever, which Bacon described as the most pernicious infection next to plague. He was referring to its ravages in the sixteenth century,—to the Black Assize at Oxford in 1577, for example, when the Chief Baron, the Sheriff, and some three hundred others died of it within forty hours. Yet it was little less fatal in the eighteenth; as in 1730, when a Chief Baron, a serjeant, a High Sheriff, and others of lesser note, fell victims to it on the Western Circuit; and in 1750, when at the Old Bailey Sitings, it destroyed two judges, the Lord Mayor, and an alderman. But that the root of the evil, the sanitary state of the prisons and the crowding together of prisoners of all classes, was left untouched, may be inferred from the fact that Howard's labours for their amelioration commenced five years later, in 1755, and did not bear fruit till long afterwards.

What strikes us more than it seems to have struck Mr. Lecky, in reverting to these and other abuses affecting the moral and material well-being of the community, is the insensibility of the eighteenth century to their true character or its hopeless incapacity of grappling with them. A fitful feeble effort, or succession of efforts, is made, and the evil or abuse is found cropping up again with unabated vigour and vitality.

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\* Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' royal 8vo. edition, p. 114.



Take, for example, the open defiance or easy evasion of justice by robbers. 'How long,' exclaims Fielding in 1751, 'have we known highwaymen reign in this kingdom after they have been publicly known for such? Officers of justice have owned to me that they have passed by such with warrants in their pocket against them without daring to apprehend them; and, indeed they could not be blamed for not exposing themselves to such destruction; for it is a melancholy truth, that, at this very day a rogue no sooner gives the alarm, within certain purlieus, than twenty or thirty armed villains are found ready to come to his assistance.'

In the Introduction to 'The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon,' he states that, in August 1753, when he was preparing for a journey to Bath, and was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week by different gangs of street-robbers, he received a summons to attend the Duke of Newcastle, who, not being able to see him when he attended, 'sent a gentleman to discourse with him on the best plan that could be invented for putting an immediate end to those murders and robberies which were every day committed in the streets.' He promised to transmit his answer in writing, which he did within four days, and soon received a message from the Duke acquainting him that his plan was highly approved of, and that all his terms would be complied with.'

'The principal and most material of those terms, was the immediately depositing six hundred pounds in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able, for the future, to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.'

'I had delayed my Bath journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and to the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cutthroats, which I was sure of accomplishing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a small sum, to betray them into the hands of a set of thief-takers whom I had enlisted into the service, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.'

'After some weeks, the money was paid at the treasury, and within a few days after two hundred pounds of it had come to my hands, the whole gang of cutthroats was entirely dispersed, seven of them were in actual custody, and the rest driven, some out of town, and others out of the kingdom.'

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This is confirmed by contemporary authority, as by Browne, who, writing in 1757, states that the reigning evil of street robberies in London has been almost wholly suppressed. But the suppression was local and temporary: the surviving members of the gang were simply driven to vary the scene of their operations, and no attempt was made to protect the suburbs and environs of the metropolis or the high roads. Walpole—who was twice robbed by highwaymen, once in Hyde Park and once near his own house at Twickenham—complains, in 1782, that no one can stir out after sunset without a body-guard of servants armed with blunderbusses.

‘The English highwaymen of former days were remarkably well-bred personages. Thomas Grenville, whilst travelling with Lord Derby, and Lord Tankerville, whilst travelling with his father, were attacked by highwaymen: on both occasions six or seven shots were exchanged between them and the highwaymen; and when the parties assailed had expended all their ammunition the highwaymen came up to them and took their purses in the politest manner possible!’\*

The two adventures are confused, as it can hardly be supposed that the circumstances of each were identical. As Mr. Thomas Grenville used to tell *his*, the highwaymen were anything but polite, for they told the travellers, after taking their purses: ‘What scoundrels you must be to interfere with gentlemen about their business on the road!’ Yet highwaymen of the higher order studied politeness sometimes, and found their account in it. ‘McLean,’ writes Walpole, ‘is still the fashion: have I no reason to call him my friend? He says that if the pistol had shot me, he had another for himself. Can I do less than say I will be hanged if he is?’

As Mr. Thomas Grenville was born in 1755, his adventure must have occurred in the last quarter of the century. He used to relate in connection with it, that one night when he was walking down Hay Hill, he heard cries of ‘stop thief,’ and saw a man on horseback, a highwayman, dash down the steps of Lansdowne Passage and escape; adding that the iron bar was put up to prevent the recurrence of such an incident.

‘In a letter written by Mrs. Harris, the mother of the first Lord Malmesbury, to her son, dated Feb. 16, 1773, she says: “A most audacious fellow robbed Sir Francis Holburne and his sisters in their coach in St. James’s Square, coming from the opera. He was on horseback, and held a pistol close to the breast of one of the Miss Holburnes for a considerable time.

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\* ‘Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers’ (1856), p. 198.  
Vol. 145.—No. 290.

She had left her purse at home, which he would not believe. He has since robbed a coach in Park Lane." \*

Amongst the causes of the increase of robbers, Fielding enumerates and lays much stress on the frequency of executions, their publicity, and their habitual association in the popular mind with notions of pride and vanity, instead of guilt, degradation, or shame. 'The day appointed by law for the thief's shame is the day of glory in his own opinion. His procession to Tyburn, and his last moments there, are all triumphant; attended with the compassion of the meek and tender-hearted, and with the applause, admiration, and envy of all the bold and hardened.' We have seen how Walpole speaks of McLean, whose father, he adds, 'was an Irish dean; his brother is a Calvinist minister in great esteem at the Hague.' This man was made a lion by the aristocracy, who flocked in crowds to visit him in prison. The turnkeys of Newgate were said to have made 200*l.* by showing Sheppard; and Dr. Dodd was exhibited for two hours in the press-room at a shilling a head before he was led to the gallows. The criminal sentenced to death was encouraged and aided to put a brave face on the matter, and act on the maxim, *carpe diem*—'live and be merry, for the morrow we die.' He was allowed to order what he liked for his last dinner or supper, which the Ordinary was expected to share with him, with the view of keeping up his spirits and giving him the benefit of jovial companionship to the last. 'I will tell you a Newgate anecdote,' writes Gilly Williams to Selwyn, 'which I had from a gentleman who called on P. Lewis the night before the execution, and heard one runner call to another and order a chicken boiled for Rice's supper, "but," says he "you need not be curious about the sauce, for he is to be hanged to-morrow!" "That is true," says the other; "but the Ordinary sups with him, and you know he is a devil of a fellow for butter!"'

The inimitable scene in 'Jonathan Wild,' in which the Ordinary justifies his preference of punch to wine, and Jonathan complains of being disagreeably reminded of a world to come, is doubtless a caricature; but a caricature by a humorist of Fielding's quality is pretty sure to embody a popular impression, if not a truth. There is also an exquisite touch of satire in the 'circumstance, showing the most admirable con-

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\* 'The Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury,' vol. i. p. 258. For this reference, and several others materially lessening the labour of research, we are indebted to 'The Novels and Novelists of the Eighteenth Century, in Illustration of the Manners and Morals of the Age.' By William Forsyth, M.A., Q.C., &c. &c. 1871.—A book of real value and interest, displaying a wide range of curious reading judiciously applied. servation

servation of character in our hero to his last moments, which was, that whilst the Ordinary was busy in his ejaculations, Wild, in the midst of the shower of stones, &c., which played upon him, applied his hands to the parson's pocket, and emptied it of his cork-screw, which he carried out of the world in his hand.'

The brutalising effects of public executions were studiously enhanced in cases of high treason, by the law enacting that, prior to the decapitation, the criminal should be half hung, and that his entrails should be taken out and burnt before his eyes. No attempt, certainly no sustained and successful one, was made to get rid of this butchery during the eighteenth century. The punishment was inflicted on Kennington Common in 1746, in all its revolting atrocity, on eight gentlemen who had held commissions in the rebel army; and a minute description of the course pursued with one of them, a member of the ancient family of Townley, is given in the State Trials. Mr. Lecky states that gallows were erected in every important quarter of the city, and on many of them corpses were left rotting in chains. The practice of hanging in chains, although discontinued before its formal abolition, lasted far into the present century. Within living memory a batch of pirates was hung in chains in the marshes below Woolwich. A farmer and his son who rented the ground happening to take a close inspection of the victims, saw symptoms of life in one, took him down, carried him home with them, and employed him as a farm servant; till one night, finding him at his old trade of thieving, they laid hold of him, twisted his neck, and replaced him on the gallows; not at all imagining that they had been guilty of any description of irregularity.

Till 1790 women guilty of high or petit treason might be, and occasionally were, publicly burnt alive. Boys under twelve were sentenced to death and (we believe) hanged for participation in the Gordon Riots of 1780. Mentioning the circumstance to Rogers, Mr. Grenville rather naively added: 'I never in my life saw boys cry so.'

When Blackstone wrote, says Mr. Lecky, 'there were no less than 160 offences in England punishable with death, and it was a very ordinary occurrence for ten or twelve culprits to be hung on a single occasion, for forty or fifty to be condemned at a single assize.' Did the reformers of the eighteenth century diminish the list of capital offences or show any symptoms of being shocked by the demoralising exhibitions so constantly set before their eyes? We are not aware that they did anything of the sort, although Mr. Lecky, referring to the period subsequent to the ministry of Walpole, lays down that 'on the whole the

institutions and manners of the country were steadily assuming their modern aspect.' We shall presently see how far this is true of manners. It was certainly not true of laws and institutions. With the exception of the body of commercial law evolved and moulded by Lord Mansfield, the whole fabric of our juridical system, the entire administration of justice, civil and criminal, including the forms of procedure and the courts, were in as bad a condition at the end of the eighteenth century as at the commencement.

The state of opinion touching executions in 1783 may be inferred from Dr. Johnson's protest against the discontinuance of the procession to Tyburn. It having been argued, says Boswell, that this was an improvement; 'No, sir,' said he eagerly, 'it is *not* an improvement; they object that the old method drew together a number of spectators. Sir, executions are intended to draw spectators. If they do not draw spectators, they don't answer their purpose. The old method was most satisfactory to all parties: the public was gratified by a procession; *the criminal was supported by it*. Why is all this to be swept away?' Boswell expresses his perfect agreement with the sage, adding: 'Magistrates, both in London and elsewhere, have, I am afraid, in this land too much regard to their own ease.' The true sound objection is not so much as hinted at. In 1783, when this conversation took place, the number of malefactors executed in London alone was fifty-one: in 1785 it has risen to ninety-seven. The increase was attributed in part to Madan's 'Thoughts on Executive Justice,' in which it was argued that every penal code, to be efficacious, should be rigidly enforced; and this without first taking care to adjust the scale of punishment to the degree of guilt or the feelings of society. This tract, although answered by Romilly, exercised a mischievous influence for many years, while Beccaria's famous treatise,\* which had made numerous converts amongst Continental jurists, was little known in this country. It was just beginning to make way when a startling reaction took place.

'If any person,' says Romilly, in his Diary, 'be desirous of having an adequate idea of the mischievous effects which have been produced in this country by the French Revolution and all its attendant horrors, he should attempt some legislative reform on humane and

\* 'Dei Delitti e delle Pene': Monaco, 1764. There was a story current from which it would appear that Beccaria's practice did not accord with his theory. It is thus told by Lord Byron, in a letter from Milan in 1816: 'I have just heard an anecdote of Beccaria, who published such admirable things on the punishment of death. As soon as his book was out, his servant (having read it, I presume) stole his watch; and his master, while correcting the press of a second edition, did all he could to have him hanged by way of advertisement.'

liberal

liberal principles. He will then find, not only what a stupid dread of innovation, but what a savage spirit it has infused into the minds of many of his countrymen. I have had several opportunities of observing this. It is but a few nights ago, that, while I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons, a young man, the brother of a peer, whose name is not worth setting down, came up to me, and breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, "I am against your Bill, I am for hanging all." I was confounded; and endeavouring to find out some excuse for him, I observed that I supposed he meant that the certainty of punishment, affording the only prospect of suppressing crimes, the laws, whatever they were, ought to be executed. "No, no," he said, "it is not that. There is no good done by mercy. They only get worse; I would hang them all up at once."

In 1813, a Bill brought in by Romilly, for omitting the embowelling and quartering in the punishment for high treason, was thrown out on its first introduction, 'so that the Ministers,' he remarks, 'have the glory of having preserved the British law, by which it is ordained that the heart and the bowels of a man convicted of treason shall be torn out of his body whilst yet alive.' He carried his main point in the following year, although only as a compromise, for he was obliged to give up the quartering, which a majority of both Houses insisted on retaining as one of the bulwarks of monarchy.

Romilly, and after him Mackintosh, did good service by keeping public attention alive to the subject, but the effective amelioration of the penal code dates from 1823, when the late Sir Robert Peel became Secretary of State for the Home Department, as the effective reform of the law of real property, the law of procedure in civil cases, and the general administration of justice, dates from Lord Brougham's great speech in 1828. The lawyers of the eighteenth century had no more sense of the genuine worthlessness and trumpery character of the arbitrary rules and tangled technicalities by which they habitually eluded reason and obscured right, than the contemporaries of Coke. Turn where we will, we are met by signs of indifference to crying abuses; owing, no doubt, in a great measure to the want of a bold and vigilant press. But what to people living in our time seems almost unaccountable, is how easily our predecessors of the last century dropped back into the old grooves after a more or less successful effort to get out of them.

Speaking of the condition of the army, Mr. Lecky states on the authority of a memorial drawn up in 1707, that the garrison of Portsmouth was reduced by death or desertion to half its former number in less than a year and a half, through sickness,

want

want of firing, and bad barracks, and that the few new barracks that were erected were notwithstanding built with the most scandalous parsimony, and crowded to the most frightful excess. The popular objection to barracks, based on the old jealousy of a standing army, was urged by Blackstone, who maintained that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, and that no separate camp or inland fortress should be allowed. This objection retained sufficient strength in 1786, to cause the rejection of the scheme of fortification proposed by Pitt. Commissions in the army were indiscriminately employed for political or private ends, to buy support or to reward subserviency. After trying in vain to muzzle that 'terrible cornet of horse' (the first Pitt), Walpole summarily deprived him of his cornetcy. Mr. Lecky states that an officer, named Anstruther, got a regiment for voting in favour of the Porteous Act. Promotion without interest was so entirely out of the question, that it was hardly deemed matter of complaint. Lieutenant Lismahago, in 'Humphrey Clinker,' had been thirty years in the service 'wounded, maimed, and mutilated,' without ever attaining a higher rank than that of lieutenant. 'But in such a length of time,' resumed the Squire, 'you must have seen a great many young officers put over your head.' 'Nevertheless,' said he, 'I have no cause to murmur. They bought their preferment with their money. I had no money to carry to market: that was my misfortune, but nobody was to blame.'

It was by no means uncommon to find ensigns in the cradle, who grew to be colonels in their teens. 'Carry the major his pap,' was a byword. It was not even deemed necessary to proceed by gradation. Edward Waverley joined his regiment in command of a troop, 'the intermediate steps being overleapt with great facility.' Charles Phillips states that one of Provost Hutchinson's daughters was gazetted to a majority of horse;\* and a recent authority adds, that she drew the pay, and appeared at a fancy ball in the uniform, a short jacket and tight pantaloons, which set off her figure to advantage. There is a scene in Lady Morgan's novel, 'The O'Briens and O'Flahertys,' where the Irish Cabinet, having nothing else vacant, agree to give the fair friend of a colleague a cornetcy *en attendant*.

It was left to one Royal Commander-in-Chief in the present century to put the first effective check on these abuses, and to another H. R. H. to bring the system of promotion to a state as

\* 'Curran and his Contemporaries,' 3rd ed. p. 45. This was the gentleman of whom Lord Townshend, when Lord Lieutenant, said: 'If I gave Hutchinson England and Ireland for an estate, he would beg to have the Isle of Wight for a potato garden.'

satisfactory

satisfactory as it can well be brought when the conflicting claims of merit and seniority are to be weighed. It was during the Duke of York's administration of the Horse Guards that a reasonable limit was placed on the age at which a commission could be held. But, dating from the abolition of the purchase system, a far more difficult and delicate duty has devolved on the royal Commander-in-Chief than that of framing a limit or prescribing a rule. The soundest discretion, the severest impartiality, have been called into action; and it is a memorable fact that, under the new order of things (now of nearly seven years' standing), not a single case of favour or affection, not one approximating to a wrong, has been established to the satisfaction of unprejudiced observers and competent critics, whether in or out of the profession.

It was similarly left to a long subsequent generation to reform the abuses of the Navy, which were at their height during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Smollett served as surgeon's mate on board a ship of the line in the expedition to Carthage in 1741, and in the character of Roderic Random described what fell under his own observation in that capacity. 'When I followed him (the surgeon) with the medicines into the sick berth or hospital, I was much less surprised that people should die on board than that any sick person should recover. Here I saw about fifty miserable distempered wretches, suspended in rows, so huddled one upon another that not more than fourteen inches space was allotted for each with his bed and bedding; and destitute of every convenience necessary for persons in that helpless condition.' That no improvement had taken place in 1757 is shown by a trustworthy authority quoted by Mr. Lecky: 'I have known 1000 men confined together in a guardship, some hundreds of whom had neither a bed nor so much as a change of linen. I have seen many of them brought into hospital in the same clothes and shirts they had on when pressed several months before.'

The hardships to which the sailors were still exposed in 1797, led to the formidable mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore, and virtually constituted the sole apology for the press-gang as an appeal to force when milder means had failed or (more correctly speaking) had never been tried. Legally, only seafaring men were liable to seizure, but the gangs were not particular when lawful game failed. In Gilray's 'Liberty of the Subject' (October 1779), a gang, armed with swords and cudgels, are leading off a half-starved tailor, despite of the resistance of his wife, who clutches the leader by the hair. Lord Fellamar, at Lord Bellaston's instigation, engages a gang  
to



to carry off Tom Jones, and are only prevented by an accident. In 1805, the member of a highly respectable mercantile firm at Liverpool, who happened to be shabbily dressed, was seized by a press-gang, hurried on board the tender, hastily transferred to a line-of-battle ship on the point of setting sail to join Nelson, made to do duty despite his protestations, and killed at Trafalgar. The late Lord Sefton, after relating the incident, was wont to add that the family, a very well-known one, caused to be inscribed upon his grave: 'To the memory of ———, Esq., Landsman, killed fighting for his country, much against his will, in the glorious naval action off Trafalgar, A.D., Oct. 21, 1805.'

That silent revolution in opinions and manners brought about by time, of which Mr. Lecky speaks in his 'History of Rationalism,' was doubtless in progress during the whole of the eighteenth century, but the outward and visible signs of improvement are non-existent or rare. To take drinking, gambling, and swearing—there is an unbroken continuity in two if not three, from Harley and St. John, through Walpole, Carteret and Pulteney, to Charles James Fox and Sheridan. Indeed, granting equality as regards drinking, it may be questioned whether statesmen and men of quality did not play higher and swear harder as the century advanced. It was past the middle when women of quality took to gambling in its most disreputable shape, and near the end (1796) when Lord Kenyon went out of his way to give them a memorable warning: 'If any prosecutions of this nature are fairly brought before me, and the parties are justly convicted—whatever be their rank or station, though they should be the first ladies in the land—they shall certainly exhibit themselves in the pillory.' The very ladies to whom he alluded—Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Elisabeth Luttrell, Lady Archer, and Mrs. Concannon—were actually prosecuted for keeping a gaming table (a faro bank) and convicted; but he shrank from executing his threat, and they escaped with fines.

Mr. Massey was the first to call attention to the fact that a club composed of both sexes in equal numbers, selected from the highest class of the aristocracy, was instituted in 1772, but was speedily discredited and broken up through the introduction of deep play. In Miss Edgeworth's novel of 'Belinda' (1801) a Mr. and Mrs. Luttridge, a fashionable couple who are in the habit of receiving the best society at their house, are detected by one of their guests in keeping an E. O. table constructed for the purposes of fraud, and compelled to surrender a part of their plunder, amounting to many thousands of pounds. This novel illustrates other traits of manners. Lady Delacour is suffering from the effects of the recoil of a  
pistol

pistol which she fired in the air by way of honourable finale to a duel with another woman of rank. Again: 'The first time Belinda ever saw Lord Delacour, he was dead drunk in the arms of two footmen, who were carrying him up-stairs to his bed-chamber; his lady, who was just returned from Ranelagh, passed by him on the landing-place with a look of sovereign contempt. "What is the matter? who is there?" said Belinda. "Only the *body* of my Lord Delacour," said her ladyship; "his bearers have brought it up the wrong staircase. Take it down again, my good friends; let his lordship go *his own way*. Don't look so shocked and amazed—don't look so *new*, my child; this funeral of my Lord's intellects is to me a nightly, or," added her ladyship, looking at her watch and yawning, "I believe I should say a *daily* ceremony—six o'clock, I protest.'" Sir Philip Baddeley, one of Belinda's suitors, hardly utters a sentence without a 'damme' or 'curse it.' The correct pages of Miss Austen are occasionally dotted with oaths. She, like Miss Edgeworth, drew from the life, and neither would have risked a coarse word or profane expletive that was not in keeping with and essential to the characters.

In the dedication of 'Tom Jones' to Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lyttelton, Fielding expresses a hope that the reader will find in the whole course of the work 'nothing inconsistent with the strictest rules of decency nor which can offend even the chastest in the perusal.' We can only account for the boldness (we might almost say audacity) of this assurance, by supposing that expressions which have since been regarded as grossly indecent had then become inoffensive from familiarity. Few ladies would now be recommended to read 'Tom Jones,' or readily admit that they had read it. Indeed, women of refinement would be more repelled by the coarseness than attracted by the humour. But during half a century after its appearance it was read by the ingenuous youth of both sexes without reproach. Canning, then a boy at Eton, asks in a paper in the 'Microcosm' in 1787—'Is not the novel of "Tom Jones," however excellent a work of itself, generally put too early into our hands, and proposed too soon to the imitation of children?' Its early popularity with the fair sex is attested by Lady Bradshaigh, writing to Richardson in 1749:—'The girls are certainly fond of "Tom Jones," as I told you before; and they do not scruple declaring it in the presence of your *incognita*.'

The tone of Richardson's own novels, unimpeachable as they may be in intention, says little for the refinement of the age. The entire plot of 'Pamela' is suggestive of indelicacy; and the fair correspondents who beg Richardson to save Clarissa from  
from

from her impending fate, must have suffered their imagination to wander into dangerous ground. 'Do, dear sir,' writes *Laurey*, Bradshaigh; 'it is too shocking and barbarous a story for publication. I wish I could not think of it. Blot out but one night and the villainous laudanum, and all may be well again.' Cibber writes: 'What piteous d—d disgraceful pickle have you placed her (Clarissa) in! For God's sake, send me the sequel, or—I don't know what to say! *My girls are all on fire and fright to know what can possibly have become of her. Take care.*'

In a paper contributed to the 'Connoisseur' in 1754 by the Earl of Cork, the noble writer states: 'That he was present at an entertainment where a celebrated lady of pleasure was one of the party, and her shoe was pulled off by a young man, who filled it with champagne and drank it off to her health. In this delicious draught he was immediately pledged by the rest, and then, to carry the compliment still further, he ordered the shoe itself to be dressed and served up for supper. The cook set himself seriously to work upon it; he pulled the upper part of it (which was of damask) into fine shreds, and tossed it up in a ragout; minced the sole, cut the wooden heel into very thin slices, fried them in butter, and placed them round the dish for garnish. The company, you may be sure, testified their affection for the lady by eating very heartily of this exquisite impromptu.'

At a still later period extravagance of conduct and open contempt for the decencies of life were pushed to extremity by the establishment of the Hell-fire Club, and the orgies of Medmenham Abbey. The coarseness of manners and laxity of morals that prevailed during the reigns of George I. and George II. are proved by the uniform tenor of Lord Hervey's 'Memoirs' and Walpole's 'Letters.' It is a bad sign of national morals when public masquerades are a popular amusement with the pleasure-loving public, including the Court and the aristocracy:—

'The midnight orgy, and the mazy dance,  
The smile of beauty, and the flush of wine,  
For fops, fools, gamesters, knaves, and lords combine;  
Each to his humour—Comus all allows:  
Champaign, dice, music, or your neighbour's spouse.'

The masquerade in 1749 at which Miss Chudleigh, a maid of honour, afterwards Duchess of Kingston, made her memorable appearance as 'Andromeda,' was attended by the Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family.

The example of conjugal and domestic virtue set by George III. and Queen Charlotte appears to have had little effect even in the very precincts of the Court. 'It is not (writes Junius) that

that he (the Duke of Grafton) kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad. It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known if the First Lord of the Treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen.'

If the acting plays reflected the popular taste, it was far from unimpeachable till past the middle of the century. 'I never heard of any plays,' says Parson Adams, 'fit for a Christian to read but "Cato" and the "Conscious Lovers;" and I must own in the latter are some things which are almost solemn enough for a sermon.' According to Hallam, the 'Conscious Lovers' (by Steele) was the first comedy since the Restoration that could be called moral. Miss Burney's heroine, Evelina, was present at the representation of 'Love for Love,' and no one who has read it will accuse her of prudery when she expresses a hope that, fraught with wit and entertainment as it is, she shall never see it represented again; 'for it is so extremely indelicate—to use the softest word I can—that Miss Mervin and I were perpetually out of countenance, and could neither make any observations ourselves nor venture to listen to those of others.' But a perceptible improvement as regards propriety had taken place in dramatic composition prior to the appearance of the 'School for Scandal;' and the eighteenth century may certainly boast of having placed Shakespeare's rank as a poet and dramatist beyond dispute.

Supposed cause and effect are placed in puzzling opposition by dramatic annals. National, at all events, metropolitan demoralisation is supposed to have been at its worst in the reign of Charles II.; and yet this was the reign in which there were only two theatres open in London, and even these were found too much; the rival companies being obliged to unite in 1684. There were ten or eleven in the reign of Elizabeth, and a still greater number in the reign of James I. Sir John Bernard, who brought the condition of the stage before the House of Commons in 1735, complained that there were then six theatres in London; and one of his supporters (quoted by Mr. Lecky) vehemently urged 'that it was no less surprising than shameful to see so great a change for the worse in the temper and inclination of the British nation, who were now so extravagantly addicted to lewd and idle diversions that the number of playhouses in London was double that of Paris, . . . that it was astonishing to all Europe that Italian eunuchs and signoras should have set salaries equal to those of the Lords of the Treasury and Judges of England.'

The opera was an exotic unknown in England prior to 1705.

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At its first introduction, it was wholly English; in its second stage, the principal parts were Italian and the subordinate English; and it was not till after four or five years of tentative progress that it became wholly and thoroughly Italian.

'The great impulse given by Handel to sacred music, and the naturalization of the opera in England, are the two capital events in English musical history during the first half of the eighteenth century.'

Speaking of painting prior to Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Wilson, Mr. Lecky remarks that England 'possessed indeed an admirable school, but one represented almost exclusively by foreigners, by Holbein, Rubens, Vandyck, Lely, and Kneller.' These, however, received no encouragement, except as portrait-painters. 'Painters of history,' said Kneller, 'make the dead live, but do not begin to live themselves till they are dead. I paint the living and they make me live.' Hogarth described portrait-painting as 'the only flourishing branch of the high tree of British art'; yet it was his surpassing excellence in another line which established his claim to be 'the first native painter of undoubted genius and originality that England could boast.'

Gray, writing in 1763, says that 'our skill in gardening, or laying out grounds, is the only taste we can call our own, the only proof of original taste in matters of pleasure.' The artificial French taste in gardens and grounds, as in most other things, prevailed during the reign of Charles II., when (to borrow Lady Morgan's *mot*) nothing was natural except the children. The Dutch taste, equally distorted and more stiff, was introduced by William III. :—

'No pleasing intricacies intervene,  
No artful wildness to perplex the scene;  
The suffering eye inverted nature sees,  
Trees cut to statues, statues thick as trees.'

The taste to which Gray lays claim for his countrymen was mainly owing to Bridgeman and Kent, who insisted on freedom and variety, on following nature instead of discarding or defacing her.

The condition of architecture at the period under inquiry is glossed over by Mr. Lecky, who merely says that architectural taste during the ascendancy of Vanbrugh was extremely low, and that the badness of the bricks employed in building was already a matter of complaint. The badness of the bricks in the old buildings of London, prior to the Fire, is mentioned in the 'Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo,' quoted by Lord Macaulay.

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'The history of architecture in England during the eighteenth century (says Mr. Fergusson) if not characterised by anything so brilliant as the career of either Jones or Wren, is marked in the beginning by the daring originality of Vanbrugh, and closes with the correct classicality of Chambers.'\*

A comparison of Lord Macaulay's description of London at the Revolution with Mr. Lecky's England half-a-century later, shows that the progress was less than might have been anticipated; although Mr. Lecky is surely mistaken when he says that the population of London in 1700 was little more than a seventh of what it is now. Lord Macaulay puts it as rather more than half a million in 1685.

In his Preface to the 'Fool of Quality,' † the Rev. Charles Kingsley asks: 'Who, in looking round a family portrait gallery, has not remarked the difference between the heads of the seventeenth and those of the eighteenth century? The former are of the same type as our own, and with the same strong and varied personality; the latter painfully like both to each other, and to an oil flask; the jaw round, weak, and sensual, the forehead narrow and retreating. Had the race really degenerated for a while, or was the lower type adopted intentionally out of compliment to some great personage?'

We do not agree with Mr. Kingsley that the heads of the seventeenth century are the same type as our own; but they certainly contrast favourably with those of the first half of the eighteenth, and it would be strange if they did not, unless it be altogether vain and idle to look for character in countenance. It was not merely that the heroic type was wanting: that the age of Hampden and Cromwell, Milton and Andrew Marvel, was no more. Corruption had usurped the place of patriotism, public men had degenerated during the reigns of George I. and George II.; and a corresponding decline may be observed in the intellectual class, especially in the men of letters. Their social position was lowered, and their tone had sunk with it. They were no longer the favoured companions of statesmen

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\* 'History of the Modern Styles of Architecture.' By James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. Vol. iii. p. 314.

† By Henry Brooke, published in 1766, and republished by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, with a Preface and Life of the Author, in 1859. It was not worth republishing, being defaced throughout by glaring absurdities and bad taste. A lady's dress is thus described: 'A scarf of cerulean tint flew between her right shoulder and her left hip, being buttoned at each end by a row of rubies. . . . A coronet of diamonds, through which there passed a white branch of the feathers of the ostrich, was inserted on the left decline of her lovely head, and a stomacher of inestimable brilliance rose beneath her dazzling bosom, and by a fluctuating blaze of unremitting light, checked and turned the eye away from too presumptuous a gaze!'

and nobles. They no longer looked forward to becoming members of Parliament, or secretaries of State, or secretaries of embassy, or well-paid commissioners, or high dignitaries of the Church, as the reward of services rendered or distinctions earned by the pen. Compare the relative position in these respects of Pope, Addison, Prior, Steel, Gay, and Swift, with that of Fielding, Smollett, Johnson, and Goldsmith, prior to the accession of George III. There is a startling contrast between Johnson signing himself 'Impransus,' and Swift sending the Lord Treasurer (Harley) into the House of Commons to call out the Secretary of State (St. John), only to let him know that he (Swift) would not dine with him if he dined late.

'Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,  
Toil, envy, want, the garret, and the jail.'

The first edition of 'The Vanity of Human Wishes' was published in 1749. The disappointment and mortification Johnson underwent from the fallacious patronage of Lord Chesterfield led to the change in the subsequent editions of *garret* for *patron*. 'Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before.' . . . 'Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help?''\* When this was written, private patronage had ceased to be munificent or encouraging, and public patronage, that of the general readers and buyers, had not begun to be remunerative. For 'The Vanity of Human Wishes'—which Byron called 'a grand poem, and so true,' which Scott pronounced the finest poem of the century after Pope—the author received 15 guineas.

Mr. Lecky attributes this (obviously transition) state of things to the misemployment of the resources of the State by Walpole and Newcastle, for political ends, to the entire neglect of the intellectual interests of the country; and he digresses at some length to maintain that ample provision should be made for men of intellectual pursuits, so as to render them independent of popular support.

'The inevitable result of the law of supply and demand, if left without restriction, is either to degrade or destroy both literature and science, or else to throw them exclusively into the hands of those who possess private means of subsistence. This is not a matter of speculation or of controversy, but of fact, and anyone who is even moderately acquainted with literary or scientific biography may abundantly verify it. It is certain that the higher forms of literature and science are as a rule unsupported, that men of extraordinary abilities have

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\* 'Johnson's Letter to Lord Chesterfield,' Feb. 7, 1755.

spent the most useful and laborious lives in these pursuits without earning the barest competence, that many of the most splendid works of genius and many of the most fruitful and conscientious researches are due to men whose lives were passed between the garret and the spunging house, and who were reduced to a penury sometimes verging upon starvation. Neither Bacon, nor Newton, nor Locke, nor Descartes, nor Gibbon, nor Hume, nor Adam Smith, nor Montesquieu, nor Berkeley, nor Butler, nor Coleridge, nor Bentham, nor Milton, nor Wordsworth, could have made a livelihood by their works, and the same may be said of all, or nearly all, writers on mathematics, metaphysics, political economy, archaeology, and physical science in all its branches, as well as of the great majority of the greatest writers in other fields. Very few of those men whose genius has irradiated nations, and whose writings have become the eternal heritage of mankind, obtained from their works the income of a successful village doctor or provincial attorney.'

The question being whether the existing state of things demands a given remedy, we have nothing to do with what may have occurred in a pre-existing state of things. Is it true that the higher forms of literature and science are as a rule unsupported *now*? Was or is this the experience of Sir Walter Scott, Moore, Southey, Jeffrey, Lockhart, Macaulay, Froude, Lord Lytton, Tennyson, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Trollope, Owen, Tyndall, Huxley? Or, more correctly speaking, have they not received a fair return for their labours? for, be it observed, if a man only devotes a portion of his time to literature or science, he cannot expect it to be all-sufficing for his support. And this remark is especially applicable to the list of eminent persons which Mr. Lecky cites as quite decisive upon the point. Very few of them sought or expected to make a livelihood by their works. They were more or less independent of authorship. But surely Mr. Lecky will not contend that this was the main-spring of their productive energy, and that, unless they had been independent, their works would never have been produced at all; still less that we ought to select an indefinite number of men of promise and give them an independence at starting, in the hope that some of them may turn out Bacons, Newtons, Miltons, or Lockes. Yet his argument is not that embryo authors should be stimulated into extraordinary efforts by specific honours and rewards, in addition to the hopes of fame and fortune common to all, but that 'latent genius should be evoked, and directed to the spheres in which it is most fitted to excel,' by liberal endowments in the nature of fellowships and ecclesiastical preferments. These, he says, 'have, as a matter of fact, produced many works of great and sterling value which would never have been written without them.' The sole matter of fact is that Church digni-  
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taries have produced theological works of value; a meagre set-off to the probable amount of power and energy that has vegetated or lain dormant in cathedral stalls and colleges.

Examples tell both ways or every way; for great works have been produced under every variety of circumstance and condition. We must look below the surface, to the ordinary motives that actuate mankind. Even assuming the entire absence of favour and affection, with an exceptional power of discrimination, in the selection of the nominees to the proposed endowments, it is running counter to all we know of human nature to assume that ease, comfort, competence, prosperity, are favourable to intellectual development, exertion and activity. Would the privilege of undisturbed study from youth upwards suffice to produce a philosopher, an historian, or a poet? Would it have produced a Homer, a Milton, a Dante, or a Shakespeare? How, immured in a college, could they have collected their materials, or whence have derived their inspiration? Excitement, agitation, the storms and trials of life, varied experience, changes of fortune, alternating hopes and fears, were their congenial atmosphere, their school. If anything can be confidently predicated of the Homeric poems, it is that they were not the product of learned leisure. If Milton wrote in poverty for fame, and Dante poured forth his 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn' under the irresistible impulse of patriotic indignation or personal sense of wrong, Shakespeare certainly dashed off his plays, like a modern playwright, with a distinct and well-understood view to the pecuniary results. So did Molière. Dryden notoriously wrote for money. So did Pope. So did Scott. So did Byron, after a short struggle with his pride. So did Wordsworth, although his earnings fell short of his expectations and his own estimate of his deserts. He did not write better by becoming a collector of excise. Johnson invariably avowed that he did not understand any one submitting to intellectual labour except from necessity; and it is quite as certain, as much of what Mr. Lecky calls 'matter of fact,' that if the lexicographer had been appointed to a fellowship or tutorship, instead of leaving the University without a degree from poverty, he would never have undertaken the 'Dictionary.'

'It is difficult,' says Mr. Lecky, 'to overestimate the amount of evil in the world which has sprung from vices in literature which may be distinctly traced to the circumstances of the author. Had Rousseau been a happy and a prosperous man, the whole history of modern Europe might have been changed.' If Rousseau had been a happy and a prosperous man, he would not have been Rousseau. If Byron had been a moral and  
domestic

domestic man, he would not have written 'Childe Harold' or 'Don Juan,' and it is open to Mr. Lecky to say 'so much the better for the world.' But this is tantamount to saying that the proposed stimulant would act as a moral sedative, and that it would be well to bring all future poems within Piron's category:—

'Il faut que la vertu plus que l'esprit y brille,  
La mère en prescrira la lecture à sa fille.'

We have paused upon this subject because Mr. Lecky's treatment of it is characteristic. It is one amongst many which he has discussed with candour, with knowledge, with copious illustration, in excellent language; but without the requisite comprehensiveness and depth, and without landing us on any satisfactory conclusion at the end. He is more suggestive than convincing, and, in his eagerness to give prominence to particular views, he is apt to lose sight of their relative importance and the space to which they are entitled as bearing on the professed object of his work. What are meant and ought to be tributary streams, are sometimes greater than the main current and run parallel instead of flowing into it. He has undertaken not the history of the British Empire, but the history of England during a given period; that is, its internal civil history, with especial reference to the degree and causes of its growth—social, moral, and intellectual—in laws, manners, customs, opinions, and institutions. His plan, although limited, is still vast. For, example, it may be held to include most of the subjects treated by Mr. Leslie Stephen in his 'History of English Thought during the Eighteenth Century'; for all revolutions in thought, all openings of new channels for mind, necessarily affect national growth. The influence of France, again, even prior to the volcanic eruption of 1789, was quite as perceptible in English modes of thinking and ways of life as that of Scotland, Ireland, or the Colonies. We should say that the influence of Ireland was the weakest of the external influences: that it was hardly felt at all prior to the Union. Yet Mr. Lecky has devoted more than half a volume, 345 pages, to Irish history, taking it up in right earnest from the Irish wars of Elizabeth, and bringing it down to 1759. Considered apart, this is perhaps the most striking and valuable portion of his two volumes; but it sets all laws of proportion at defiance.

A similar objection lies against the chapter (120 pages) headed 'The Religious Revival,' in which, in our opinion, the abiding (if not the primary) influence of Methodism is greatly overestimated; as when it is stated that 'the Evangelical movement anticipated, in many of its aspects, that great reaction

which passed over Europe after the French Revolution, and it contributed powerfully to perpetuate and intensify it.' Here again, we follow Mr. Lecky with interest, even when he is widely deviating from the preappointed track. It is the same throughout. His neglect of unity detracts less from his genuine merits and attractiveness as an historian, than could have been anticipated. He always writes well—as only an earnest high-minded man, of cultivation and accomplishment, can write: he is in all respects trustworthy: although not devoid of imagination and frequently rising into eloquence, he never sacrifices truth to effect: if we do not learn much absolutely new from him, he manages to throw an air of freshness around the most familiar topics: his book is pre-eminently calculated to excite inquiry and reflection; and (above all) we rise from it with the consciousness that the time spent in reading it has been both pleasantly and instructively spent.

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ART. IX.—*Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey. Signed at San Stefano, the 19th February (3rd of March), 1878.*

THE first act of the great drama of the Eastern Question, as it presents itself to this generation, is now at an end, and the second is about to begin. For the moment the horrors of war have ceased; and Great Britain has to decide on the duty devolving upon her in consequence of the subjection of the Turkish Empire to Russia.

In the year 1788, the historian of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' published an ancient prophecy respecting Constantinople, which he declared, with a characteristic scoff, to differ from other prophecies, inasmuch as its language was unambiguous, and its antiquity undoubted. Speaking of the Russian Varangians of the ninth and tenth centuries, he says, 'The memory of these Arctic fleets, that seemed to descend from the Polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians in the last days should become masters of Constantinople. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction.' Nearly a century has elapsed since these words were written, and now both the venerable prophecy and the  
comment

comment of the historian are fulfilled. Russia may not technically be in possession of Constantinople. Apologists of Russian proceedings are fond of reminding us that the Czar promised not to enter the city, and that he has not entered it; but, though the Russian flag does not wave from the pinnacles of St. Sophia, the Russian armies hold strategic positions inside the innermost defensive lines of the city, and they could, at an hour's notice, possess themselves of the Imperial palace.

The despatch with which Lord Salisbury signalized his accession to the Foreign Office is in complete accord with the national will. Manly and dignified in tone, it does not mince matters, or shrink from saying the plainest truths in the calmest words. It contains no menace, but it explains with frank courtesy that the Treaty of San Stefano cannot be recognised as the public law of Europe, because in every clause it is in direct contravention of a compact solemnly agreed to by the great European Powers. That compact, laid down in the Treaties of Paris and London, may be revised. If Russia considers such a revision necessary, England, as one of the signatories of the Treaty of 1856, will consent. But it is not to be endured that the Treaty of San Stefano should blot out the Treaty of Paris, for the blood of England was as freely spent for the one as that of Russia has been for the other.

Such, in effect, is the despatch of the 1st of April. However courteous in tone and moderate in argument, the facts of the case are such that the mere recital of them reads like an indictment against Russia. The Treaty of San Stefano is an elaborate arrangement for the purpose of legalizing, in the face of Europe, the establishment of Russian power on the ruins of Turkey. As we read the measured phrases of the English Government we are irresistibly reminded of the fact that the policy which is thus gravely impeached is one which has been steadily pursued for more than a century, that the present war is no isolated quarrel, but the foreknown outcome of a settled purpose, followed since the time of Peter the Great, with patience unwearied, with tenacity unrivalled, with watchfulness unsleeping. Were it not that Russian success is incompatible with European peace, and fatal to liberty, one would be tempted to admire the singleness of purpose which has animated so many generations of her statesmen. But it ought to be kept in view that the purpose is one fatal to Europe. Russian aggrandisement means loss of liberty, civil and religious, to all who come under her dominion. That this is no vague term let murdered Poland bear witness: what has been their fate may be and will be the fate of others to-morrow. The Testament of the great Czar may or may not

be a forgery, but the spirit which animates it certainly exists; the legacy left by him to his countrymen is the task of establishing Russian supremacy in Europe.

At this moment Russian is substituted for Turkish power over the greater part of the Sultan's European dominions. That Russia's traditional dream of conquest should be fulfilled so speedily, so effectually, and with so little remonstrance or opposition from England, seems the more wonderful when we remember in what spirit England has encountered every previous attempt. In times when we had far less direct interest in the question than now, we offered to Russia the sternest opposition. Our most direct interest in the East arises in connection with India; and that interest is greater now than ever. Within the last half century the condition of our relations with that seat of our great Eastern empire has changed; the importance of guarding the security of our communications has increased; the social connection, the intimacy of union in feeling, in fortune, has been developed. In previous wars with Russia, and even when last we fought her, there was no Suez Canal; our route to India was by the long voyage round the Cape. To-day the establishment of Russian preponderance in the Mediterranean would be more disastrous to our interests than in former times. Nevertheless such is the change that has come over the spirit of our policy that, whilst a former generation resisted to the death, we have been contented to look quietly on while Russia leisurely knocked to pieces the barrier that separated us, and established herself *à cheval* on the peninsula of Constantinople, with one foot on the *Ægean* and the other on the Euxine. English statesmen have, till now, acted on the knowledge that, while Turkey remained independent, Russia was to some extent held in check; that the geographical position of the Sultan's dominions barred her extension to the south. Our objects have always been the same: to uphold Turkey as a means to an end, but we have never regarded the maintenance of her power as an object desirable in itself. Of late, under the irritation produced by the perverse obstinacy in ill-doing which has distinguished the ruling caste of Turkey, the English people have seemed to forget even the best interests of the country in the desire to shake themselves entirely free of the Turks. For a moment, but it has been only for a moment, many even of our leading public men have lost sight of the danger which threatens European liberty. They have changed the old traditional policy; they have deliberately decided that Turkey is no longer an instrument we can work with, and that she must be definitively cast aside. They have acted on the belief, now  
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for the first time brought into prominence, that, however useful Turkey has been in former times, as a buffer between Russia and the rest of Europe, she can be an independent sovereign power no longer; and that it is a lesser evil to stand face to face with Russia and deal directly with her, than to maintain the Turkish power on the old footing.

It is not our purpose, at this moment, to pronounce an opinion for or against this view. We have already had occasion, in an earlier article in the present number,\* to point out that it was almost impossible for the Government to come to any other resolution, in consequence of the outburst of popular passion following the Bulgarian massacres, inflamed moreover, as it was, by Mr. Gladstone's violent appeals to turn the Mussulman Power, 'bag and baggage,' out of Europe. It is easy to blame the Government now for bending to the storm; but it is only fair to recollect the outcry raised against the Premier for his wise and far-seeing speech at the Mansion House in the autumn of 1876, and the little support that he received even from the members of his own party. At any rate, whether they were wise or unwise in the course they then adopted, it is worth while to take a rapid survey of the past, if only to remind ourselves what the danger is that we have now to guard against, and what is the traditional line of defence which we have abandoned. Mr. Gladstone, in one of his earliest atrocity pamphlets, told us that the old idea of Russian aggression was a hobgoblin which had fallen out of repair, and he urged that we should aid Russia in her holy mission. Opinions may differ as to the holiness of the mission, but none will dispute that it has been steadily pursued. Since the commencement of the eighteenth century, Russia has waged no less than eight aggressive wars against the Turks. Seldom in that period did she allow even twenty years to intervene between her several invasions. The result, except on the occasion of the Crimean War, has invariably been a considerable accession of territory, and the advancement of her frontier in all directions. At first the Caspian Sea appeared to be a barrier to her progress; she ended by applying it to her own purposes, converting it into a Russian lake, and securing the annexation of the surrounding countries. From the kings of Sweden she has wrested one-half of their dominions; she absorbed the Crimea and the plains of Tartary; she dismembered Poland and thereby acquired territory equal in area to the whole Austrian Empire. Her conquests from Turkey in Europe have equalled the size of Russia Proper.

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\* See pp. 318, 319.

From Turkey in Asia and from Persia, her acquisitions have been enormous. The territories incorporated with Russia in the last hundred years exceed in extent and in value the whole empire she possessed before 1772. She has advanced her frontier some nine hundred miles towards Central Europe, and has annexed countries four hundred miles in breadth in the direction of Constantinople. That city has been the ultimate goal of her ambition, and the object of her every wish.

The encroachments of Russia have been from the first conducted on a settled plan. From the time of the Treaty of Kainardji till the present time they have been based upon a claim to a protectorate of the Christians. The Seventh Article of that Treaty lays down that 'the Sublime Porte promises constantly to protect the Christian religion in all its churches, and also agrees that the ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia may make representations in favour of the church to be erected in Constantinople, as well as those officiating therein, and promises to receive these remonstrances as coming from a trustworthy person in the name of a sincerely friendly neighbouring Power.' This Article has been confirmed by a general clause inserted in the several Treaties of Jassy, Bucharest, Adrianople, and Unkiar-Skelessi, and it is upon that slender foundation that the Treaty-rights of Russia rest. The Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi contained a Secret Article which virtually placed the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus at the command of the Czar; but the energetic manner in which, when this stipulation became known, it was denounced by England, prevented it from having any practical effect.

The Russian Czars have always been moderate in words; they have been careful to justify their aggressions by the highest and holiest motives. Perhaps, so inconsistent is human nature, they have believed themselves to be actuated by those motives. Such was the practice of Nicholas, and Alexander has copied the example of his sire, as closely as that sire followed the traditions of former occupants of the Imperial throne. The Ministers of the Czars are not so careful. It is really curious to note how sharp and cutting the contrast has sometimes been. Compare, for instance, the language of Count Nesselrode, after the peace of Adrianople, with the words of the Czar on the same occasion. Nesselrode wrote as follows to the Grand Duke Constantine on the 12th of February, 1830:—

This war, notwithstanding the active hostility of Austria and the underhand opposition of Great Britain, has given Russia an imposing position. The Treaty of Adrianople has consolidated her preponderance in the Levant. We might have destroyed the Turkish Empire;

Empire; but, in the opinion of the Emperor, this monarchy, reduced to exist simply under our protectorate, obeying our orders, is preferable to any other combination, which would have forced us either to extend our conquests too far, or to substitute for the Ottoman Empire States which might soon have rivalled us in power, civilisation, industry, and wealth.'

Again, in a despatch to Prince Lieven: 'It is an old and settled principle of our policy not to allow any intervention between ourselves and the Turks, because of the geographical situation of our southern provinces and of the Bosphorus, which is the key of it. *A paramount influence at Constantinople is a first-rate necessity of our policy; we demand it, and shall know how to defend it.*' True, bold, intelligible; and, from a Russian point of view, no doubt patriotic. But the words of the Czar were very different. He could, it is true, afford to be moderate in words, for he was not without a solid *solatium*. By the treaty he acquired territory which gave him the command of the Danube and a large war indemnity. It established him firmly in Circassia and the adjacent provinces, and placed in his hands fortresses and territory on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, which afforded facilities for future operations against the remaining possessions of the Sultan. And yet, with this practical comment before his eyes on the degree of credence that was to be given to his words, the Czar could write:—

'Ni la chute de ce gouvernement, ni des conquêtes n'entrent dans nos vues, parce qu'elles nous seraient plus nuisibles qu'utiles. Au reste, quand même, malgré nos intentions et nos efforts, les décrets de la divine providence nous auraient prédestinés à être témoins du dernier jour de l'empire Ottoman, les idées de sa Majesté quant aux agrandissements de la Russie seraient encore les mêmes. L'Empereur ne reculerait pas les bornes de son territoire, et ne demanderait pas à ses alliés que cette absence d'ambition et de pensées exclusives, dont il donnerait le premier exemple.'

A long course of diplomatic utterances like these was too much for the sturdy old chief who then ruled in England. The Duke of Wellington lost all patience.

'I confess it makes me sick,' he wrote,\* 'when I hear of the Emperor's desire for peace. If he desires peace, why does he not make it? Can the Turks resist him for a moment? He knows that they cannot. Why not state in conciliatory language his desire for peace,

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\* To the Earl of Aberdeen, 21st August, 1829.



and reasonable terms, to which the Porte can accede? This would give him peace to-morrow. He is looking to conquest. . . . The wisest thing that Metternich ever did was to arm Austria as soon as the Turkish war commenced. If he had not done so, *Austria would have been attacked as soon as the Turkish war should be brought to a conclusion.*'

When the Peace of Adrianople was at last signed, the Duke of Wellington again and again reminded his Imperial Majesty of his plighted word. He quoted the terms in which the Czar had declared that Russia would act without the desire of making conquests, and that the manifestation of the absence of interested views was not an abstract maxim of generosity, nor a vain desire of glory, but the well-understood interest of the Empire of Russia. He pointed out that, notwithstanding a great parade of moderation, the terms of peace were so onerous to the Sultan, as to leave the Porte the mere vassal of the Czar. He maintained, in language which might have been written to-day with reference to events now occurring, that the Treaty ought to be looked upon not from the point of view of the *status quo* of the belligerents, but in relation to the Emperor's previous professions and promises. Lastly, he complained that the English Government had been kept in the dark upon the terms of peace till those terms were actually concluded and signed. Judging from the accuracy with which this language would suit the events of March, 1878, it would seem that Russia is tenacious of precedent even as to minute forms of procedure in her spoliation.

In 1829 both England and Austria could plead domestic trouble as a reason why they refrained from compelling attention to their demands by force. Austria's Italian possessions were a serious impediment to any energetic action in the East, and the British Government had to deal with the Roman Catholic question, with Irish difficulties, with financial embarrassments, on all of which Prince Lieven relied for keeping England quiet. If, then, the English and Austrian statesmen of to-day have reversed the policy of former generations, they have at least done it with their eyes open, with deliberation, and with full knowledge. Wellington and Metternich knew nothing beforehand of the terms of peace; Count Andrassy and Lord Derby have for months known by Count Schouvaloff's Memorandum what were the Russian aims, and to what lengths she carried her designs. It must, therefore, have been from a confident belief that the Turks no longer afforded a fitting instrument for our purposes, and from no delusion respecting the  
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views of Russia, that the Austrian and English Cabinets took no steps to repel Russian aggressions.

If Mr. Gladstone still remains of opinion, that Russian ambition is a hobgoblin out of repair, and that it is only the inexorable pressure of circumstances which has forced on the present state of things, he must be alone in his belief. In the present war, as on all former occasions, the usual language has been held. There have been the usual imperial professions, the usual ministerial comment or interpretation of them. The celebrated conversation of the 8th of June 1877 is now so familiar that we need quote only a single sentence. All our readers remember that in it the whole scheme for the conquest of Turkey was unfolded to Lord Derby, and that Count Schouvaloff declared it to be 'absolutely necessary for Russia to put an end to the continual crises in the East, by establishing the superiority of her arms so thoroughly that in the future the Turks will not be tempted to defy her lightly.' This, it must be remembered, was before the beginning of the Russian successes. At a later day such language might have been the natural outburst of a conqueror's triumph; but this was spoken when the battle was yet to be fought, and the heat of the day to be borne. It was a deliberate definition, at the outset of the war, of the objects which it was proposed to attain. In this case, however, following the usual precedent in Russian diplomacy, the bold language of the Minister is in marked contrast with the guarded utterances of the Czar. 'His Majesty pledged his sacred word of honour' (so runs the official account, approved by himself) 'in the most earnest and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople; and that if necessity should oblige him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until peace and the safety of the Christian population were assured.' We all know now how far this solemn assurance has been fulfilled.

It is remarkable how exactly similar have been the circumstances of each successive aggression made by the Russians against the Turks. But though the coincidence of events repeated in the same order is remarkable in the sense of being well worthy of note, it need cause no astonishment. If the motto be true, '*Cessante ratione cessat effectus*,' the converse must needs be equally true: while the cause remains the effect must endure. Since the time of Catherine, the Turk, never loved, and generally regarded with half contemptuous impatience, has been the subsidized policeman of Europe, hired and maintained to keep Russia from her fixed intention to force her

her way to the south. Turkey has been maintained, not from love for the policeman, but from fear for public order.

'Constantinople,' muttered Napoleon, poring over the map; 'oui, c'est l'empire du monde!'<sup>\*</sup>

'Constantinople,' said the Czar Peter, 'is the key of my street-door, and I must have it.'

'Constantinople,' wrote the Duke of Wellington, 'if she be taken, the world must be reconstructed.'

'The Eastern Question is the question who shall have Constantinople,' is a phrase of Lord Derby's as neat and epigrammatic as any of the others.

It has hitherto been convenient, as none of the first-rate Powers can trust the other with the care of the key of the street-door, to leave it in custody of a lesser Power, whom none could fear, and whom all might watch. But of all the nations interested in the question, there has been only one which has deliberately broken the public peace from a selfish desire to seize the key for herself, and apply its possession to her own advantage. Europe may say of the Russian legions as Glendower did of his enemy,—

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<sup>\*</sup> O'Meara, in one of his conversations with Napoleon at St. Helena, records the Emperor's views respecting the future of Turkey and Russia, which deserve to be borne in mind at the present time:—

'In the course of a few years,' added he, 'Russia will have Constantinople, the greatest part of Turkey, and all Greece. This I hold to be as certain as if it had already taken place. Almost all the cajoling and flattering which Alexander practised towards me was to gain my consent to effect this object. I would not consent, foreseeing that the equilibrium of Europe would be destroyed. In the natural course of things, in a few years Turkey must fall to Russia. The greatest part of her population are Greeks, who you may say are Russians. The powers it would injure, and who could oppose it, are England, France, Prussia, and Austria. Now, as to Austria, it will be very easy for Russia to engage her assistance by giving her Servia, and other provinces reaching near to Constantinople.

'The only hypothesis that France and England may ever be allied with sincerity, will be in order to prevent this. But even this alliance would not avail. France, England, and Prussia united cannot prevent it. Russia and Austria can at any time effect it. Once mistress of Constantinople, Russia gets all the commerce of the Mediterranean, becomes a great naval power, and God knows what may happen. She quarrels with you, marches off to India an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, which to Russia is nothing, and a hundred thousand *canaille*, Cossacks, and others, and England loses India. Above all the other powers, Russia is the most to be feared, and especially by you. Her soldiers are braver than the Austrians, and she has the power of raising as many as she pleases. In bravery, the French and English soldiers are the only ones to be compared with them. All this I foresaw. I see into futurity farther than others, and I wanted to establish a barrier against those barbarians, by re-establishing the kingdom of Poland, and putting Poniatowski at the head of it as king; but your imbécilles of ministers would not consent. A hundred years hence I shall be praised (*encensé*), and Europe—especially England,—will lament that I did not succeed. When they see the finest countries in Europe overrun, and a prey to those northern barbarians, they will say "Napoleon was right."—O'MEARA, *Napoleon in Exile*, vol. ii. p. 69, 2nd ed. 1822.

'Thrice

{ 'Thrice from the banks of Wye  
And sandy-bottomed Severn, have I sent him  
Bootless home, and weather-beaten back.'

Often has she knocked at the very gate of Constantinople : she has repeatedly beaten the troops of the Sultan ; but Europe recognised the fact that it was not safe to allow her to remain there. She has retired each time baffled, but not subdued. To do her justice she possesses a magnanimity under defeat which would, if exercised in a better cause, excite admiration. 'La Russie ne boude pas ; elle se recueille,' was the comment by one of her statesmen on her state of quiescence after the crushing disaster of the Crimea. She has, indeed, gathered herself together with a vengeance. She has again made her spring. Again Turkey is prostrate, but this time the throttling grasp of the conqueror is on her neck. The European policeman is down, and there seems to be none to help. Can it be that Europe has finally decided that it is better to deal directly with the aggressor, than to maintain its late official in office ?

The pretext, the object, the means, and always till now the result of Russian aggression, have been the same. The pretext has been justice to the Christians under the dominion of the Porte. The object has been military possession of the key of the East and West, the strategic position from which the world could be dominated. The will is there, the power is not yet ; events in the rapidly approaching future will show whether it shall be allowed to develop. The means have always been disorganization by corruption and secret agency, by the stirring up of disorder, and civil contention ; next comes military occupation to restore tranquillity ; then protection, and finally incorporation.

We have already said that it was considered essential by men of the school of Wellington that the Turkish empire should be maintained, 'not for the benefit of the Turks, but of Christian Europe ; not to preserve the Mahometans in power, but to save Christians from a war of which neither the object could be defined, nor the extent nor the duration calculated.' They maintained further, that it was essential to the interests of Europe to uphold Turkey as a barrier to Russia ; but if this became impossible, and the Turk was overthrown, the Duke insisted that the disposal of the *disjecta membra* of Turkey should not be settled at the mere will of Russia, and that a European Congress alone could make safe provision for a substitute.

We are now face to face with the danger foreseen in 1829. In that war, and during the thirty years which elapsed between the  
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Treaty of Adrianople and the Treaty of Paris, the Duke of Wellington's policy was successfully maintained. Russia was held at bay ; Turkey was upheld, not for Turkey's sake, but for our own ; and the inevitable settlement of the Eastern Question was postponed.

But one may well ask, Why should there be an Eastern Question at all? Why should Russia desire to remove its neighbour's landmarks, and set all Europe in a blaze? England, France, Italy, Austria, even Germany, each for reasons of its own, would gladly have left things as they were. Why should Russia stir up rebellion and massacre, and then come down full of virtuous indignation to allay, sword in hand, the tumult herself has made? Russia has done all this in the very exuberance of her semi-barbarous development. Nations, like individuals, have their phases of growth, their cub-like period of development, their hot, quarrelsome, energetic, and sometimes unreasonable youth ; their sober manhood, when riches accumulate and luxury gradually becomes a habit ; when quarrels are looked upon as a detestable interruption of the pursuits of civilised man ; and, lastly, their old age, when a petulant impatience is apt to take the place of sober but energetic watchfulness. The Russians, hardly yet emerging from barbarism, are yet, and have been for a century past, in their madly aggressive and ambitious mood. They have, from the very first, considered it their mission to become the dominant Power in the world, and have adopted as a means to that end the rôle of a missionary and civilising power. It seems hardly conceivable that this pretension should by some men—by Mr. Gladstone for instance and the Duke of Argyll—be accepted as representing a fact. Russia's 'Holy Mission,' as they call it, seems to them a reality. It is strange that they should resign themselves to a delusion which is not even consistently maintained. Whatever the Czar may say—and, as we have pointed out, the traditional language of Czars is uniformly pacific and benignant—the language of the Czar's Ministers is plain and threatening enough. And the still plainer language of facts agrees with the utterances of the Ministers, and not with those of their Sovereigns. It is mere waste of time to talk of Russian bad faith, Russian intrigue, and so forth. Russian designs are patent to all the world ; there is no pretence about them. These designs are avowed openly and pursued without scruple or remorse ; they ought to deceive nobody ; but Russian diplomatists have found by experience that, if a pretext however shallow is put forward, it will be accepted with unquestioning faith by a large portion of the world. Russian statesmen know that they have only to allege

allege zeal for humanity, for Christianity, or for some other 'high and holy' cause, to obtain instant and unshakeable credit. They may speak out afterwards; they may proclaim their real designs on the housetops; they may commit any atrocity, inflict any amount of human suffering, pursue their policy of aggrandisement while wading through seas of blood;—the self-made dupes will still repeat the 'high and holy' Shibboleth, still believe in the purity of motive, still blind themselves to acts of atrocity, still justify even the widespread desolation of war, still yield, step by step, to advances which can only end in humiliation to Europe.

From the moment of the signature of the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia began again her ceaseless round of activity, and for the old object. The pretext was now the duty imposed upon her to maintain the protectorate over the Holy Places at Jerusalem. But what mattered the pretext? the end was always the same. The Emperor Nicholas resolved to push on the fortifications of Sebastopol, and behind its ramparts to build a fleet, which, as the Prince Consort pointed out, 'having no commerce to protect, and no enemy to guard against, could only serve purposes of aggression.' The Emperor tried hard to understand the national feeling of England, and believed that he had succeeded. But he was deceived. The 'peace at any price' party was well known amongst ourselves to be only a small and politically insignificant section of the community; but they were active and outspoken, while the great body of the people, indifferent according to English habit to matters of abstract, and especially abstract foreign, politics, said nothing to contradict them. The great Exhibition of 1851 was then in progress, and the newspapers loudly proclaimed that at last the era of peace had succeeded to the era of war, and that England would never fight again. The Emperor Nicholas believed them. He persuaded himself that the ancient spirit was declining. That which appeared to us perfectly natural, seemed to foreigners only explicable on the assumption that we were disposed to renounce our high place among the nations. We neglected our army, and when men talked wildly in denunciation of former wars, and announced loudly that the nation would have no more of them, the silence with which these assertions were received, while it imposed upon foreigners, was in reality the result of a feeling on the part of the nation that talking was an useless waste of breath, and that we could, and should, do well enough if we were called upon. Such homely proverbs as that 'Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is a better,' are rooted in the English mind: but the way in which they are acted upon misleads foreign observers. Every one  
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with a mission, even though it be utterly opposed to the instincts and feelings of the nation, is allowed to air his opinion uncontradicted, or with a contemptuous 'let him talk.' But the plan has its disadvantages, and one of those disadvantages was the Crimean war.

It so happened that in 1853 events occurred in England which gave some colour to the supposition, that England intended to pursue a tame course with regard to the East. Lord Palmerston was no longer Foreign Secretary, and the Premier, Lord Aberdeen, whose former course of action at the Foreign Office, when Austria had vainly entreated England to join with her in protecting the Sultan, was still fresh in the memory of the Czar. The Emperor Nicholas knew that the traditional policy of England, namely, to support Turkey on English grounds, would be strongly opposed; and when Lord Aberdeen openly declared his resolution to maintain peace almost at any price, the Emperor fully expected that the strength of the anti-Turkish party would prove overwhelming. It was with these views that he held the now celebrated series of conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour respecting the destination of 'the sick man's' worldly goods. 'Il y a deux opinions,' he said on one occasion, 'dans mon Cabinet sur la Turquie. Les uns croient qu'elle est mourante, les autres qu'elle est morte. La dernière opinion est la mienne.' It would be very inconvenient, he said at another time, if our sick man were to die on our hands before any arrangement had been made. A few days later he offered the long reserved bribe which was to bring us to his side. The principalities and Servia to be independent states under Russian protection. Bulgaria to be an independent state, and Egypt and Candia to be the share of England. Except that the phrase 'autonomy,' as applied to Bulgaria, had not then been invented, these words might have been spoken yesterday, so well do they fit in with current events. It is curious to think that they were uttered in 1853.

The Czar was furious at the rejection of his proposals. Prince Menschikoff hastened to Constantinople with peremptory orders to bring matters to an issue. He was to try to force the Turks, by threats and promises, into a treaty with Russia, offensive and defensive. Almost any terms in the way of material support were to be granted, but on one point Menschikoff was to be firm: the protectorate of all the Christian subjects of the Porte was to be once for all secured to the Czar. The treaty was to be secret; Sir Stratford Canning was to know nothing about it till it was signed; but after that it was to come into immediate effect. If the Turks would not enter  
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into a treaty, the ambassador was to quarrel with them definitively. He was to use the pretext of the Holy Places if that was still available, but if not he was to take his stand on the determination of the Czar to assert, at all hazards, his protectorate of the Christians.

Guided by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Turks made concessions to Prince Menschikoff on the question of the Holy Places, which deprived him of any decent pretext on that score, but they positively refused to concede the protectorate of the Christians, or to conclude the secret treaty of which that concession formed a material part. The English fleet moved up to the Dardanelles, and the Crimean war began.

The history of the secret treaty thus rudely pressed upon the Sultan by Prince Menschikoff has a peculiar significance for us at the present time. We have had occasion to see how often the action of Russia, well thought out, and with a resource for every emergency, repeats itself when the circumstances of the time recur. In 1853, it was the Czar's intention to forestal the possibility of an English alliance by himself forming one with Turkey. In 1878 we are in a similar danger. But an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Turkey at this moment would be in a very high degree injurious to our interests. It might gravely compromise our action as regards the Greeks. It might give over into Russian hands the Gallipoli peninsula and the Chanak forts of the Dardanelles, and so threaten our fleet, and it would materially alter the strategic value of the Bosphorus. Such being the case, it is as well to remember that this is not the only instance in Russo-Turkish history when the device of a secret treaty has been employed to secure an advantage at the expense of other nations. In 1833, when Ibrahim Pacha was rapidly advancing upon Constantinople, the Porte, after vainly demanding assistance from England against her Egyptian vassal, appealed to Russia. This was just what the Czar desired. A Russian army supported by a fleet, appeared in the Bosphorus. Ibrahim, satisfied that he had no longer his feeble suzerain alone to contend with, was glad to sign a peace at Unkiar Skelessi. The Russian army withdrew, amidst a chorus of applause for the moderation of the Czar in asking nothing for his assistance, and the incident was supposed to have ended. But it soon came out that the ostensible Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was only a blind. There was a secret article by which the Sultan was to shut the Dardanelles against all other nations whenever the Czar should desire it.

We are not now concerned with the events of the Crimean war. It ended, as every one knows, in the complete overthrow of Russia.

It



It needs only a glance at the note agreed upon by the Western Powers, and embodying the famous four points, to see how completely she was at their mercy.

She had to cede Bessarabia. Her naval power in the Black Sea was destroyed. The great naval arsenal of Sebastopol, the standing menace to the peace of Europe, was razed to the ground. The navigation of the Danube was placed beyond her control. The new State of Moldavia and Wallachia, subsequently formed into the principality of Roumania and placed under the guarantee of Europe, was planted as a barrier across her military high road to the south; and she was compelled to renounce whatever right she might at any time have claimed or exercised by Treaty to a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte. In a word, the war, rudely provoked by herself, brought her on her knees.

Those who wish to understand the bitterness of feeling which the conduct of Russia in the Crimean war provoked, must look, not at the Treaty of Paris only, but at such documents as the Memorandum presented to Russia on the 28th of December, 1854, by Austria, Great Britain and France. The treaty two years later is toned and tamed down to the cold language of diplomatic propriety—the memorandum is short, stern and decisive. ‘To prevent the recurrence of the late complications,’ the Powers ‘have considered and do consider that none of the stipulations of the ancient treaties of Russia with the Porte should be revived at the peace’ :—that ‘the course of the Lower Danube . . . should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction existing in virtue of Article III. of the Treaty of Adrianople’ :—that it is necessary ‘to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea ;’ and finally, that ‘Russia, in renouncing the pretensions to take under an official protectorate the Christian subjects of the Sultan of the Oriental ritual, equally renounces, as a natural consequence, the revival of any of the Articles of her former Treaties, and especially of the Treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji, the erroneous interpretation of which has been the principal cause of the present war.’

This document must have been bitter with the bitterness of death to Russia. She had intrigued, threatened, and fought in vain. She had sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. Every item in the hard programme was duly carried out. She was no longer to be supreme in the Black Sea, and was to be suffered to threaten Turkey no more. Hardest of all the terms for Russia was the stipulation that Turkey should be admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe, and that Russia herself, as one of the signatories, was  
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to join in the common guarantee for the observance of the engagement.

We have thus traced the consistent aim of Russian policy during more than a hundred years. If successive invasions of Turkey were prompted by mere ambition, Russia is a public enemy. But if, on the contrary, the object of the Czar was, as Mr. Gladstone puts it, 'to redeem from a servitude worse than that of a negro, a population twice that of all the negroes ever held in slavery,' Russia is a public benefactor. This is a plain and definite issue, which can be decided by facts, and need not be left to declamation. The state of Bulgaria before the war furnishes an answer. It is idle to say, as is said by the friends of Russia in England, that the massacres perpetrated in Bulgaria two years ago showed a paramount necessity for superseding Turkish rule. Outbursts of the kind with which we were made so familiar during the autumn of 1876 are not in truth more than the symptoms of disturbing causes at work. If we are to decide the larger political question we must go deeper, and ask whether, in the character of the races, and in the constitutional arrangements of the country, there was anything that made real reform hopeless. Before this war, the Bulgarian peasant was more prosperous and more independent than the peasant in many countries in Europe. We are told of the astonishment with which the Russians viewed the comfort and ease of those down-trodden slaves, for whose relief their holy crusade had been undertaken. The Bulgarians had their churches and their schools; their property in cattle and in land was abundant; and, whilst the Turkish population was drained to supply the needs of a great military nation, the Bulgarian peasant was free from the burden of military service. The principle of religious toleration was fully recognised; the Protestant missionaries were allowed to pursue their work unmolested; and all Christian bodies were equally protected. Abuses undoubtedly there were; but these abuses might have been removed by peaceful means. To accept as a normal picture of Bulgaria under Turkish rule those atrocities which were actually fostered by the agents of the Czar is to reject the unanimous testimony of eye-witnesses. Not only was the condition of the Bulgarian peasant far above that of slavery: it had that which is held to be the touchstone of prosperity, an element of progressive improvement. 'Day by day,' we are told by Mr. Barkley, 'the Christian populations were obtaining for themselves increased personal consideration and a larger share of social and civil equality; so that, in short, there was entirely wanting in their lot that degree of hopelessness which alone could warrant the armed

interference of a foreign Power.' But even stronger testimony is forthcoming. Witnesses are liable to deception. Their testimony may be concurrent, their experience may be full, no bias may be alleged against them, still their evidence will be refused when it contradicts preconceived theories. But the movements of great bodies of men can be prompted by no motives but those of self-interest. People will not emigrate to enter into slavery; they will not return to that slavery when they have once tasted freedom. 'Why, then,' asks Colonel James Baker, 'if the Turkish rule was so cruel and oppressive, did thousands of Greeks emigrate from their native country after the independence of Greece and settle in Turkey as Ottoman subjects? Why did a Bulgarian colony which had emigrated to Russia return in order again to become Ottoman subjects? Why have the emigration societies failed to induce Bulgarians to leave their supposed country of oppression?'

Not only the past, but the new condition of Bulgaria, helps us to a judgment in Russia's aim. What have been the actual fruits of her liberating zeal? Early last autumn we began to hear of Prince Tcherkasky's mission. Everywhere the Russian model of government was introduced. 'All the principal posts,' we read, 'are occupied by Russians: Bulgarians are not admitted to public functions unless they are well acquainted with the Russian language.' The Treaty of San Stefano leaves to the Sultan a mere scrap of most barren territory about Adrianople and the capital, with a detached and indefensible fragment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It comprises populations of whom less than three-fifths are Bulgarian. It overshadows all the minor States which may arise out of the shattered fragments of the Turkish Empire. It forms a permanent menace to Austria. It brings the Russian frontier to the Bosphorus. This is the result of her crusade; we have seen what was its justification. With these before us, can we doubt whether philanthropy or ambition was the motive power of Russian action?

For some years after the Peace of Paris, Russia was little heard of in Europe. 'Elle ne boudait pas, elle se recueillait.' Her finances disordered, her army crippled, her navy sunk at Sebastopol, the great arsenal itself razed and its docks blown up by English engineers, Russia was in no position to present herself prominently before Europe. But diplomacy costs little, and she steadily availed herself of all its resources to win back in council that which she had lost by arms. Soon the Russian Ambassador was almost as powerful as before at Constantinople, and at the same time the troops of the Czar were pushing on conquests

conquests in Asia, which attracted little attention in Europe at the time; but which are likely to rise at no distant time into matters of primary importance.

In October 1865, and in April 1877, we fully discussed in the pages of this 'Review' the military position of Russia in Central Asia. It will be sufficient here to remind our readers that her career of conquest commenced in 1848, when by erecting fortresses in the heart of the Kirghiz Steppe she connected the old frontier of her empire with the long-coveted line of the Jaxartes. Having crossed the great steppe and established themselves on the Jaxartes, the Russians came in contact with the three Khanates of Central Asia. During the last twenty years their conquests have been easy and rapid. The principalities have no formidable military strength, and, though their troops and those of Russia have been repeatedly in conflict, the battles have been unimportant in a military sense, and the Russians are in actual possession at Kokan, and virtually predominant in the other two principalities. They are masters on the Sea of Aral, and have various fortified positions on the eastern shore of the Caspian. A distance of about four hundred miles divides the advanced posts of the Russians from our north-west frontier in India. Thus we have the significant fact that a great Power within thirty years has virtually advanced its old frontier for many hundred miles southwards, and has overrun the country like a tidal wave over a stretch of level sands. A chain of forts has been established at strategic points; inland seas, land routes, and river communications have been successively seized, until the Russian outposts not only approach our own, but the Russian flag is dominant on the confines of countries with whom we are intimately and naturally associated, namely, Afghanistan, Persia and Kashgaria.

The first opportunity for effective interference in European politics occurred in 1871, when the French and German war monopolized the attention of the Continent, and England was in the hands of Mr. Gladstone. Then the Russian Emperor felt it time to strike his blow. He had long seen symptoms of weakness in English policy, and the Peace-at-any-price party, in reality the true and only War party in England, was ever ready with its assurances that he might go as far as he liked without danger.

Cession of territory, except under compulsion, is a thing inconceivable to the Russian mind. Our readiness to give up the Ionian Islands was construed as a sign of weakness '*Une nation qui commence à rendre, commence à descendre,*' was the epigrammatic comment on the transaction attributed to Prince

Gortchakoff, and it is probable that the idea had considerable influence on his mind. Our conduct in 1864, with reference to Sleswig-Holstein, was not calculated to impress foreigners with any conviction that England was unduly combative. The manner in which this country treated the Alabama claims, the three new rules of international law, and the St. Juan boundary dispute with America, whether defensible or not on grounds of national sentiment, appeared to foreign observers rather as an act of voluntary humiliation than of national generosity. Thus the old notion which prevailed in Europe before the Crimean war gradually resumed its sway. Again it became a fixed idea with Russia, that England, after her spasmodic effort in the Crimea, had lapsed into her normal state of inglorious repose, from which she would never again awaken. The Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris were denounced, and were finally rescinded at the Conference of London.

The success which attended this first attempt encouraged Russia to fresh exertions. Her ambassadors at Constantinople redoubled their activity. It is now known, on the authority of General Ignatieff himself, that it had become once more the deliberate intention of the Russians to put an end to the dominion of the Turks, by inciting the Christian subjects to revolt, and driving their rulers into measures of repression which would excite against them the indignation of Europe. This policy was carried out with a completeness which everybody is now able to recognise. The Bulgarian massacres followed, and a storm of fury arose, strong enough for the time to reverse the ancient policy of England, and commit us to a course of which we are still feeling the effects. Men who looked to causes, and calculated effects a little beyond the immediate present, saw very well that in our deep national resentment against Turkey we were likely to become committed to a course from which there was no retreat, and in which the interests of all Europe would suffer. Long ago Lord Beaconsfield told us that the 'Secret Societies' of Eastern Europe were raising a whirlwind. He was looked upon as a dreamer of dreams. Those who laughed with the most superior wisdom then, would probably admit now that his judgment was more penetrating than their own, and that the Omladina and other Pan Slavist organizations have played a part of unexpected importance. But it was not on insurrection alone that Russian intrigue relied. General Ignatieff used his influence to instil into the infirm mind of the reigning Sultan insidious counsels. He encouraged the monarch's senseless and selfish extravagance. He advised the suspension of the payment of the foreign debt, which had such a fatal effect  
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on Turkish credit. Even at the supreme moment, the British Government would have saved Turkey if only she would have consented to be saved: not for Turkey's sake, we repeat it for the hundredth time, but because, wiser and calmer than the atrocity agitators, they saw the danger which would ensue from Turkey's destruction.

We joined the Conference of Constantinople to urge the Turks, even at this last hour, to avert the storm by concession. As regards the Christian populations, Turkish rule had been stupid, but it had not hitherto been systematically cruel. But now, no matter by what advice or under what circumstances, it had filled up the measure of its iniquities by wholesale massacres. We could not defend it, but we might perhaps reform it. Lord Salisbury brought all the keenness of his intellect, and exhausted all his eloquence, to accomplish this result. In the despatch which he sent forth on assuming his present office, he thus describes his course:—

‘The object of Her Majesty's Government at the Constantinople Conference was to give effect to the policy of reforming Turkey under the Ottoman Government, removing well-grounded grievances, and thus preserving the Empire until the time when it might be able to dispense with protective guarantees. It was obvious that this could only be brought about by rendering the different populations so far contented with their positions as to inspire them with a spirit of patriotism, and make them ready to defend the Ottoman Empire as loyal subjects of the Sultan.’

‘This policy was frustrated by the unfortunate resistance of the Ottoman Government itself, and, under the altered circumstances of the present time, the same result cannot be attained to the same extent by the same means.’

Every one remembers how the Conference failed and the war began. It is needless to recapitulate its events. It remains only to sketch the position of affairs at its close, and to examine the policy which the Treaty, signed by the late belligerents at San Stefano, renders necessary.

We have shown that the war just concluded is no isolated episode in history; it is only one war of a series, brought about by the same means and with the same objects as all former contests between Russia and Turkey. We are now face to face with Russia without her mask. The pretence of Livadia has been dismissed. Russia claims by right of conquest to hold the territories she has gained. The question now is that which arose before the Crimean war: with one important exception. Then the Powers had to deliberate how much Russia should be permitted to take—now it is how much shall she be permitted to keep.

keep. At first sight a most important distinction. But it will not, we think, be difficult to show that we have the solution in our own hands, and that England holds the effectual key of the situation.

We shall not be wrong in saying that the Government, if unfortunately we were forced against our will into war, would have the country at its back. In the early days of the war it would have been different. Russia, posing before the world as a missionary power, with no selfish objects, no desire for territory, and as the representative of a holy cause, is in a different position from Russia in military possession of Turkey, and claiming for her own behoof, territorially the sovereignty, and strategically the military command, of the East. Many, who at first looked upon her as a deliverer, now regard her as a despoiler. The Treaty of San Stefano has completely taken by surprise many who wished her well, and who believed her professions of disinterestedness. There is no longer any possibility of mistake. Philanthropy has had its day, and more practical considerations come to the front.

A war now would be conducted with the energy of a united people, for it would be acknowledged to be just. But we must repeat what we said in our last number, that there is not now, and there never has been, any 'war party' in the country. The accusation has been made without much regard to truth, and perhaps without reflection on the meaning of the phrase. Both parties have been anxious to avoid war; but they have undoubtedly been at issue as to the best means of preserving peace. To one party it seemed essential to avoid offering any opposition to Russia; the word of the Czar must not be doubted; the honour of his country must not be assailed by any attempt to curtail his liberty of action; his cause was a just one, and its triumph must not be minimized. If he did exceed by a little the bounds of moderation, we ought to remember the great sacrifices he was imposing on his people, and to make due allowance for a national feeling strained to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm. Such was the argument on one side. The other party, equally desirous of peace, believed that it would be preserved far more securely by a firm attitude than by a policy of compliance. They considered that an end must come to concession, for the logical outcome of Russian proceedings would produce a state of affairs that would traverse our interests and render it incumbent on us to cry, Halt! They thought that laxity followed by a sudden pull up would be more dangerous than firm but conciliatory policy steadily pursued. As for the honour of Russia, and the sacrifices she was making, they thought it useless to affect concealment of the

the fact, that Russia was actuated by a policy of aggression which rendered her dangerous to Europe, and that if she was making sacrifices she had made them of her own freewill, and had nobody to thank for them but herself.

While therefore we utterly repudiate the nickname of 'war party' which some have tried to fix on those who advocate an outspoken diplomacy, we avow ourselves in favour of the action of Lord Salisbury, rather than of the weaker counsels of his predecessor. Those who hold these views say to Russia in effect, 'We did not ask you to go to war, and you must not found any claim to our consideration on the fact that you have done so. You talk of your sacrifices:—who asked you to make them? You say that it was necessary to force on Turkey reforms which she refused to make. We saw no such necessity. It is true that we urged reform on Turkey, but we did so by legitimate advice, offered at a friendly Conference. We went to the utmost length permitted to a friendly Power; but in doing this we exhausted our treaty-rights. You went further. You appealed to arms: we tried in vain to stop you. We kept neutral, for we did not see why we should suffer, because you were headstrong and Turkey obstinate; but we told you all along that we would not allow the treaties to which we were parties to be destroyed without our consent, and we never intended to give that consent in any case where our interests or those of Europe generally were concerned. But you would not hear. You so far profited by our neutrality, that you were able to obtain results you could not otherwise have dreamed of; but you were not content with that. You must needs assume the attitude of conquerors, and dispose of our interests as well as those of the Turks. We do not intend to permit this. Keep to the legitimate objects which afforded you a pretext for the war, and we will not deny you. But we will not see Russia established in the room of Turkey, without at least having a voice in the terms on which a substitution shall be made.'

We have often heard the question, 'What shall we gain by war that we should not gain by diplomacy?' 'Will you tell us if we go to war, what we are to fight for?' The answer is, that the initiative does not rest with us. Russia is at this moment in military possession of Turkey, in contravention of the Treaty of 1856. The Treaty of 1856 expressly forbids such possession. Russia declares that she has good and sufficient reasons for what she has done. The reply of the Powers is this: We do not affirm that you are wrong; all we say is, prove that you are right. Let us have a meeting of those who signed the Treaty of 1856, and you shall have every opportunity of establishing your  
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case. You can hardly contend that the Treaty of 1856, which was intended for the sole purpose of restraining you from aggression, has ceased to exist because you have chosen to violate it. Your Emperor says that he owes it to the memory of his father, to tear into shreds every fragment of a treaty that dishonoured him. Well, other people have had fathers besides your Emperor. Our fathers spent blood and treasure to restrain his ambition. Many of us lost father, brother, friend, in the Crimea. Set off those unforgotten griefs against the thwarted pride of Czar Nicholas, and come to present business. You say that if we hold a Congress you will 'leave to other powers the liberty of raising such questions as they may think it fit to discuss, but that you reserve to yourself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of these questions.'\* By what right do you make this reservation? You are in illegal possession of foreign territory guaranteed by us all. We ask you why you took them, why you keep them—and you 'reserve to yourself the right of accepting or rejecting the discussion.' Do you then proclaim that you hold, not by law, but the right of the strongest? That is an intelligible proposition, and has been advanced before. But it does not necessarily end the question.

This, then, if we go to war, is the *casus belli*. Russia has violated a treaty—torn it up, the Czar says, and strewn it on his father's grave—and she will not account to her co-signatories for the deed. The further question then arises, Is the cause of quarrel worth the sacrifices which a quarrel would entail? Is not war too great a price to pay for a salve to our wounded dignity? To that we reply, it is no question of dignity, hardly even one of honour: it involves the public liberty of Europe, and the national greatness of England.

To make this clear, let us see: First, under what circumstances was the Treaty of Paris made; and next, what are the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, which Russia wishes to substitute for it.

It will not be denied that the primary object of the Powers in 1856 was not so much to secure reforms in Turkey, as to curb the power of Russia. Russia was the public enemy, the disturber of the public peace; her weapons of attack had been, in the last and in many previous wars, her claim to protect the Christians in Turkey, founded on the Treaty of Kainardji. To put an end to this state of things and to prevent their recurrence, two things were necessary: (1) to deprive her of her pretext for interference; (2) to guarantee collectively that the Powers

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\* Count Schouvaloff to Lord Derby, 26th March, 1878.

would forcibly resent such interference if offered. These two points were accomplished by the Ninth Article of the Treaty, in which the Sultan recited his good intentions towards the Christians (in the Hatti-Sheriff), and the Powers 'recognise the high value of this communication, but "it is clearly understood, that it cannot, *in any case*, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire."

When, in 1875, the massacres took place in Bulgaria which raised such a storm of indignation throughout Europe, Mr. Gladstone brought a charge against the Government which surely ought, by every law of equity and justice, to recoil upon himself. He—till then a leader and idol of the people, one who, ever since the Crimean war, had been a member, and latterly was the leader of every successive Liberal Cabinet—did not scruple to assert that the Government of Lord Beaconsfield was responsible for the condition of Turkey out of which those massacres arose: 'They have not understood the rights and duties in regard to the subjects, and particularly the Christian subjects, of Turkey, and which inseparably attach to this country in consequence of the Crimean war and of the Treaty of Paris in 1856.'\* But, without discussing the terms and meaning of the Treaty, we have a right to ask, if this country had 'rights and duties in regard to the Christian subjects of Turkey,' why did Mr. Gladstone himself neglect the Bulgarian Christians? For over thirteen out of the twenty years which elapsed between the Treaty of Paris and the Bulgarian revolt, Mr. Gladstone was in office. The men against whom he brought his grave accusation had held power at three different intervals, for an aggregate period of six years. What did Mr. Gladstone do in this matter, during his long tenure of power, that his successors left undone? He never seems to have believed that any such responsibility rested upon the English Government, as long as he was in office; and it was not till the Conservatives succeeded to power, that, in order to discredit his successors, he lays upon Lord Beaconsfield the blame of his own neglect.

The position of affairs, then, is this: An European law exists, which was passed for a particular purpose, with the assistance and consent of Russia. The Russians, as well as the other signatories, are bound by that compact, and will remain so bound till released by the mutual consent of those who framed it. Russia proposes to substitute for that law another constructed

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\* 'Bulgarian Horrors,' p. 11.

by herself, and embodying only her own views. But, as the existing compact must remain valid until formally repealed, the new instrument can never become binding unless in one of two cases. She may conquer the rest of Europe in fair fight, and impose her will upon them; or, failing that, she can persuade them to accept her project of law instead of the one which is now in existence.

The only way short of war for Russia to obtain that sanction is to submit the whole matter to a Congress, and abide by its decision. But this she refuses to do, on the somewhat remarkable ground, that 'the Government of the Czar sees in this request' (that the whole and not a part only of the Treaty should be submitted to the Congress) 'a determination to reverse its terms and alter its consequences.' Such, indeed, is undoubtedly a very accurate estimate of our intentions. We might even go further, and say that the whole treaty is so inconsistent with the existing law that it would be shorter and more convenient for the Powers to lay it aside altogether and to take the Treaty of Paris as a basis for consideration, with a view of making such alterations as may be necessary in it, rather than to attempt to amend an instrument, every line and letter of which are antagonistic to the public law of Europe and inconsistent with the maintenance of a permanent peace.

But to recur to our question, what are the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano? We will rapidly run over the principal points. The first five articles provide for the independence of Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania. The sixth constitutes Bulgaria 'an autonomous tributary principality with a Christian government and a national militia;' the limits of the new State are laid down, and comprise the whole of what used to be Turkey in Europe, with the exception of a small piece of land in Roumelia in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, a small detached territory on the Ægean and the province of Albania. By Article VII. it is provided that a Prince shall be elected by the Bulgarian population. Article VIII. provides that till the complete restoration of order 'the Russian troops shall occupy the country and give armed assistance to the Commissioner in case of need.' Also that Varna and Bourgas shall remain in Russian hands. Article IX. regulates the Bulgarian tribute to the Porte. Article X. provides for the passage of Turkish troops through Bulgaria to the provinces beyond the principality. Article XI. deals with Mussulman landed proprietors. Their affairs are to be settled 'by Turko-Bulgarian commissioners, under the superintendence of Russian commissioners, who shall decide finally all questions relative to the verification of real property.' It might

might perhaps be shorter as well as more accurate to say that such matters would be decided by Russians. Article XII. The Danubian fortresses to be razed. Article XIII. 'The Sublime Porte to render the Sulina again navigable, and to indemnify the private individuals who have suffered loss by the war and the interruption of the navigation of the Danube.' What an endless crop of 'indirect claims' does this Article dangle before the dazzled imagination of Europe! especially as, by another Article, the Danube itself passes out of the hands of the Turks. Article XIV. deals with the subject of taxes. Article XV. provides that the organic law of 1868 be applied scrupulously to Crete, Epirus, Thessaly, and other parts of Turkey in Europe. Commissions to be appointed, which will submit the result of their labours to the Sublime Porte, which in its turn will consult the Imperial Government of Russia before carrying it into effect. In other words, a *casus belli* is to be kept cut-and-dry for Russian use at the shortest notice. Article XVI. provides for a similar *casus belli* in Armenia, where 'the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect without delay the improvement and reforms demanded.' Article XVII. extends amnesty to compromised Ottomans. Article XVIII. describes the delimitation of the Turko-Persian boundary: another little quarrel *in petto*. Article XIX. is the celebrated indemnity clause, under which claims are made to the extent of 1,410,000,000 roubles, or 210,000,000*l.* sterling. However, say the conquerors, as you cannot pay this sum, we will take territory, to be selected by ourselves, instead; and the Article proceeds to recite the territories so selected, with the boundaries of each. Article XX. says that effective steps shall be taken to put an amicable end 'to lawsuits of Russian subjects pending for several years.' Another quarrel, with vague, if any limits. Article XXI. regulates property in the ceded territories. Article XXII. is our old friend from Kainardji, come to the front again as fresh as ever. 'The right of official protection is accorded to the Imperial Embassy and Russian consulates in Turkey, both as regards the persons of those above mentioned and their possessions, religious houses, charitable institutions, &c., in the Holy Places and elsewhere.' What a commentary on the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Paris! in which 'it is clearly understood that no Power shall, collectively or separately, interfere in any case with the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.' Article XXIII. Commercial Treaties between Russia and Turkey restored. Article XXIV. keeps the Bosphorus open in time of war as well as in peace. Article XXV. and the following deal with the evacuation of Turkey by the  
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Russian troops, exchange of prisoners, &c. ; but, until matters are arranged definitively, 'the administration and order of affairs will continue in the same state as has existed since the occupation ;' that is, the Russians will remain in military occupation of the country till they choose to depart.

Now it is self-evident that, to use Lord Salisbury's words, 'Every material stipulation which this treaty contains involves a departure from the Treaty of 1856 ;' and, as the plenipotentiaries of the great Powers, including Russia, recognised in 1871 that 'it is an essential principle of the law of nations, that no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement,' Russia, one of the Powers which signed that declaration, is bound to submit its new treaty to Europe.

Lord Salisbury's despatch has been so conned and studied, that we should weary our readers if we were to reproduce its arguments. It is so typical a specimen of the best class of State papers, that it is at once condensed and exhaustive. Rarely, indeed, when studying the terms of the draft treaty of San Stefano, does a consideration occur to us which has not been put forward in Lord Salisbury's despatch. It would, perhaps, be difficult to give it higher praise than to acknowledge that it is impossible to write on the subject of which it treats without quoting or borrowing from it. We shall assume that every one is acquainted with the line of reasoning followed in it, and confine ourselves to a few illustrations of points which he has raised.

It is impossible for any document to be more explicit than the treaty of San Stefano as to the purpose for which it was framed. Few perhaps thought that the treaty would in so many words declare the Porte to be the vassal of Russia. Bulgaria, with an administration 'drawn up under the surveillance of an Imperial Russian Commissioner,' and the working of which is to be entrusted for two years to an Imperial Russian Commissioner, can lay small claim to autonomy. The statement in Lord Salisbury's Circular, 'that Bulgaria is to be subjected to a ruler whom Russia will practically choose,' provoked from Mr. Gladstone the charge that it was a misstatement, not creditable for a Minister of the Crown to make ; because there is nothing in the Treaty which secures to Russia, 'as a separate Power, the right of choosing the ruler.' 'This Prince of Bulgaria is to be freely chosen by the people.' But Mr. Gladstone and the Treaty are both equally careful to conceal the fact that the first act of Russia in crossing the Danube into Bulgaria was to send along with the advanced guard of her army a Commissioner and staff

staff of officials, with full power to suppress all the municipal and communal institutions of Bulgaria, and to substitute Russian laws, institutions, and officials in their place; in fact, to prepare Bulgaria for becoming a Russian province. The agent for this important office was no other than Prince Tcherkasky, to whose mission we have already referred, and who had gained experience in the work, and the approval of his employers, by his efficient performance of it in Poland. This being the case, can any one assert that Lord Salisbury was not perfectly justified in doubting whether any free choice of a ruler would be left?

But that is not all. The treaty claims dominion over parts of the Turkish territory where no Russian soldier has as yet been seen. Crete is not in Russian possession, nor is Thessaly, nor Epirus. Yet one of the treaty stipulations is that reforms on the Russian model shall be introduced into Crete, and analogous reforms into Thessaly and Epirus, by a special commission, 'which will submit the details of its labours to the Porte, who will consult the Imperial Government of Russia' as to carrying them out. Any one gifted with common sense must see that this cunning condition gives a power to Russia to upset every proposal of the Porte to which she may raise any objection. Has not Lord Salisbury good cause for asserting that such laws would be framed under the supervision of the Russian Government?

Similar demands are made as to Armenia. There again the words of the Treaty provide complete subservience, not only in parts of the country actually overrun by the Russians, but in those still free from invasion. In plain language, all Turkey in Europe is by the Treaty either annexed to Russia or mortgaged to her in such a way that actual possession by Russia might probably be the more bearable fate. Count Nesselrode's words in 1830 forcibly occur to the mind: 'We might have destroyed the Turkish empire, but, in the opinion of the Czar, this monarchy, reduced to exist simply under our protectorate, obeying our orders, is preferable to any other combination.' As if the material possession of the Sultan's dominions were not enough, the right of political interference is reserved. The Czar may appear at pleasure under the Treaty in the character of a mortgagee in possession, or a monarch placed by binding agreement with a standing *casus belli*.

Above all this, is a clause that touches this country most nearly. Every other stipulation sinks into insignificance by comparison with it; we mean the money indemnity claimed for the expenses of the war. The Treaty states that, taking into consideration the financial embarrassments of Turkey, the Czar will

will accept territory in Asia and in Europe in lieu of a certain portion of the money claim which he would otherwise insist upon. The original claim is 210,000,000*l.*; but after making due deduction for payments to be made in land, the treaty goes on to claim in money two other sums; one of 1,300,000*l.*, to indemnify the losses sustained by Russian subjects and establishments in Turkey, and a further amount of about *forty millions*, which is to remain as a sort of caution money, or perpetual mortgage due from the Sultan to the Czar, and to be enforced whenever the latter thinks he would prefer a quarrel about money to any other of the hundred pretexts ready to his hand. 'The mode of payment and guarantee of this sum will be settled by an understanding between the Imperial Government of Russia and that of his Majesty the Sultan.' Here then, at last, we have the kernel of the nut. There is to be 'an understanding' between the Sultan and his suzerain, which is not to be communicated to the Powers. Whatever the fate of the ostensible Treaty may be, the payment may be made, at the option of the Czar, by the surrender of the Turkish fleet; by the assignment of the Egyptian tribute; by the cession of fortresses on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; by the possession of the Suez Canal, or by a further extension of territory in Asia; such, for instance, as the possession of Bagdad, or of the head of the Persian Gulf. It may be made by handing over Syria or Crete, and with the latter the command of Scanderoon, and of the passes through the mountains to the plains of Mesopotamia. These forty millions, the payment of which is to be the subject of a secret Treaty, may mean all these things, or others equally disagreeable to England. The matter is thus dealt with by Lord Salisbury:—

'Provision is made for an indemnity, of which the amount is obviously beyond the means of Turkey to discharge, even if the fact be left out of account that any surplus of its revenue is already hypothecated to other creditors. The mode of payment of this indemnity is left, in vague language, to ulterior negotiations between Russia and the Porte. Payment may be demanded immediately, or it may be left as an unredeemed and unredeemable obligation to weigh down the independence of the Porte for many years. Its discharge may be commuted into a yet larger cession of territory, or it may take the form of special engagements subordinating in all things the policy of Turkey to that of Russia. It is impossible not to recognise in this provision an instrument of formidable efficacy for the coercion of the Ottoman Government if the necessity for employing it should arise.'

The articles which regulate the arrangements in Asia are not less important. The territorial acquisitions of Russia are extensive, but that in itself is not the principal danger. It is the moral

moral effect of the encroachment, and above all the military skill by which each separate acquisition is selected. Not a change is made in the boundary of a single province by any part of the Treaty, that is not dictated by strategical considerations. In Europe, the Bulgarian boundary is made to touch the Sea of Marmora in such a manner that the territory left to Turkey is divided into three parts, neither of which can intercommunicate, except through Bulgarian (and therefore Russian) ground. The Eastern boundary, on the Black Sea, takes in every harbour and every strong place worth having, with the sole exception of Constantinople. The Montenegrin and Serbian frontiers are rectified on the same principle. In Asia, the Russians have a twofold gain. The only road across the mountains from Trebizond to the Caspian is that by Erzerum and Bayazid. The proposed new boundary, running along the Sharyan and Alla Dagh, appropriates a hundred miles or so of this road in the centre of its course, as well as the hills by which the valley it follows is commanded. Bataum and Kars are demanded under the Treaty; so that the road across the Soghanli Dagh will also be in Russian hands. Thus every access to the Caspian from the Black Sea will be at their mercy. Recent rides to Khiva and attempts on Merv, prove that it is no part of Russian policy to encourage either the traveller or the merchant. If the San Stefano Treaty were ratified by Europe, Armenia would be completely shut up. Were Russia in possession of the ports and fortresses in Asia, which were one of the immediate objects of the war, and to retain which she would abandon everything else, our commerce with the north of Persia would be destroyed, and our hold upon India would be distinctly menaced. Russia under the Treaty could easily extend her operations throughout Asia Minor. Her protectorate over the Armenians, who notoriously detest the Russian rule, will entitle her to 'occupy,' to intrigue, and to foment disturbance wherever there are Armenian Christians. Lord Hammond said the other day in the House of Lords that 'a Russian protectorate in Asia Minor would be tantamount to the establishment of Russian sovereignty from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, for there would never be wanting a pretext for Russian interference on behalf of populations alleged, whether truly or falsely, to be groaning under Turkish misgovernment.'

We ought to remember that the struggle which has now begun is for nothing less than supremacy in Asia. We have spent millions in securing our Empire and developing our trade, and yet we have till very lately persisted in regarding the issue



as one of exclusively European interest. Were it not for Lord Salisbury's emphatic words, we should be inclined to think that even yet the lesson was not thoroughly learned. At any rate they will bear repeating, for they are of first-rate importance: 'The formal jurisdiction of Turkey,' says Lord Salisbury, 'extends over geographical positions which must, under all circumstances, be of the deepest interest to Great Britain. Its dominion is recognised at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the shores of the Levant, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Suez Canal. It cannot be otherwise than a matter of extreme solicitude to this country that the Government to which this jurisdiction belongs should be so closely pressed by the political outposts of a greatly superior Power that its independent action, and even existence, is almost impossible.' Few people know how far-reaching is the activity of Russia. She has just completed an alliance, which is virtually a Treaty offensive and defensive, with the growing Empire of Japan; she is stronger at this moment than we are in naval power in the Pacific; she is helping the Chinese with matériel and munitions of war against Kashgar, where a brisk war is raging against a power who might be to us a very serviceable ally. We may perhaps despise the fact, but it is tolerably sure that a declaration of war with Russia would be followed, for a time at least, by an interval of unfriendliness, if not positive hostility, on the part of China and Japan, who might both close their ports against us. Russian writers have long foretold that the slightest loss of our prestige in the East would leave us face to face with an Asiatic league headed by Russia. This may be an exaggeration, but it contains more than a grain of truth. The history of the last few months has shown that Russia has been making ready for a campaign in Asia Proper as well as in Turkey and Armenia. This is shown by the intrigues which have been going on, not only in Afghanistan, but even within our own Indian frontiers, and by the attitude which the Shah of Persia has assumed with regard to the Czar. The Russians have long ago concluded that sooner or later we should side with the Turks against them, and they have taken their measures accordingly. Ignatieff and Koulbars, both prominent in the management of recent events, are men who have acquired their reputation and matured their skill in Oriental diplomacy, while pursuing Russian aims in Central Asia, China, and Kashgar.

There is another point in the Treaty which demands a word of comment. It is passed over with only a passing remark by Lord Salisbury; but it is not only of moment in itself, but it has acquired additional importance from the stress laid upon it

it by the Russians : we speak of the retrocession of Bessarabia. Russia lost in fair fight the strip of land which she now insists on having back. Though she may pronounce the recovery of this district to be a point of honour, we can hardly consider it consistent with her honour to take it by force from Roumania. That country came to her assistance when help was very valuable, at the period of the war when things looked blackest for Russia ; and she deserves a better return for service rendered in the field than she is now receiving. Russia was saved from disaster at Plevna, and the resistance of Turkey was finally broken by Roumanian hands. As a condition of that alliance Russia formally pledged herself to respect and secure the integrity of Roumanian territory. The war being over, Russia not only proposed to seize a portion of the territory of her ally, but arranged, without the smallest reference to Roumania herself, that she should maintain, for a period of two years, the right to use Roumania as a road for military purposes. The Roumanian Government protested : the answer was that all remonstrance was vain : that indeed it was a matter which the Russian Government did not even choose to submit to the Congress, if one should be held.

We have been at some pains to prove that the action of Russia has been throughout utterly lawless and arrogant. We hardly expected to have in our hands, before we went to press, so complete a proof of our contention. The following Paper was presented to Parliament a few days ago :

(*M. Cogalniceano to M. Balatchano.*)

‘ Bucharest, March 16, 1878. ’

‘ At my request, General Ghika has had an explanation with Prince Gortschakoff on the question of Bessarabia and the intentions of Russia with regard to it. Prince Gortschakoff declared to our agent that notwithstanding our clamouring, both at home and abroad, the Russian decision was irrevocable ; that she would not bring this question before the Congress, because it would be an offence to the Emperor ; that if another Power wished to do so, she would not be a party to it ; that it was with us that she wished to treat ; that if she could not succeed in making us give in, she would take Bessarabia from us by force ; that if we made an armed resistance it would be fatal for Roumania. Notwithstanding these threats, we persist in our refusal to treat or to yield.’

(*Sir H. Elliot to the Marquis of Salisbury.*)

‘ Vienna, April 3, 1878. ’

‘ I have received from the Roumanian agent here the following telegraphic despatch from the Roumanian agent at St. Petersburg :—

‘ “ This morning Prince Gortschakoff requested me to call upon him, and said to me, ‘ Is it true that your Government intends to  
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protest against the eighth article of the treaty, which provides for a communication of the Army of Bulgaria with Russia through Roumania? The Emperor, already ill-disposed towards you by your attitude about Bessarabia, would lose all patience if such a declaration is made, and his Majesty orders me to tell you, for the information of your Government, that if you have the intention of protesting or opposing the article in question he will order the occupation of Roumania and the disarmament of the Roumanian army.' Upon my observing that it was with Roumania, and not with Turkey, that Russia should concert for passage of her army through the Principality, Prince Gortschakoff said: 'We did not choose to have anything more to do with you on account of your conduct. It is important you should know that we insist upon free passage through your country, and that you should inform your Government of the declaration of the Emperor. Your Government must explain themselves categorically. Do they or do they not intend to protest and oppose themselves to the right we have reserved ourselves under this article?'"'

We should imagine that no desire to participate with Russia in her holy cause would survive these despatches.

The last point, to which we shall advert, is the navigation of the Danube. The Treaty of San Stefano declares that the European Commission for the navigation of the Danube shall preserve its rights intact. Now the Treaty of Paris declares, 'A permanent Commission is to be appointed, consisting of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, Turkey, and Würtemberg, to which a Commission from the Danubian Principalities is to be joined, who shall draw up rules of navigation and fluvial police, remove remaining obstacles, cause works necessary for the navigation to be executed along the whole course of the river, and shall see that the mouths of the river are kept in good order.' Does the most sanguine person imagine that these rights will be preserved when Russia commands the entrance? Why, they were set at nought at the very opening of the war. Vessels laden with stones were sunk in the Sulina branch, and in consequence of the obstruction there have been ever since several feet less water than there should be in the channel. Some sort of protest was addressed by the Commissioners to the Russian authorities; but the latter made themselves so excessively unpleasant, that the representatives of the four Powers accepted the position with the best grace they could. But if the Czar be permitted to become the owner of the stream, is it probable that he will submit to any foreign Commissioners playing the part of a river police on his domain? It will be surprising, indeed, if a Power that considers itself insulted by the presence of the British Fleet in the Sea of Marmora should put up with any interference on a river pronounced by European Treaty to be its own.

own. The handing over of Roumanian Bessarabia with the mouths of the Danube to Russia, would be fatal to the trading community of Europe. To Englishmen particularly, the freedom of the Danube is of grave importance. There are certain geographical positions which are the granaries of the earth, and it is essential that the routes to such markets shall be unobstructed by any dominant Power. The valley of the Danube is one of the vast cereal-producing centres, which might at any time be closed to commercial intercourse if Russia were paramount in the Straits or the Black Sea. This it is which gives point, as far as England is concerned, to the sentence that concludes the appeal of Roumania to the Western Governments:—‘Son plus cher désir est de conserver loyalement et de remplir dignement le poste d’honneur qui lui a été assigné à l’embouchure du Grand Canal par lequel s’effectue le commerce de l’Europe Centrale avec l’Orient.’

Such is the Treaty of San Stefano. Every line of it contains material for a future quarrel, and not one article of it is in accordance with the Treaty, which England spent the life-blood of her sons, and forty millions of her treasure to secure. Russia does not even intend, if she can help it, to allow the discussion of her proposals. ‘She leaves to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions at the Congress as they may think it fit to discuss, and reserves to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of these questions.’ When the nature of the proposals and the extent to which they affect the future peace of Europe is considered, such a determination may well be thought surprising.

The offer of Russia to permit the discussion of all clauses which she does not, from a regard for her honour, expressly withdraw from consideration, is not, as some have contended, the virtual concession of the whole issue. To admit the right of Russia to withhold from the consideration of Europe even a single clause, is to admit that a single Power may—even supposing the fullest justification—vary the terms of the Treaty which she herself has engaged to uphold. Whether any justifiable excuse exists for the violation by Russia of the settlement of 1856, is a question for the Congress, if ever it meets. But we take our stand on the existing Treaty, and by virtue of it we are bound to maintain that results attained in violation of it are *ipso facto* within the cognisance of the Powers who made themselves responsible for its fulfilment.

While these pages are passing through the press, we have received Prince Gortchakoff’s answer to Lord Salisbury’s Circular. On reading it we are again reminded of the Duke of Wellington’s

Wellington's remark, 'I am sick of hearing about the Emperor's desire for peace. If he wants peace, why does he not make it?' If Prince Gortchakoff really desires a Congress, why does he not agree to submit the Treaty of San Stefano in its entirety to the consideration of a Congress? If he will do this, he may have a Congress to-morrow. Prince Gortchakoff may be right, and Lord Salisbury may be wrong, as to the effect of certain clauses; that, however, is not the point. Prince Gortchakoff will make certain concessions: good. But will he make the one concession which alone will enable a Congress to assemble?

Lord Beaconsfield struck the key-note of the policy which has been pursued by our Government at the Guildhall banquet fifteen months ago. He declared that the policy of England was to be one of 'conditional neutrality.' Other members of the Cabinet, at various times, have enlarged upon this theme, and have defined the meaning that is to be attached to the phrase. We are not careful to deny that there have been times during the weary months of the war, when the majority of the Conservative party have considered that we were carrying our neutrality too far, and allowing events to take place unresisted, which would afterwards injure our national position. Those who most strongly approved of conditional neutrality thought that the 'conditions' would be infringed when Constantinople was threatened, and there is no doubt that the advance of the Russians beyond Adrianople, and finally close round the lines of Boulair and inside those of Constantinople, was regarded with something akin to dismay. We no longer insist upon that view. The issue now is a far wider one. The despatch of Lord Salisbury has replaced this country in her proper position; and it is now felt that if an opportunity was lost of arresting the onward march of the Russians at Adrianople, the delay has at any rate had the effect of proving the absolute sincerity of England and the complete disinterestedness with which she has acted throughout. Foreign journals now vie with each other in declaring that England in taking up a firm attitude, is defending the cause of freedom and civilisation. She will form the nucleus of a league which will, in course of time, be joined by all the smaller states of Western Europe, as well as by France and Italy. In Germany, as long as the aged Emperor lives, the Russian alliance will hold; but even in that country the people and the leading statesmen and soldiers have a strong feeling against Russia. If England remains firm in resisting Russia, she will be the leading Power in Europe. No nation regards with satisfaction the aggrandisement of Russia; but England is the only Power that can openly  
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The English Cabinet of to-day is materially different from that which existed at the beginning of the war. In ordinary times the retirement of two prominent members would be a symptom of the downfall of the whole. In the present instance it has only increased their power. Elected for an unwarlike purpose and upon peaceful issues, the Parliament of 1874 has had to fit itself for the consideration of foreign instead of domestic questions, and the Government in like manner have had to adapt themselves to the new situation. Lord Carnarvon was the first to go. He has since been followed by Lord Derby. We shall perhaps never know all the reasons which induced Lord Derby to resolve on retirement. His late speech has shown that they were not all covered by the cause which he—very loyally to his late colleagues—chose to assign.

The substitution of Lord Salisbury for Lord Derby has had the happiest effect. England has at once taken up her old position of champion of European liberty, and defender of European law. Many of the Liberals have openly expressed their approval of the conduct of the Government; and their leaders, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, have been apparently only perfunctory and half-hearted in their opposition. But they have not frankly assumed the attitude which in the presence of a common danger would have shown us as an united people. Even now Mr. Gladstone, when the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano had become known, can only speak of any thought of danger as ‘an infatuation,’ ‘an approach to idiocy.’ ‘There is not,’ he says, ‘a British interest, nor the phantom of a British interest, nor the shadow of a British interest to justify anything of the kind.’ ‘Why,’ he asks, ‘is the Congress not to meet? We do not know.’ Lord Granville, in his address to Mr. Chamberlain, thinks that our unenlightened Government must have its way, and that all the Liberal party can do ‘is to enlighten public opinion.’ Lord Hartington strains after a criticism, and can only find this, ‘that we are in a position of isolation; and that Lord Salisbury’s Circular did not propose any alternative policy to that of the Treaty of San Stefano.’ The ‘position of isolation’ complained of by Lord Hartington is either an idle regret for the inevitable, or a declaration that we ought, for the sake of acting in common with others, place ourselves in a position of danger by not taking necessary precautions. The question really was, whether the action we insisted on was in itself reasonable. If so, it is certain that it ought to have been proceeded with even at the risk of isolation. But, as a matter of fact, our isolation no longer exists. It only required a few firm words and the knowledge

knowledge that England meant what she said, to put heart into Europe, and to make it feel that if it were once more necessary to combine in defence of Public Law, neither the power nor the will would be wanting.

When the unanimous voice of the English nation, at the close of last century, resisted, first, the encroachments of republican France, and then the despotic ambition of Napoleon, a section of the Whig party tried to stem the tide of feeling; the attempt lost to the Whig party their greatest ornament, in Burke: it kept Fox from exercising any political power until, for a brief interval, as Minister, he carried on the war which he had so loudly denounced in Opposition, and it was paid for by a thirty years' banishment from power. Let the Liberal party beware lest their present conduct lead to similar results. But we would fain appeal to higher and nobler motives. In the present crisis it is the duty of patriots to sink party differences and to present an united and determined front in face of a common danger. Our divisions hitherto have encouraged Russia; our unanimity will make her desist from her aggressions against the safety and liberty of Europe. It is only in this way that the calamity of war can be averted. Every one, even Mr. Gladstone, agrees that certain stipulations in the Treaty of San Stefano must be altered. Does any one still believe that Russia will recede from her pretensions, unless remonstrance is backed by force? She is in no condition to provoke a war with this country: her losses have been enormous; her troops in Roumelia are ill-clothed, ill-fed, and suffering from disease; bankruptcy stares her in the face; the whole framework of society is strained. Her sole dependence is placed upon the conduct of the Opposition, which she believes will paralyse our exertions. We are convinced that if she saw she had to resist the firm determination of the united British nation, supported as it would be by the approving voice of Europe, she would yield to our reasonable demands. They exact no sacrifice of her honour or glory; they only ask her to admit the discussion of her claims to abrogate a Treaty she had made with the Powers of Europe, in which she solemnly bound herself to respect the interests of other nations, and which she has no right to set aside at her own arbitrary will.

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END OF THE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH VOLUME.













